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A HISTORY OF MISSOURI

A HISTORY
OF
MISSOURI

FROM THE EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS AND
SETTLEMENTS UNTIL THE ADMIS-
SION OF THE STATE INTO
THE UNION

BY
LOUIS HOUCK

VOLUME II

CHICAGO
R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS COMPANY
1908

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CHICAGO

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ERRATA

On page 57, line 19, read "three" for "there."

On page 83, line 14, read, "Mr." for "Dr."

On page 89, line 2, read, "assigning" for "assinging."

On page 169, line 17, read, "appearing" for "rising."

On page 189, line 16, read "era" for "war."

On page 344 and 345, read "Nicholas" for "Nichols."

HISTORY OF THE EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF MISSOURI

CHAPTER XII.

St. Louis — Trading privilege of Maxent, Laclede & Company — Pierre Laclede Ligest — Madame Chouteau and children — Site of St. Louis selected by Laclede as a trading post — French immigration to "Laclede's Village" or "Paincourt" — Common-fields of St. Louis — Visit of Indian band, 1764 — Land allotments made by Laclede — Jurisdiction and authority of St. Ange — Piernas the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor arrives — Survey of town lots and common-fields — Oldest recorded document in St. Louis; first mortgage recorded; first child born; first marriage; first death recorded; first cemetery — Early physicians — First grist-mill — Administration of Don Francisco Cruzat — Inadequate money supply — Administration of Don Fernando de Leyba — Death of Laclede — War declared between Spain and England — Gratiot's trading boat pillaged by British and Indians — English-Indian forces attack St. Louis, May, 1780 — Death of De Leyba — Second administration of Cruzat — Expedition under Capt. Pourée invades British territory east of river — Great flood of 1785 — Administration of Don Manuel Perez — Of Don Zenon Trudeau — American settlers attracted — Administration of DeLassus — Carondelet — St. Ferdinand and other early settlements — Names of pioneer settlers.

It is usually said that shortly before the cession of Louisiana to Spain, in 1762, Governor Kerlérec,¹ the last French governor of Louisiana, gave the firm of Maxent,² Laclede³ & Company license to

¹ Was a captain in the French navy, a distinguished officer in active service for twenty-five years; appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1753; in 1763 was ordered to France to give an account of his administration, and when he arrived was imprisoned in the Bastille. (Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 95.) D'Abbadie, his successor, merely held the country until the arrival of the Spaniards. While he was awaiting their arrival he fell a victim to the climate, in 1765, and Captain Aubry of the French Regulars, and the senior officer at New Orleans, succeeded him. Aubry had distinguished himself at Fort du Quesne. (Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 84.) Whether D'Abbadie died a natural death or not seems also to have been a question at the time. Bossu says: "Mourat d'une pretendue colique de peintre." There seem to have been questions "à cause de malversations relativement aux intérêts du Roi."

² Maxent was written in various ways. Laclede spelled the name "Maxan" sometimes. The full name of Laclede's partner was Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent. He was a brother-in-law of Luis de Unzaga y Amesaga who succeeded O'Reilly as Governor of Louisiana. Gayarre names St. Maxent as a leading merchant of New Orleans. Don Bernardo de Galvez, Governor of Louisiana and afterward Viceroy of Mexico, was his son-in-law, and his wife Felicitas de Saint Maxent was a native of Louisiana, and "a lady of surpassing loveliness, and as charitable, gracious, and indulgent as she was beautiful," says Gayarre. Galvez died at the early age of thirty-eight years.

³ Full name Pierre Laclede Ligest, but he signed his name invariably "La-

the exclusive trade with the Indians on the Missouri, but as Laclede did not leave New Orleans until after the arrival of D'Abbadie,⁴ appointed by the king of France commissioner of Louisiana, and as such in charge of the province *ad interim*, until the arrival of the Spanish officers, it is almost certain that M. D'Abbadie confirmed the grant of this trade made by Gov. Kerlérec.⁵ Du Terrage erroneously says that D'Abbadie gave the trade privilege to Laclede "*et Pierre Chouteau.*"⁶ This privilege, according to Margry, was granted to Laclede as a reward for services he had rendered. The character and nature of these services are not detailed, and it is doubtful whether any such services were rendered at all. At any rate, if Laclede performed any services for the government, they were of a nature so slight as not to have been in any way recorded. It is also doubtful whether the firm ever had a grant to the exclusive trade with the Indians on the Missouri, as is generally stated. In April, 1765, shortly after Laclede established his trading post, at his instance, the officers of the French government, who still exercised jurisdiction in the country west of the Mississippi, seized a boat-load of merchandise on the Missouri river, in charge of one Joseph Calvè, as clerk, but belonging to Jean Datchurut and Louis Viviat, merchants of Ste. Genevieve at that time, Laclede claiming for his firm the exclusive right of trade with the Indians on the Missouri river. But Datchurut and Viviat made a contest and brought the case before the Supreme Council at New Orleans where it was decided against Maxent, Laclede & Company, and they were condemned to pay for the goods seized, and costs.⁷ Laclede Ligest." Seems to have dropped the name of "Pierre" and by his associates was simply called "Laclede." This was a practice among the early French settlers. Thus Antoine Vincent Bouis was simply called "Antoine Vincent." Baptiste Lamie Duchouquette, "Baptiste Lamie." Benito Vasquez, "Benito." Charles Fremon de Lauriere, "Fremon." The last Spanish Governor signed himself "Charles de Hault DeLassus" but his full name was, Charles de Hault DeLassus de Luzierre, and his father, who was commandant as New Bourbon, always added "de Luzierre." Camile DeLassus was a brother of the governor. So also Jacques Marcelline Ceran de Hault DeLassus de St. Vrain, and who was known generally by the name of "St. Vrain."

⁴This name spelled "D'Abbadie" by Gayarre, but "L'Abadie" by Martin, and spelled "D'Abbadie" by Du Terrage. Pittman says that he gave "an exclusive grant for the commerce with the Indian nations on the river Missouri" to a company of merchants. (Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, p. 94.)

⁵1 Billon's Annals, p. 51, citing Archives, vol. 4, May 25, 1767. L'Abbadie was appointed Director-General March 16, 1763, and reached New Orleans June 29th following, and Laclede departed with his boat and goods in August.

⁶Du Terrage, *Les Dernieres*, &c., p. 223, note 1.

⁷Joseph Datchurut and Louis Viviat were merchants in Ste. Genevieve prior to the founding of St. Louis. Viviat also was a merchant in New Orleans

This tribunal evidently held that the firm had no exclusive right to the trade on the Missouri river.

Pierre Laclede Ligest, Margry says, was a native of Bedons Valle d'Aspre, diocese d'Oloron in Bearn, about fifteen leagues from Pau, and removed to Louisiana in 1755, where he states he "founded a commercial establishment in New Orleans."⁸ However, this last statement may be questioned, because there is no evidence that Laclede was ever in business in New Orleans.⁹

It is likely that Maxent, then one of the principal merchants of New Orleans, to secure this upper Louisiana trade, furnished the goods and capital and that Laclede agreed to give his personal



attention to the business, and for this received a share in the profits of the new establishment, and that thus the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Company originated. The fact that at the time of his death he was found to be greatly in debt to his partner, Maxent, seems to confirm the idea that he was merely a partner in the profits of the business.¹⁰ Personally, in New Orleans he entered into relations

at one time. Calvé was employed by them in the fur trade, but afterwards came to St. Louis in 1765. Married Theresa, daughter of Nicholas Marechal at Fort de Chartres. On account of an offence, in 1768, Calvé absconded from St. Louis, and in consequence his house and lot were sold there September 26, 1768. He returned in 1769 and sold his property afterward to Ignace Pinçon-neau, dit Rigauche. Calvé seems to have been in the employ of the English prior to the attack on St. Louis, but returned to St. Louis and in 1786 removed to St. Ferdinand. Of his children, Joseph, junior, married Eulalia Dubreuil; Antoine Pierre married Cecile de Jarlais; Marie Therese, Joseph Rapiéaux; Victoria, Jean B. LaChance; Josette, Joseph St. Germain; Françoise, Jean B. Presse, Joseph Calvé, senior, died August 17, 1817, at St. Ferdinand.

⁸ See letter of Margry to Washburn, published in 1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 64.

⁹ But Judge Douglas tells me that papers found in New Orleans describe him as "officier de milice et negociant."

¹⁰ Shepard says that his partner "got possession of his property and disposed of it in the following year, 1779, for a trifling sum, and left no slab to his memory." What a perversion of facts, and as to the "slab," what an incongruity of the idea with the times. (Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 23.) In 1779 Governor de Galvez writes de Leyba that Laclede is largely in debt to Maxent,

with Madame Chouteau¹¹, who, it is said, owing to mistreatment, had abandoned her husband and, contrary to the rules of the Church, contracted a civil marriage with him.

Laclede, on the 3rd of August, 1763, sailed up the Mississippi from New Orleans with his boat of merchandise, accompanied by Madame Chouteau and family, including young Auguste Chouteau,¹² destined to play no inconsiderable part in the settlement and establishment of the new trading post on the Mississippi, and the foundation of St. Louis. After a voyage of nearly three months, Laclede with his boat arrived at Ste. Genevieve, but, finding no place there to store his goods for the winter, proceeded to Fort de Chartres,¹³ where he arrived on November 3, 1763. Fort de Chartres was then, and had been for a number of years, the seat of the civil and military government of all the Illinois country, an indefinite dominion, stretching westward toward the Rocky mountains and east and north toward

the liability amounting to more than 41,000 livres. The real estate in St. Louis Maxent sold for \$3,000 to Chouteau in 1788, then in greatly dilapidated condition (1 Billon's Annals, p. 148), being a stone house sixty by twenty-three, with a rotten roof, and another stone house fifty by thirty feet, with no floor, in ruins, and a piece of ground three hundred feet square.

¹¹ Maiden name Marie Therese Bourgeois, born in New Orleans in 1733, married Auguste Rene Chouteau in 1749, bearing him one child, Auguste Chouteau, born September, 1750. Then, it is said, on account of ill treatment, abandoned Chouteau "and went to live" with Laclede, by whom she had four children, Jean Pierre, Pelagie, Marie Louise, and Victoire, but according to French law, bearing the name of "Chouteau." (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 179.) It is said that Madame Chouteau, "by and with the advice and consent of her friends, contracted a civil marriage with Laclede." Madame Chouteau died August 14, 1814. She seems to have been a "thorough business woman and drove a hard bargain now and then," acquired a great deal of property, being a trader in goods and furs, as well as real estate; sued her son-in-law Joseph M. Papin to recover the value of a negro slave accidentally killed, and recovered the value. Her children all married well, and the family was very prosperous. The archives of St. Louis also show that in 1768 Laclede made a gift to the children of Mrs. Chouteau.

¹² Margry gives his full name as "Pierre Etienne Auguste Chouteau," but on what authority does not state. (Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 64, note 1.) He was born at New Orleans, August 14, 1750, and died at St. Louis, February 29, 1829, in his 79th year. During the Spanish domination he was the most prominent merchant and business man of the town, and in a large measure controlled the fur trade. He enjoyed the confidence of the Spanish officials at New Orleans. Baron Carondelet especially seems to have placed much confidence in him and his brother Pierre in regard to matters relating to the Osage Indians. When the United States acquired Louisiana Chouteau was appointed one of the Judges of the St. Louis Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions. In 1808 he was Colonel of the militia and afterward U. S. Pension Agent. At various times he was appointed U. S. Commissioner to treat with the various Indian tribes of the west. He married Marie Therese Cerré, daughter of Gabriel Cerré, September 21, 1786.

¹³ Fort de Chartres was located a few miles above Ste. Genevieve in the southwest corner of what is now Monroe county, Illinois.

Canada. Neyon de Villiers¹⁴ was then commandant of the fort, and in the adjacent village, by permission, Laclede stored his goods and secured a home for Madame Chouteau and his family and followers, and then looked out a location for his trading establishment.

During the month of December Laclede prospected the country as far north as the mouth of the Missouri, and some distance up that river. The beauty, no less than the commercial advantages of the country, bordered on the north by the Missouri, on the south by the Maramec, and on the east by the Mississippi, now embracing St. Louis county, seems to have attracted the attention of the earliest voyagers, and it is supposed led to the first transient establishment of a Jesuit missionary station in the Mississippi valley, near the mouth of the Des Pères. Surrounded on three sides by these large, navigable waters, and intersected by many smaller streams, navigable in the light canoes of the voyageurs and fur-traders, at least during a part of the year, all parts of this district were easily accessible in those days of primitive water transportation. Much of this favored locality was gently rolling upland, sweeping far away to the horizon, alternately prairie and open woodland, covered with a high and luxuriant growth of grass, on which herds of deer and buffalo then grazed in peace and plenty. Along the banks of the rivers now and then perpendicular cliffs of rocks separated these uplands from the bottoms, but at other places gradually and almost imperceptibly the upland descended to the lowlands, and these were covered with noble and towering forests. From many hillsides gurgling springs broke forth, and in clear and limpid streams meandered through little valleys to larger branches, into creeks and into the great rivers almost surrounding this delightful and pleasant land. The soil was fertile, the climate

¹⁴ In June, 1764, Chevalier Pierre-Joseph de Neyon de Villiers, the last French commandant of Fort de Chartres, withdrew from the fort in anticipation of the arrival of the English forces. He took with him to New Orleans seven officers and sixty-three soldiers, leaving Captain St. Ange de Bellerive and about forty soldiers and officers to guard the fort. A number of French families from de Chartres, St. Philippe, and Prairie du Rocher, accompanied de Villiers. (Davidson & Stuve's History of Illinois, p. 163.) He descended the river in twenty-one bateaux and seven pirogues. He was a brother-in-law of Kerlérec. Du Terrage says that in 1735 he was ensign in the regiment de Choiseul; in 1738, Lieutenant in the Marainville regiment, Aide-Major in the Royal Lorraine, and wounded at Wissembourg; Captain at the battle of Landfelt in 1747, attached to the Louisiana Regiment in 1749; in command of Fort de Chartres; returned to Paris in 1765; aided Kerlérec in his defence; Colonel of the Guadeloupe Regiment; Brigadier-General in 1775 and Governor of Marie-Galante, died in 1785. This de Villiers was born in Lorraine "d'une famille plus noble que riche"—and should not be confounded with the Coulon de Villiers. This Neyon de Villiers of Fort de Chartres was in no way related to this family.

genial, neither too hot in summer nor too cold in winter; and autumn was the loveliest season of the year. In the center of the eastern edge of this district Laclède selected the location for his trading post, and when he returned enthusiastically assured the commandant



Aug. Chouteau

of the fort, so it is said by Chouteau, "that he had found a situation where he intended to establish a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America."¹⁵ Chouteau, at that time was only between thirteen and fourteen years old, and does not tell us whether he was present when this conversation took place, but in the light of subsequent events undoubtedly this prophecy stands justified whether actually made or not. Hutchins, who was a man of great intelligence, and travelled up and down the Mississippi shortly after the

occupation of the east bank of the Mississippi by the English, speaks of the location as one of "the most healthy and pleasurable situations of any known in this part of the country."¹⁶

Brackenridge thus describes the appearance of the country west of St. Louis, when St. Louis was still a small town, some forty years afterward: "Looking to the west, a most charming country spreads itself before us. It is neither very level nor hilly, but of an agreeable, waving surface, and rising for several miles with an ascent almost imperceptible. Except a small belt to the north, there are no trees; the rest is covered with shrubby oak, intermixed with hazels, and a few trifling thickets of thorn, crab-apple and plum trees. At first glance, we are reminded of the environs of a great city; but there are no country seats, or even plain farm houses; it is a vast waste, yet by no means barren soil. Such is the appearance, until turning to the left, the eye catches the Mississippi. A number of springs take their rise here, and contribute to the uneven appearance. The great part flow to the southwest, and aid in forming a beautiful rivulet, which a short distance below the town gives itself to the river. I have been often delighted in my solitary walks to trace this rivulet to its sources. Three miles from town, out within view, among a few tall oaks, it

¹⁵ Chouteau's Journal, in St. Louis Mercantile Library.

¹⁶ Hutchins' Topographical Description, p. 38.

risers in four or five silvery fountains within a short distance of each other: presenting a picture to the fancy of the poet or the pencil of the painter." ¹⁷

When Laclede located his trading post it was already well understood that the country east of the Mississippi, with the Canadas, had been ceded by France to England, and that all her possessions on the west side of the river had been ceded to Spain, although this cession had not been officially announced.¹⁸ Of course, the transfer of the country east of the river to the hereditary enemy of France produced great excitement among the French inhabitants. It is more than likely that this general alarm and anxiety to escape English domination may have first suggested to Laclede the idea of establishing a village at the place he had selected for his trading post, and inviting all those dissatisfied and alarmed by the transfer of the country to England to establish themselves with him on the west side of the river. It is also probable that he may have interested the French officers at Fort de Chartres in the locality where he proposed to establish his post, and suggested to them to establish the seat of their authority for the western country there, as soon as the English took possession of Fort de Chartres and the country east of the Mississippi. The fact that the officers afterward did actually remove to the post established by him would point to this conclusion.¹⁹ Be this as it may, as soon as the river was free from ice in the spring of 1764, Laclede sent his boat in charge of Auguste Chouteau to the place selected for the trading post. On February 14th Chouteau landed there,²⁰ and he says that on the next day he put the men and boys who came with him on the

¹⁷ Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 221 (Baltimore, 1817).

¹⁸ The cession of Louisiana to Spain was officially proclaimed in New Orleans in October, 1764. (1 Martin's *Louisiana*, p. 346.) But from Du Terrage it appears that Kerlérec was unofficially advised of the cession in January, 1763. *Les Dernieres*, etc., p. 157.

¹⁹ Pittman says "that for the security and encouragement of this settlement the staff of French officers and commissary were ordered to remove there, upon rendering Fort Chartres to the English." Pittman's *Mississippi Settlements*, p. 94.

²⁰ Some question exists whether the boat arrived on the 14th of February or the 14th of March, 1764, a matter really of no importance. Have adopted February 14th in the text, because it is to be supposed that Laclede was anxious to start his establishment as quickly as possible. But if the winter was severe and the river full of ice, it is quite likely that the boat did not reach the site selected as a location for a settlement until March 14th. With Chouteau who was about 12 years of age when he came to St. Louis in 1764, on the boat came Jean Baptiste Rivière, who was born at Fort de Chartres. (Hunt's *Minutes*, Book 2, p. 102, Mo. Historical Society Archives.) When the Indians made the attack on St. Louis in 1780, he was taken prisoner at "Cardinal

boat to work. Madame Chouteau and her children came up from Fort de Chartres in a cart through the American Bottom, accompanied



MADAME CHOUTEAU

by Laclede and arrived at Cahokia about the same time that the boat reached the site selected for the trading post. Laclede, after securing a place of residence for her at Cahokia, came over the river and spent the summer in erecting his establishment, and after the completion of his building, brought up his goods from the Fort, and finally, in September following,²¹ he also brought Madame Chouteau over to the new village to the home prepared for her—her family being considered Laclede's

family.²² But, during the summer, a number of other settlers from

Springs," a place now in the center of St. Louis, while sleeping in the house of Jean Marie Cardinal, and from St. Louis the Indians took him to Chicago as a prisoner, but from there he escaped and returned to St. Louis, and in 1785 moved from St. Louis to Florissant (St. Ferdinand) (Hunt's Minutes, Book 2, p. 50. Missouri Historical Society Archives). In 1792 had a horse-mill on his lot, Margaret Vial Rivière, assignee. The names of the boatmen are not known, Amable Le Tourneau is supposed to have been one by Scharff, (History of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 170.) This Le Tourneau was a Canadian voyageur, and in 1770 was banished from the settlement for ten years, for a trivial offense.

²¹ Colonel Pierre Chouteau, senior, says that he came to St. Louis about six months after the founding of the village, and this would fix the time of the settlement of Madame Chouteau on the west side of the river, as stated. (Hunt's Minutes, Book 3, p. 100, pp. 282, 283.—1 Commissioner's Minutes.) Pierre Chouteau was born at New Orleans October 10, 1758, and died at St. Louis, July 10, 1849. He was engaged in the fur trade from early manhood. For many years he personally annually visited many of the Indian tribes of the west. He was master of their language. He had the greatest influence among the Osages — was in command of Fort Carondelet on the Osage river under contract with Carondelet. Although Auguste Chouteau, somewhat over-shadows in reputation Pierre Chouteau, it is nevertheless a fact, that the great influence the Chouteau name for many years exercised over the Indians of the west must be ascribed to Pierre. Auguste Chouteau seldom visited the Indians, but Pierre Chouteau during the early days of the fur trade was in their villages most of his time. When Louisiana was ceded to the United States Pierre Chouteau was appointed the first Indian agent of the country by President Jefferson. He conducted the first delegation of Indians from the new territory to Washington. He was one of the principal owners of the First Missouri Fur company and afterward identified with the American Fur company. When the Indians in early days visited St. Louis they always camped on his grounds and his home was their home. He occupied many and important public positions during his long and honorable life. His first wife was Pelagie Kiercereau, who died February 9, 1793. He afterward married Brigitte Saucier, daughter of François Saucier of Portage des Sioux, and who died in 1829.

²² 1 Billon's Annals, p. 19. It should be noted here that Shepard in his "History of St. Louis," page 14, does not seem to have in mind that Liguest

Cahokia crossed over and established themselves,²³ building houses and making other improvements, and these, too, with their families, brought over their goods and merchandise. The total number of persons forming the new settlement in the first six months aggregated about thirty.

was married to Mrs. Chouteau. Speaking of St. Ange he says, "He (St. Ange) was the intimate friend of Mr. Liguist, founder of the town, and like him was never married." St. Ange, it should be remembered, died at the residence of Madame Chouteau. (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 72, note 4.)

²³ In addition to Laclede, then about forty years old, and Antoine Rivière, Senior, dit Baccane, who was born in 1706, therefore forty-eight years of age in 1764 when he drove up the cart with Mrs. Chouteau and children from Fort de Chartres to Cahokia, and who moved to St. Ferdinand in 1790, and died there in 1816, having attained the age of one hundred and ten years, the oldest person we have any knowledge of at that day, the following persons, according to Mr. Billon, were the first settlers (Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, pp. 17, 18), and thus gave vitality to the village, namely, Joseph Michel, dit Taillon or Tayon, miller, forty-nine years old when he came to St. Louis, born in Canada in 1715, married Marie Louise Bissett, born in 1728. He died in St. Louis at the age of ninety-two (1807), and was probably the surveyor on the Maramec in 1790 of that name. His wife died at sixty-nine in 1797. According to Billon, old Joseph Michel, dit Tayon, was one of the syndics of the town. Carlos Tayon, his son, was commandant of St. Charles, his family adopting the name "Tayon;" Roger Taillon, miller; Joseph Mainville, dit Deschenes, was an early carpenter of St. Louis, and may have come up on the boat with Chouteau; Jean Baptiste and Joseph L. Martigny were both traders. The Martigny brothers came from Quebec, Jean Baptiste married Helene Herbert at Fort de Chartres, was a prominent, and, for that time, a wealthy man, built a stone house at the corner of what is now Main and Walnut streets, and this house afterward became the Government house, he was captain of the militia for a long time and died in September 1792, at the age of eighty, his brother Joseph Lemoine Martigny was engaged in the Indian trade in St. Louis as late as 1789, built a house which he afterward sold to Nicolas Royer, dit Sansquartier, a soldier; Nicolas Beaugeneau (Beaugenoux) farmer, forty-five years old, "Soldat de la compagnie de Mimbret" at Fort de Chartres in 1758; was a native of Canada, died in St. Louis in 1770, his wife was a Henrion, also born in Canada; his oldest daughter, Marie Josephé, was married in April, 1766, the first marriage recorded in St. Louis; his oldest son also named Nicolas, called "Fifi," born in Canada in 1741, married Catherine Gravelle, died in St. Louis in 1795, and she died in 1826, aged fifty-five years. The name of Feefee creek in St. Louis county derived its name from his nick-name "Fifi," (Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 416) which is pronounced in French like Feefee. Alexis Cotté, farmer, was twenty-one years old when he arrived, married Elizabeth Dodier in 1768, in 1796 owned property in St. Charles. A Jean Coté (or Cotté), was a habitan of Canada in 1639, and Alexis may have been related to this family (2 Sulte Canadiens Française, p. 92); Gabriel Dodier, Junior, farmer, owned property in Prairie des Noyers and on Little Rock creek; moved to St. Charles in 1795; Margaret Bequette, widow of Gabriel Dodier, lived on the prairie below "Mound d' Grange." Gabriel Dodier was a son of Gabriel Dodier of Fort de Chartres, who died there in 1763, his widow coming to St. Louis where she died in 1783. This Dodier, Senior, was a Canadian, a blacksmith by trade. The Dodiers were among the first settlers of Canada, and Sulte gives the name of Sebastian Dodier as a habitan in 1639. According to the testimony of Marly, Morin, and Auguste Chouteau, Gabriel Dodier, Junior, was known as Auguste Dodier in St. Louis, and had two sons named respectively Auguste Gabriel, and Rene. (Hunt's Minutes, vol. 3, p. 135, Missouri Historical Society Archives.) Auguste Gabriel, Junior, married Pelagie Ri-

When the Indians residing on the west side of the river heard of the new settlement made on their lands, a band of one hundred and fifty warriors, with women and children, came to the new village in the fall of the year, ostensibly to secure a supply of provisions, and in a friendly and familiar manner located their dwellings as near as possible to their new acquaintances, manifesting the utmost pleasure and

vière; Jean B. Hervieux, gun-smith and royal armorer; Paul Kiercereau, a son of Gregoire Kiercereau, (de Kesignac) native of Port Louis, diocese of Vannes, Brittany, France, settled in Cahokia as early as 1740, where he died in 1770, his wife was Gillette LeBourg, or Boulque, widow of one Pothier; his son Paul was born in New Orleans, married Marie Josephè Michel, dit Tayon, in 1766, in St. Louis; their only child, Pelagie, married Pierre Chouteau, Senior, in 1783, and died in 1793, leaving four children, Auguste P., Pierre, Junior, Paul L., and Pelagie, who afterwards married Barthélemi Berthold; another son, Rene, dit Renaud, was born in 1723 in France, and married Marie M. Robillard, who died in St. Louis in 1783, and he died in St. Ferdinand in 1798; he was chanter or chorister of the church, and in the absence of the priest officiated at funerals, but as to this Rene, dit Renaud, see note 28 in Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 436. His eldest son, named Gregoire, born in 1752, married Magdalen St. François in 1774, a daughter named Julie married Gabriel Latreille (De La Treille) in 1800, and another daughter named Marguerite married Louis Aubuchon of Ste. Genevieve district, in 1804. Marie Kiercereau, a sister of Rene and Paul, born in 1788, married Antoine Deshetres, an interpreter, who died in 1798, and was survived by his wife seventeen years; their oldest son was Gregory Kiercereau Deshetres; Alexis Picard, farmer, age fifty-three when he settled in St. Louis, in 1794 at St. Ferdinand, and prior to 1801 in New Madrid district. François Delin, carpenter possibly same as François Delain; Joseph Labrosse, trader, raised corn on his lot in 1798, and in 1802 gave property to his god-son Joseph Labadie, in 1794 owned property at St. Ferdinand; Theodore Labrosse; Joseph Chancellier and Louis Chancellier, afterwards sub-lieutenant of militia. These Chancelliers were brothers of Mrs. Joseph Mainville, and born in the village of St. Philippe, and also came to St. Louis in the first boat; Joseph married Elizabeth, daughter of Jean B. Becquette (or Bequetta), the miller, and after his death she married Antoine Gauthier (or Gaultier), of St. Charles; Louis married Marie Louise Deschamp, and after his death she married Joseph Beauchamp, dit Bechant, also of St. Charles (1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 421). Jean B. Gamache (see Carondelet); Louis Ride, Senior, born in Canada, and died in St. Louis in 1787, his first wife was a daughter of Louis Marcheteau; Julian LeRoy, trader, married Marie Barbara Saucier, at Mobile in 1755, according to Billon was a well informed man; the family dropped the "Le" simply calling themselves "Roy"; the son Charles married Susanne Dodier in 1799, a daughter Madalaine, married François Hebert in 1774, at the age of sixteen; Julien, Junior, married Marie Louise Cotté and at her death the widow of Pierre A. Marie, in 1797; another son named Pierre Patrick married Victoire Stark; and Henri François married Jeanne Montardy in 1793. It seems that Julien, Senior, did not die in St. Louis. Jean Salle, dit Lajoie, trader, in 1769 built a stone house on what was afterward known as Block 57, and in 1792 returned to Bordeaux, France, separating from his wife, Marie Rose Panda, who attained the age of 104, dying in St. Louis in 1830; one Jean B. Bequette was a blacksmith and the first owner of the southeast quarter of Block 36, and another Jean B. Bequette was a miller. Jean B. Bequette, Senior, and Junior, in 1797 were in Ste. Genevieve. Antoine Pothier, trader; Antoine Villiere Pichet, a carpenter; Legrain died in 1776; and probably related to the wife of Michel Rolette, dit Laderoute, who was a Lagrain, a soldier who came from Fort de Chartres with St. Ange; Marcereau and La Garrosse.

contentment in their new homes, and exhibiting their willingness to engage in all the liberties and enjoyments the place afforded.²⁴ In a peaceful way Laclede endeavored to rid himself of his unwelcome guests. In the hope that aversion to steady work would induce them to leave, he employed them to dig the cellar of a house he was then building, and the squaws worked in carrying away the dirt in wooden platters and baskets, but the warriors would not work, and, appropriating everything that they could lay their hands on, although it could hardly be called stealing, the patience of Laclede finally became exhausted, and he peremptorily ordered them away, threatening to call in the troops from Fort de Chartres, and then reluctantly his unwelcome guests withdrew.²⁵ Subsequently, in 1766, a band of Peoria Indians were allowed to build a village at the lower end of the town, and this locality about a mile below where the United States arsenal now stands was called “Prairie de Village Sauvage.”²⁶

After the settlement was begun, ten additional settlers, anxious to escape British rule, came to the new village,²⁷ so that at the end of the first year forty families were congregated at the future metropolis, and which Laclede named “St. Louis,” in honor of the sainted king of France. Popularly, however, the place was at first known as “Laclede’s Village,” and then as “Paincourt.”²⁸ In the year following

²⁴ “Having remained here fifteen days, in the course of which I had the cellar of the house which we were to build, dug by the women and children, I gave them in payment vermillion, awls, verdigris. They dug the largest part of it, and carried the earth in wooden platters and baskets, which they bore on their heads,” says Auguste Chouteau in his Journal. “The Illinois Indians claimed the land where St. Louis now stands,” says Chouteau. (Hunt’s Minutes, Book I, p. 127, copy in Mo. Hist. Society Archives.)

²⁵ Shepard’s History of St. Louis, p. 13.

²⁶ Drake’s Life of Blackhawk, p. 124 quoting MSS. of Major Thomas Forsyth, dated 1820 as follows: “Some 40 or 50 years ago the Sauks and Foxes attacked a small village of Peorias about a mile below St. Louis and were defeated.”

²⁷ These were Gabriel Descary, an Indian interpreter from Fort de Chartres; Michel Rolette (Rollet), dit Laderoute, a former French soldier from Fort de Chartres, his wife, Margaret Lagrain; Louis Tesson, dit Honore (or Honore dit Tesson), a trader from Kaskaskia, was the father of François, Baptiste, Michael and Noel, all living at St. Ferdinand and elsewhere, a native of Canada, his wife was Magdalena Patterson, and evidently of English descent. Had a grant at Cul de Sac, and in 1796 received a grant of 1,600 arpents at Village á Robert, also had property at Portage des Sioux and River Jeffron in St. Charles district, died in St. Louis in 1812; Jean B. Cardinal, a farmer from St. Philippe; Louis Deshetres, an Indian interpreter from Cahokia, in St. Ferdinand in 1794; Alexander Langlois, dit Rondeau, trader from Cahokia; Jean B. Provenchère, a wheel-wright, from Cahokia, was the father of Jean Louis Provenchère; Rene Buet, trader from Cahokia.

²⁸ It has been suggested that some of the early settlers in grateful recognition of Laclede’s services proposed to call the town “Laclede.” (1 Scharf’s History of St. Louis, p. 69.) This sounds like a pious fiction. The first settlers

additional immigration from Fort de Chartres, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and, it is said, from Ste. Genevieve arrived,²⁹ and finally in October, 1765, when the British Highlanders, under Captain Stirling³⁰ reached Fort de Chartres, Captain St. Ange de Bellerive,³¹ who was left in command when De Villiers departed for New Orleans, withdrew his force to this place on the west side of the river, probably acting on his own initiative in selecting his new headquarters. With St. Ange

of St. Louis, according to Pittman (*Mississippi Settlements*, p. 95) secured their flour from Ste. Genevieve, and hence probably the nick-name "Paincourt" — meaning without, or short of, bread. (See also Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 62.)

²⁹ Among them, Charles Routier, mason; his daughter Genevieve married Louis Bissonette, who was here also in 1765; François Bissonette; Jean Baptiste Durand, married Marie Marcheteau; Michael Lami or Lamy (Du Chouquette); Hyacinthe St. Cyr (St. Cir), born near Quebec, a leading man in early St. Louis, died in 1826, the father of fifteen children, in 1786 had grant between the Mississippi and Maramec, and in 1798 at St. Charles where he had a horse-mill on his lot; Colonel Howard says St. Cyr had met with losses in the service of the Government, his sons Hyacinth, Junior, born 1786, and Leon N., born in 1791, received grants in 1800 in consideration of his services; (François) Cottin, the first constable in St. Louis, conducted the first sale in 1768 at the church door; Joseph Bouré, a rope maker, and François Jourdan. To these names should also be added: Paul Sigel, a tanner by trade, who died August 1769 at St. Louis. This Sigel, Billon says, was a native of Malta, but the name is indubitably German. Other early settlers who died shortly after their arrival and settlement were: François Eloy, who died in New Orleans in 1767; Jean A. D'Aunis, dit St. Vincent, died in 1769; Nicolas Marechal, a native of France, died 1770; Joseph De Tailly, an Indian interpreter, died October, 1771. (1 Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, vol. 1, p. 80.) Jean DeLage, a native of Pierre d'Olien, Angoumois, France, was a resident and died in 1772; his estate brought 836 livres "in silver," and of this amount Alexander Langlois received 530 for board and Martin Duralde 127 for legal fees, the curate of the church, Father Valentine 67 and Dr. Conde and Dr. Connand 80, for medical services, Rene Kiercereau 8, for the grave and Louis Dubreuil and Lachance, the balance as creditors. Foubert La Grammont, of Granville, France, settled in 1772.

³⁰ Captain Stirling was the accredited commissioner of his Britannic Majesty, and as such, formal possession of the Illinois country east of the Mississippi river was delivered to him, October 10, 1765. Auguste Chouteau says, that St. Ange and his troops reached St. Louis July 17, 1765, but probably did not remember the date particularly. (See Hunt's *Minutes*, Book 1, p. 126, *Missouri Historical Society Archives*.)

³¹ Louis St. Ange de Bellerive (original name Groston) a Canadian, a son of Robert Groston dit St. Ange, was about sixty years old when Fort de Chartres was transferred. He had served in the army of France and Canada, and in the Illinois country, for about forty years; was with de Bourgmont in his expedition against the Padoucas in 1724, as cadet with his father, who was a veteran officer of the French troops, having served from 1685. He was never married and died in St. Louis at the house of Madame Chouteau, December 27, 1774, as already stated, aged about seventy years. He left property to the children of de Villiers. His half sister married François Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, and to the children of this marriage he left his property. It is said that Governor Piernas conferred upon St. Ange the rank of Captain of Infantry in the Spanish service. (1 Scharff's *History of St. Louis*, p. 203.) But this, like a good many other things passing current as

came Captain François de Volsay³² and other officers and soldiers to the number of about twenty men. How anxious the French settlers were to escape English rule is shown by the fact that Renault's town, St. Philippe, was completely abandoned by the eight or ten families living there, one family leaving a mill and other property. The captain of the militia alone remained.³³ This, no doubt, led Lieutenant Frazier to write that "the greatest part of those who inhabited our side of the river abandoned it on our getting possession of the country."³⁴

It is apparent that the rapid growth of Laclede's trading post in the first few years of its existence must be attributed to the cession of

St. Louis history, is to be doubted. It is not thought that Piernas had the power to confer this rank, but in a Spanish official paper it is stated that he is Captain of Infantry in the service. In connection with this a certificate made by Piernas is not without interest. In about 1772 the Notary of Vincennes, and who as such had possession of the grants made by St. Ange when in command there, ran away and it became a matter of interest to ascertain to whom grants had been made while he was in command. Accordingly the following certificate was issued by Piernas: "Nous Don Pedro Piernas, Capitaine d'Infanterie, Lieutenant-Gouverneur des Etablissements des Illinois et leur Dependans appartenans à sa Majeste Catholique, certifions à tous qu' il appariendra que Mons. St. Ange est Capitaine reforme et employee au service de sa Majeste Catholique" (2 Indiana Hist. Society Publications p. 29). Whether this means that St. Ange was in the military service is uncertain, because the "Capitaine reformé," refers to the French military force stationed in the Illinois country. I do not think that at any time the Spaniards had any so-called "reformed" troops in the country. This however is clear that St. Ange at the time when Piernas made the certificate was in some sort of Spanish service. It is said that he was popular with the Indians, that the Great Pontiac was his personal friend and that he brought the body of Pontiac over from Cahokia and had his remains interred near where the Southern Hotel now stands. This statement, although it would reflect credit upon St. Ange, is doubtful. It is also said that when Captain Stirling, the first English commander at Fort de Chartres, died in January, 1776, that on the request of the inhabitants there, he came over from the Spanish possessions to take charge of the post of Fort de Chartres until the arrival of Captain Stirling's successor, Major Frazer, from Pittsburgh. This romantic incident in the life of St. Ange no doubt is a fiction. It is not at all likely that the other English officers would give way to St. Ange, although the incident is cited in Monnett's "History of the Mississippi Valley," p. 411; and in Reynolds' "My own Times," p. 50. Mason also repeats this story (Mason's Chapters from Illinois History, p. 238), but no authority is given by these writers.

³² Afterward it is recorded in the domestic annals of "Paincourt" that Rene Kiercereau, dit Renaud, fled to the other side (that is to say, the Illinois country east of the Mississippi river), with De Volsay's wife, a niece of St. Ange, who did not enjoy the best reputation among the early habitants, taking away all the movable property, while De Volsay was away in France on business. In 1781, Cruzat sent her to New Orleans "against her will, because of the occasion of one Malvo," and is advised by the Governor that "we shall do our best to settle this matter, which appears a trifle difficult." Gen. Archives of Indies, Seville.—Letter of Feb. 15, 1781. One Gaston Leopold de Volsay died in Ste. Genevieve in 1760, 38 years of age, may be a relative.

³³ Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, p. 91,—but in Hutchins' Topographical Description, p. 38, it is said two or three families remained.

³⁴ Letter of Lieutenant Frazier, 2 Ind. Historical Publication, p. 411.

the country east of the Mississippi to England, and consequent immigration of the old French settlers across the river, because after the first excitement of the transfer died away the growth of the new village was very slow.

The first building of the new trading post was erected by Laclede and located on the block of ground now bounded by First and Second and Walnut and Market streets, and according to Pittman this was a "large house." The other settlers established themselves along the river above and below this place. A narrow belt of timber



LACLEDE HOUSE, WITH VILLAGE PRISON (CALABOZO) ATTACHED ON SIDE

then extended along the river, as far back as what is now Fifth street or Broadway. Beyond, stretching far westward, was an open prairie, long known as "La Grande Prairie."³⁵ Various sections of this prairie received different names. Thus the open land near the town was called "St. Louis Prairie." The section southwest was called "Prairie des Noyers." The space between "St. Louis Prairie" and "Prairie des Noyers" was called the "Cul de Sac."³⁶ The open land south of the town was called "Little Prairie." "White Ox Prairie" was several miles north. The creek running through "Cul de Sac," along wooded and grassy banks, was known as "La Petite Rivière." In order to

³⁵ "An extensive prairie, which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants." Stoddard's *Louisiana*, p. 219.

³⁶ Williams calls it "Cul de Sac of the Grand Prairie."

secure water-power for a mill, this creek, which afterward became known as "Mill Creek," was dammed up, and the pond thus formed was long known as "Chouteau's Mill Pond." The great St. Louis railroad yards now mark this vicinity.

It has been asserted, without any evidence whatever, that the grant to Maxent, Laclede & Company to trade with the Indians on the upper Missouri also vested in this firm, or Laclede as its representative, discretionary powers of government, and hence the authority to



CHOUTEAU'S POND AND DAM

grant allotments of land. But it is certain that the claim that Laclede could grant land or make allotments of land, or was clothed with even the semblance of authority as governor or commandant in the new village, is erroneous. No doubt Laclede assigned to settlers who came with him, or settled at his post, pieces of ground, and may be these assignments were accepted by the settlers and his authority thus recognized, but this rather by reason of his own no doubt forceful and dominant character than by reason of any legal warrant of the power he thus exercised. The firm Maxent, Laclede & Company received no grant of land in upper Louisiana from the French government, nor was Laclede authorized to lay out a town or village.³⁷ Whatever

³⁷ Says Governor Miro to Colonel Morgan who laid out New Madrid, in a letter dated May 23, 1789, "I also infinitely regret that * * * you have

steps he took in that direction were forced upon him by circumstances. The change of government in the territory east of the river, the consequent influx of immigrants from that side to his trading post, necessitated action. That under such circumstances he did act clearly demonstrates that he was a man of no ordinary enterprise and ability. But no title to any land whatever in St. Louis was ever based on any right or grant made by Laclede. The right even to the land claimed by Maxent, Laclede & Company, in the new village was founded on a concession made by St. Ange, the last French officer holding legal authority in the country west of the Mississippi.

In order to magnify the importance of this early period in the history of Laclede's trading post, it has been deemed necessary to say that when Captain St. Ange arrived with his officers and soldiers he was induced to assume governmental functions, so as to maintain order and to make grants of land; that St. Ange was apparently unwilling to assume the whole responsibility of granting land, and hence associated with himself Joseph Lefebvre; that he was placed in authority by the "sound judgment of the people," and that "necessity" at once assigned him to the place, and that "by their unanimous desire, he was vested with the authority of Commandant-General, with full authority to grant lands, and to do all other acts consistent with that office as though he held it by royal authority." By a stretch of the imagination, it has even been said that "the people unanimously vested in St. Ange the powers of the civil government until the arrival of his legally appointed successor."³⁸ But all this is strangely out of accord with the habits and practices of "the people" living in the French and Spanish colonies, and the ideas that had been implanted among the population. The spirit manifested in such proceedings as detailed belongs to another age and another people.

As a matter of fact, St. Ange was in authority all the time and in legal control of affairs, because before he arrived at the village, and drawn the plan of a city and given it a name (which is the exercise of a power appertaining to the sovereign alone) and what is worse, that you have called it 'Our City.'" (2 Gayarre's History of Louisiana, p. 265.)

³⁸ And how far fetched the conclusion stated in Scharff: "It is a singular incident in the history of St. Louis that its first government, though instituted in a period of imperialism, was distinctively republican in character. The authority under which de Bellerive ruled was conferred by popular action. In its methods of creation this self-constituted government was purely democratic." (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 75, et seq.) Also see Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 14, where we find a similar poetic account of how authority was conferred on St. Ange by the people of St. Louis, with the approbation of Aubry, because St. Ange was "too honorable an officer to administer an authority without the approbation of his superiors."

while commandant at Fort de Chartres, he held jurisdiction not only over the territory on the east, but also on the west bank of the Mississippi, practically as far as the dominions of France extended—to the Rocky mountains and the Pacific. That Laclede fully understood this is shown by the fact that he threatened his unwelcome visitors, the Indians, to call in the troops from the fort to induce them to depart; also, that he called on these officers to seize goods belonging to Datchurut and Viviat.³⁹ So that when St. Ange surrendered to Captain Stirling, Fort de Chartres and the territory ceded to England, he retired with his troop of soldiers and officers,⁴⁰ and military stores to territory still under his jurisdiction, although ceded to Spain, and in which he was the only embodiment of legal authority until the arrival of the authorities of the new sovereign.⁴¹ His authority on the

³⁹ Merchants in Ste. Genevieve before the founding of St. Louis. (28 Draper's Collection, [Clark MSS] p. 90.)

⁴⁰ The names of his officers and men were: Pierre François de Volsay, first lieutenant and brevet captain already named, and Picote de Belestre, lieutenant, died in St. Louis in 1780, married Joachi de Villiers, grand-daughter of Madame St. Ange. In 1666, a Picote de Belestre, together with Charles LeMoyné were at the head of the Montreal militia, and this Picote undoubtedly was the ancestor of our lieutenant de Belestre; François de Bergueville, lieutenant; Joseph Brunot Lefebvre Des Bruisseau, a cadet lieutenant, son of Joseph Lefebvre d'Inglebert Des Bruisseau, afterwards store-keeper at the Fort "El Principe de Asturias" and an absconding defaulter; Pierre Montardy and Phillibert Gagnon, sergeants in 1766; Nicholas Antoine Vincent, sergeant in 1767. A Pierre Vincent in 1671 settled at Port Royal in Arcadia, and a Jean Vincent was one of the One Hundred Associates of New France; Jean de Lage, corporal in 1767. The little squad of soldiers were D'Amours de Louviers, likely a descendant of Mathieu D'Amours Sieur de Choufours et de la Morandiere et de Louviers, a distinguished name in the annals of Canada, (7 *Sulte Canadiens Francais*, p. 42) and a numerous family; Nicholas Royer, dit Sansquartier; a Guillaume Agnet was also nicknamed Sansquartier in Detroit in 1709; Michel Rollette, dit Laderoute; Claude Tinon; Jean Comparios, dit La-Pierre; Lambert Bonvarlet; Blondin Pion; Ayot; St. Marie; Beauvais; Des Jardins; Lamotte; Langlois and Marechal, as near as Mr. Billon has been able to ascertain, and all became prominent residents of the little village. (Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, p. 69.) Some of these names are evidently nicknames, i. e., Bonvarlet, Blondin, Pion and Ayot.

⁴¹ In the case of *Wright's Admr. v. Thomas*, 4 Mo. 345, Judge McGirk also seems to think that the French at St. Louis, at this time, had no legal government at all, overlooking the fact that certainly before the actual surrender of Fort de Chartres the country remained under the French Government, and was governed by the commandant of that fort, as it always had been before the treaty of 1762. The simple fact that afterward the fort and the country east of the Mississippi was surrendered to the English did not divest the commandant of his authority in the remaining territory, although this too had been ceded to Spain. By removing to the part of the territory not ceded to England, he remained in authority there until Spain assumed jurisdiction. The learned judge seemed to think that St. Ange could not bring any authority to St. Louis with him, but as a matter of fact he was in authority all the time on both banks of the river, until actually superseded by the new government. It is laid down in Kent that the national character of a ceded country continues as it is until the country

west side of the river remained in full force and did not require action on the part of "the people," as has been imagined. He was not elected "unanimously," and his popularity or unpopularity in the village did not affect his authority. It is to be presumed that St. Ange understood this. In all his official proceedings, after removing the seat of his government to the new town, he substantially followed the procedure followed at Fort de Chartres, having associated with himself a council, probably the same council he had at Fort de Chartres, a body sometimes called "superior council of the province of Illinois," and which originally embraced within its jurisdictional limits the territory on both sides of the Mississippi. Accordingly, we find that Joseph Lefebvre Des Bruisseau, who had exercised the functions of a civil judge at Fort de Chartres, continued to exercise these functions when he came to St. Louis, until he died in 1767.⁴² He was succeeded after his death by Joseph Labusciere,⁴³ who

is actually transferred, and that full sovereignty cannot be held to pass until actual delivery of the country. (1 Kent's Commentaries, p. 177.) Until actual delivery of the country to Spain therefore St. Ange was not only *de facto* but also *de jure* in authority.

⁴² Full name Joseph Lefebvre d'Inglebert Des Bruisseau, a native of France, came to New Orleans in 1743, and to Fort de Chartres in 1744, having obtained from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Louisiana, the grant of an exclusive right to trade with the Indians on the Missouri. After his trade privilege was given to others he served as judge of civil cases at Fort de Chartres for a number of years, and came to St. Louis with St. Ange. Married in France Marie Ursule Diacre. Pierre François des Bruisseau, became lieutenant in the French service, married Margaret de Laferne, daughter of Pierre Ignace Bardet de Laferne, surgeon-major in the King's service at Fort de Chartres, and who married Marie Ann Barrois. Pierre François des Bruisseau died in New Orleans in 1770, leaving no children, his widow married Joseph Segond, merchant, and died in 1844, leaving a numerous posterity. (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 73, note.) Her elder sister, Marie Anna, married Dr. Auguste Conde, a surgeon, and who removed to St. Louis in 1766. The marriage contract between Pierre and Margaret was filed in St. Louis in 1768. When the elder Des Bruisseau died, in 1767, an inventory was taken, from which it appears that among his assets were fourteen grenadier's guns, sixteen half axes, twenty-seven tomahawks, a block of copper to press paper, one thousand pounds of bar lead, six hundred and sixteen dog-head knives, thirteen and one half dozen butcher-knives, seventy-four blankets, one hundred and twenty-seven small bells, fifteen hundred gun flints, eleven cannon-balls, four hundred and thirty-seven gun screws, five hundred and ninety-seven fire steels, three hundred and twenty-two large springs, three hundred and forty-nine gun-pan covers, two hundred and fifty-nine gun-cocks, three hundred and nine gun-nuts, etc. (1 Billon's Annals, p. 49.) Des Bruisseau it should be remembered from 1744 to 1749 under French government, had the exclusive trade on the Missouri, and was under contract to build a fort on that river. This may account for much of these military stores.

⁴³ Joseph Labusciere was a notary and the King's procureur, or attorney, an important personage always, under the French law, and of course most important in the eyes of the early French settlers of the Mississippi valley. His wife was a lady of some education. Left three sons, Joseph, Junior,

had been royal attorney and notary. One Pierre Peri dit St. Pierre at that time was public scrivener.

From the instructions of Ulloa, as well as original complaints preserved in the archives at St. Louis, it also appears that St. Ange during the presence of Rui was not superseded; ⁴⁴ on the contrary, when dissensions arose among the Spaniards at the fort on the Missouri he even took cognizance of complaints against and acted for the Spanish officers. Thus Labuscieri in a judicial paper, dated August, 1768, states that he is acting "as judge and deputy of the Commander of Louisiana and proxy of the King's Attorney General of Illinois," and as such entertained a complaint of the Spanish officer "Joseph Barelas," (may be Varelas) cadet engineer of the Garrison of "Fort Charles" against another Spanish officer "Don Fernando de Gomez, Lieutenant Commandant of the Fort."

Ulloa, in the instruction he gave Captain Rui, seemed primarily to contemplate the formation of a new settlement north of the Missouri, of which Rui was to be chief, not interfering with the existing settlement of "the Illinois" south of the Missouri. From the fact that Rui did not interfere in the litigation brought before St. Ange against his soldiers and officers, it may be supposed, also, that he construed his instructions to mean that he had no authority to question or interfere with the jurisdiction of St. Ange. Again, in 1769, Ulloa ordered the fort "El Principe de Asturias" to be evacuated and delivered to Captain St. Ange. From all this it is clearly manifest that he was fully recognized as the supreme civil and military commandant by the Spanish authorities of the Illinois country west of the Mississippi for some time after the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Louis and Francois. All the early documents in the archives, except the first fifteen written by Lefebvre, are in the handwriting of Labuscieri. Was a resident of St. Louis for twenty-five years, connected officially with the government at first, afterwards legal adviser and attorney of the people, and prepared their legal papers; a person of consequence, useful and valuable to the village. During the time that St. Ange administered the government, he was custodian of the archives; countersigned land grants, and when Governor Piernas appeared to take possession of the country, duly delivered the archives. Between April 20, 1766, and May 20, 1770, prepared, according to Billon, one hundred and forty-four papers of various kinds, which were then transferred. (Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 72, et seq., note 2.) In the case of Hill et al., vs. Wright, 3 Mo. Rep., p. 136, no doubt on full investigation it is admitted that Labuscieri in 1782 or 1783 moved from St. Louis to Cahokia, Illinois, and that he died there April 29, 1792. His notarial record he carried across the river, and it is now in Belleville, Illinois, according to Alvord in his "Old Kaskaskia Records," An Address, p. 42. Also see note 15, page 340, vol. 1.

⁴⁴ Pittman says, that he was "forbid to interfere with the civil government of their settlements in the Illinois country, where Mons. De Saint Ange continues to command." (Pittman's Mississippi Settlements, p. 16.)

The oldest document recorded in the archives of St. Louis relates to a sale of a lot made by Jacques Denis, a joiner, to Antoine Hubert, a trader, and is dated January 21, 1766, apparently for a lot assigned to Denis by Laclede, because it was not until in April following grants of land were made by St. Ange, countersigned by Lefebvre, and after his death by Labusciere. These grants of St. Ange were all duly recorded in the *Livre Terrien*, or Land Book, which was commenced as soon as he began to make grants of lots and lands. The first grant of St. Ange was made to Joseph Labusciere, the notary, of a lot in St. Louis, fronting three hundred feet on Rue Royal (now Main street) by one hundred and fifty feet in depth to the river. The system of land grants pursued by St. Ange was very simple. The concession merely stated the name of the applicant, the date and description of the property ceded, and concluded "under the condition of settling it within one year and a day, and that the same shall remain liable to the public charges," duly signed "St. Ange," and by "Labusciere." St. Ange granted eighty-one lots⁴⁵ from April 27,

⁴⁵ These grantees not already mentioned, and other early settlers comprise the following list: In 1765, Jean Ortes or Jean Baptiste Ortes, a carpenter, and Jean Cambas, who seem to have had a grant in partnership; Gilles Cernin or Chemin; Constantine Philippe De Quirigoust, died in 1769 or 1770; Jacques Chauvin, an officer in the French service, from Fort de Chartres, lived in St. Louis about thirty-five years, when he received a large concession from DeLasus on the Missouri, opposite St. Charles, and died there in 1826, aged eighty-three years, was probably a son of Joseph Chauvin, dit Charleville, of Kaskaskia, and who died there in about 1783-84, according to Billon. These Chauvins are perhaps related to the Chauvins, dit Lafreniere, mentioned by Gayarre (*History of Louisiana, French Domination*, p. 187) and so distinguished in the annals of lower Louisiana, came into the Mississippi valley with Bienville. The wife of Gilles Chauvin of Detroit was his cousin, and he may be the ancestor of Jacques, as these Chauvins all seem related. Gervais raised tobacco on part of his lot; Louis Reed, his son Laurent testifies, was born in St. Louis about 1763, evidently meaning 1764-65, a wooden block house or bastion was on Louis Reed's lot, so testified François Duchouquette who lived here at this time; Louis Bouré, dit Grand Loui, rope maker, raised peaches and plums on his lot prior to 1800; Jacob La Sabloniere, in 1793 went to Prairie du Rocher, his daughter married Titus LeBerge, a Jacques Brunel La Sabloniere also lived in St. Louis; Guillaume Hebert, dit Lecompte, had a stone quarry in St. Louis in 1799, and Chouteau testified he got stone from him in that year, paying him five sous per load, lived also at St. Ferdinand; Jacques Egliz, on River des Pères; Antoine Flondrain (or Flandrin), died in 1822; Susan Jeannette, a colored woman. In 1766, Sieur Devin; Joseph Dubé; Louis Marcheteau, dit DesNoyers, married Veronica Panisse; Jean Marie Thoulouze; Jean Prevot (or Prevost); a Nicolas Proveau (or Proveaux) was an "habitan de Concession les des Mines" in 1746 — perhaps the same family. Louis Chauvet Dubreuil, a merchant, and in 1790 at St. Ferdinand; in 1799 a Louis Dubreuil had a grant on Cuivre in St. Charles district; Antoine Hebert, dit Lecompte, a merchant; Thomas Blondeau (also spelled Blondain); Jacques Lacroix, in 1791 in the New Madrid district; Jean Baptiste Jacquemin; Jean Baptiste Butaud, dit Brindamour; François La Chapelle; Alexis Marie; Louis Merlet Desloriers, a merchant; Philibert Gagnon, dit Laurent, soldier, also find

1766, to February 7, 1770, when Don Pedro Piernas, "a captain of infantry," the first Spanish lieutenant-governor, assumed the govern-

a Laurent Lerouge (or Rouge), dit Gagnon, in St. Louis; and may be the same person; Pierre Lacroix, married Helen l'Arche in 1767; Nicolas Hebert, dit Lecompte; Jacques Noise, dit Labbe (or L'Abbe), and was known as Pierre Noise; Ignace Herbert; Joseph Marcheteau, dit DesNoyers; Alexis Loise; Jean B. Hamelin; François Larche or L'Arche, a Paul L'Arche, "Maitre Cordonnier" at "Fort Nouvelle de Chartres de l'Illinois" in parish St. Anne, in 1748 — no doubt related to him; Jean B. Bidet, dit Langoumois; Michael Audilier; Barthèlemi Blondeau; Pierre Rougeau Berger, married Theresa Hebert; François Laville, dit St. Germain; Louis Desfonds; Louis Robert, or Robar, at Glaize à Bequette in 1785; Charles Parent; Ignace Laroche; Louis Laroche, from Kaskaskia, afterwards in 1797 lived at St. Ferdinand; Isadore Peltier, slave owner, also at Ste. Genevieve; Charles Peltier, also lived at St. Ferdinand; Antoine Peltier, dit Morin, from Kaskaskia, owned four slaves, and in 1796 on the Mississippi and at Petite Gingras; in 1767, Joseph Pouillot, a trader; Louis Lambert, dit Lafleur, was afterward agent for Joseph Robidoux, and cultivated land for him at St. Ferdinand in 1794, but a Jean Louis Lambert, dit Lafleur, was a prominent merchant in Ste. Genevieve in 1766, died 1771; Pierre Fouché, merchant; Claude Tinon, in 1771 was a cultivator of the common-field of Carondelet; Antoine Donnay St. Vincent, may be the Antonio Venzan — a corporal in the 1st militia company in 1780; Nicolas Barsaloux, married Madeleine Leberge; François Moreau, married Catherine Marechal this year, and Joseph Gamache married Charlotte Louviere; Jean B. Langevin; Michel Pichet; Jean B. Vien, dit Noel, a billiard-table keeper, which he leased for three years to Louis Vigo in 1770, Vien was a son-in-law of Joseph Vachard; Joseph Franchville; Bareras or Barel, was the first bankrupt trader who absconded, his effects being seized. In this year we note that Laclede made a contract with one John Hamilton, no doubt an Englishman, and one of the first west of the Mississippi. Joseph Picote de Belestre possibly Picote de Belestre; Joseph Leroy; Joseph Dubord; Placy, Duplacy or Placet, likely Jean Baptiste who also lived at Ste. Genevieve, a Kaskaskia family, where we find Dupay, Placie and others; Pierre Dagobert, a merchant in Ste. Genevieve, and interested in lead mining there, but seems also to have been engaged in business in St. Louis; François Cailloux, dit Cayon, testifies he was born in 1766 and came to St. Louis in 1767, in 1800 he had a grant on 1,600 arpens on the river Matis; Eustache and Louis Cailloux (or Caillou) brothers, and Pedro Caillou, all may be of same family, and related to Cailloux (or Calliot), dit Lachance, of Ste. Genevieve district; Pierre Cailloux moved from Kaskaskia to St. Louis about 1780. In 1768, Louis Beor (or Bour or Bourè) may be "Grand Loui;" Guillaume Bizet (Bissette) also at Cul de Sac of Big Prairie, his widow married Jean Baptiste Provenchère; François Thibault, a carpenter, and Charles Thibault, a blacksmith; Jean Perin, dit Boucher; Ignatius Laroche; Charles Bizet or Bissette, murdered by the Indians in 1772; J. B. Petit, in 1795, lived at St. Charles; Joseph Alvarez Hortiz, a Spaniard, resident of Louisiana after the country was ceded to France by Spain, employed in various civil and military matters, but declined, according to Auguste Chouteau, rank in army, was never paid for his services, but solicited and accepted a grant of land in 1800 as compensation; Christoval de Lisa, in service of Spain, came to the country with Eugene Alvarez in 1768, and died in the service of Spain, his sons, Joachim and Manuel were born in Spanish-America, but it is also claimed that Manuel was born in New Orleans in 1770; François Moreau, a resident of St. Louis in this year, but in 1796 received a grant near St. Ferdinand, also claimed a grant by assignment of François Poillivre on the forks of the Maramec in Ste. Genevieve district, but in 1797 settled on river Establishment, built a house, "made a park," and raised a crop, (2 P. L., p. 600), was also on the Mississippi near Ste. Genevieve, and claimed the four arpens square that had been granted to François Azor, dit Breton, for discovering Mine à Breton; Jean Baptiste Dechamps lived

ment of the Illinois country.⁴⁶ It was thus that St. Ange became the legal founder of St. Louis.⁴⁷ After receiving grants from St. Ange, it in St. Louis in 1768, but in 1780 was on river aux Cardes, and on account of Indians compelled to abandon same, Toussaint Dechamps, dit Hunot, cultivated this property for one year, but he, too, was compelled to abandon it. In 1798 Jean Baptiste was at Portage des Sioux, the first house built there being on his lot, also owned property at St. Charles prior to 1803; Joseph Morin or Marin, carpenter, in 1795 lived on Prairie Boeuf Blanc and Prairie Des Noyers both now within the limits and in center of St. Louis; Bonaventure Collel, a native of Barcelona, merchant of St. Louis, in 1793 at St. Ferdinand, his property sold at the church door by order of the Governor, in 1794 was in New Madrid, married Constance Conde, but it was discovered that he had a living wife in Spain and he absconded and in 1802 one François Collel, also sells at New Madrid the property of one Bonaventure Collel—may be same person; François M. Benoit (Benoist). We also find in this year in the early records, the names of Beaujeu (may be same as Bogy); Louis Bowpart or Poupast; Foncalt, who either lived in St. Louis or made that place headquarters when they came in from the Indian villages; M. Dutillet, a merchant; Antoine Berard, a native of Bordeaux, France, came to New Orleans in 1768 and shortly afterwards to St. Louis, where he engaged in trade, a man of education, died in October, 1776, thirty-six years of age; Dominique Bargas, a Spaniard, bought the store and house where he did business and also died there in 1779, aged thirty-eight years, of apoplexy, superinduced by excessive heat, so said Dr. Bernard Gibbins; Gille Henrion, made a sale to Laclede in this year. In 1769, Louis Dufresne; Joseph Bouchard or Boucher; Laurent Trudeau; Joseph Langlois, in 1795 was near St. Charles; François Durcy; Jean Baptiste Chauvin; Kierq Marcheteau Des Noyers; Jean Paille; Antoine St. François; Veuve Hebert, from Kaskaskia; Antoine Roussel, dit Sans Souci; Nicolas Choret; Amour LaVienne; Nicholas T. (François) Dion, married Theresa Hervieux, daughter no doubt of the royal armorer, in this year; Philibert Gaignon to Marie Newby, evidently an English-woman; Jean Baptiste Savoie (Savoie), dit Cadien married Louise Ladurantaie—also find a person of same name at St. Charles. Pierre Durcy, perhaps a brother of François, engages his services to Louis Butand; Pierre Roy; Jean Marie Papin; Jean B. Trudeau; Jean St. Andre; Nicolas St. Andre; Joseph Chartrand; Antoine DeGagne; Louis La Traverse; François Henrion, who died in 1781; Louis Barada, dit Breda, Senior, miller and butcher, in 1797 moved to St. Charles owned property on Prairie Des Noyers; Antoine Barada, Junior, in 1796 married Elizabeth Tesson.

⁴⁶ Don Pedro Joseph Piernas was a Spaniard by birth, came to New Orleans with Ulloa, a captain in the Spanish service, married Felicite Robineau de Portneuf, at New Orleans, who was the sole heiress of Louis Nicolas Robineau de Portneuf and also heiress of half of the estate of Madame Marguerite Philippe D'Anceau de Muid, widow of Rene Robineau, Lord of Portneuf. She was born at Fort de Chartres Sept. 25th, 1745. Piernas in 1785 was colonel of the Louisiana Regiment at New Orleans, succeeding Governor Estevan Miro. Ulloa in a letter to Marquis de Grimaldi says that he was very popular with the troops under him on account "of his methods, joviality, and good treatment" they received from him; and that at Natchez he succeeded with the fort and settlement although he had "less than one half the people that were in Misuri." Piernas held command in New Orleans while Galvez was absent on his expedition to conquer the British possessions on the Mississippi. He was in the Spanish service 30 years, and his father before him served 48 years

⁴⁷ Says Martin, "St. Ange, the French commandant there (at Fort de Chartres) crossed the Mississippi with a number of his countrymen, who were desirous to follow the white flag, and laid the foundation of the town of St. Louis." (Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 350.) In this "Histoire de la Louisiane" Victor De Bouchel says, "Pendant que Saint Ange quittait a fort de Chartres de l'Illinois pour aller fonder la ville de Saint Louis, sur les rives Mississippi," page 60.

is also to be noted that some of the settlers erected more substantial buildings. But Jean B Martigny, one of the most substantial and wealthy immigrants, erected, in 1766, a stone building, which was afterward long occupied as a residence of the lieutenant-governor, and this house was the "Government House" where the transfer of Upper Louisiana was made.⁴⁸

The grants made by St. Ange were never questioned by the Spanish authorities, although it is said that some apprehension as to the legal status of those grants existed at the time.⁴⁹ The description of the various lots granted clearly shows that no survey or plat of the town was made prior to 1770. Nor was a survey of town lots required afterward under the Spanish government, when the same were granted, as in the case of grants of land.⁵⁰ Thus the lot granted to Laclede by St. Ange, when he came to St. Louis, and after Laclede and others had built houses, is described: "Three hundred feet square, the square reserved for the church on one side, on one side a cross street from Marcereau and Hubert, the other from Taillon." Again, a few days after, he granted "one hundred and twenty feet by one hundred and fifty front on Royal street, in the rear Roger Taillon, on one side lot of Joseph Taillon, on the other side a cross street separating it from Veuve Marechal." Pierre François de Volsay is granted "two hundred and forty by three hundred, one side a cross street from the lot of Blondeau and Lamy, on the north another cross street." Jacque Denis, a carpenter (joiner), is granted one hundred and twenty by one hundred and fifty, described: "opposite the church, west of Barn Hill, on one side Hubert, on the other a cross street from Beausoliel." Laville, the first tailor in St. Louis, received a lot "near the Barn Hill, one side Chauvin, the other a cross street from Montardy." Pierre Roy's lot is thus designated: "opposite Comparios dit Gascon, one end Sarpy under Blondeau, the other end a cross street from Hunaud's lot." Not only is it evident from these descriptions that no survey of the lots was made, but it is

⁴⁸ When Louisiana was ceded to the United States, St. Louis had thirty-three stone dwellings, one hundred and thirty-one built out of posts and logs, and seven out of posts and stones. The French log houses were built by posts set in the ground, and these were bound together by timber, and the interstices filled with stone and mortar.

⁴⁹ "But Governor Piernas allayed their apprehensions by a public confirmation of all the land titles which St. Ange had granted." (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 203.) In the most public manner confirmed all the grants that had been made by his predecessor St. Ange de Bellerive. (Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 20.)

⁵⁰ See Clark vs. Brazeau, 1 Mo. Rep., p. 294.

also apparent that during the administration of St. Ange, only one street was known by a distinct name, viz., "Rue Royal," now Main street. For convenience cross streets or alleys existed, but none of these were officially designated at first by any name. Naturally, the few streets of the town in course of several years received designations, based on some local circumstance. Thus the street (now Market) out to the path leading to the Bonhomme settlement, became known as "Rue Bonhomme," the street (Walnut) leading to the tower on the hill, "Rue de la Tour," the street (Second) on which the church stood was called "Rue de l'Eglise," and the street farthest back (Third) on which the barns were located was the "Rue des Granges," or Barn street. This locality was then also described as "the hill of the barns in the rear of the village."

The first survey of the lots of the town granted by St. Ange was made by M. Martin Duralde, who was appointed surveyor by Piernas. After completing this work, he filed his report and plat May 20, 1772.⁵¹ It is also highly probable that he made a plat of the village showing unoccupied lots, streets and alleys, although no such plat made by him has been preserved. Pierre Chouteau says that he studied surveying under Duralde, who surveyed not only the village, but a large number of the prairie common-fields, near the village, into what may be called farm lots.

The agricultural operations of the first settlers of St. Louis were carried on in a common-field, and in this work all the settlers were interested, because after the erection of their new homes the production of breadstuffs was a matter of prime importance. The first common-field of the old village of St. Louis, according to the statement of Auguste Chouteau, extended from near Market street, north to the Big Mound, and from what is now Broadway as far west as Jefferson avenue. Like the common-fields elsewhere, the common-field of the settlers of St. Louis comprised a quantity of land large enough to satisfy the wants of the inhabitants of the adjacent village, and in the common-fields each settler or habitan, at that time by petition, could

⁵¹ 1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 142. It is said in Scharff's History of St. Louis, page 203, "To define the bounds of real property and avoid litigation, the settlers solicited an official survey of land grants. The Governor promptly complied with the request of the petitioners and appointed Martin M. Duralde, a Frenchman, to the surveyorship which he created. The honors bestowed on their countryman, and the practical benefits of the government, fully reconciled the French settlers to their new allegiance." How like a newspaper report of the present day! In Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 20, it is said, "As if to add satisfaction to security, he appointed Martin Duralde, a Frenchman, surveyor, to make and define their boundaries."

secure a lot. These lots so granted were considered the individual property of the cultivators, and were one arpen in front by forty in depth. As soon as the settlement was founded, the settlers began to enclose the common-field described, and for a long time the east fence of this common-field was the west boundary of the village. But in addition, south and southwest of the village, the country through which La Petite Rivière, or Mill creek, ran, and where numerous springs fed this branch, a tract of land was also enclosed by the settlers for common pasturage, and in this enclosure the inhabitants kept part of their cattle and stock for safety and convenience.⁵² This enclosure was known as the "Prairie," but after the American occupation became known as the "Common" or "Commons," and under decree of Cruzat embraced 4293 arpens. These "commons" were held to be common property or land of the inhabitants of St. Louis, and as such were confirmed to St. Louis afterward.⁵³ They were first fenced in 1764. The "commons" were originally smaller, but grew in size as the town increased in population. All the people of the village cut wood on these "commons." When, in 1792, Sylvestre Labadie secured a grant to a part of this tract of land, the people remonstrated and he was prohibited by the lieutenant-governor to cultivate the same.⁵⁴

From the St. Louis archives it appears that the first mortgage made and recorded in St. Louis was dated September 29, 1766, and executed by Pierre Rougeau Berger to François Boyer, both merchants, engaged in the fur trade. The mortgage fails to specify any particular property mortgaged, but pledges the goods of the mortgagor as security for the payment of a certain specified number of deerskins at a certain time, no value being mentioned. Several years afterward, however, the mortgagee acknowledges by his attorney that payment has been made, and this acknowledgment is attested by the notary and

⁵² This district is now covered with buildings and railroad tracks, and following the course of this valley westward it presents far from a lovely picture. Railroad cars of every kind, locomotives puffing up clouds of smoke, old shanties, dilapidated houses, black and dirty, great factories smoke begrimed, and the big shed of the Union Station dominate the landscape.

⁵³ The "Commons" were by act of Congress confirmed to St. Louis in 1812, and in 1835 the legislature of Missouri authorized the city of St. Louis to sell the property, the proceeds of the sale to be used for school purposes. The land was sold and brought \$425,000, at public sale; but the purchasers in many instances failed to take the property. In 1843, 3,615 arpens of the land were resold, and brought nearly \$50 per acre, or about \$163,680. At the time the lowest price fixed by the city was \$21.75 per acre. Some 591 acres, not sold in 1860, were valued at \$581,391. The total value of the property originally embraced in the "St. Louis Commons" can not be far short of \$100,000,000 now, or even more.

⁵⁴ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 671.

recorded. Among these archives are also found the judgment of the council, and other documents relating to the sale of the effects and salt works of Mr. Datchurut of Ste. Genevieve, showing that after the transfer of Fort de Chartres all such important matters of conveyance pertaining to the country on the west bank of the river were taken cognizance of by St. Ange at St. Louis. That St. Ange exercised great powers is shown by one document recording a sentence to death of one Michael Degoust,⁵⁵ as well as by an ordinance preserved in these archives which he seems to have promulgated in 1768 against the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians. But generally the documents deposited in the archives relate to sales of lots, sales made under executions or to bonds and obligations assumed, bargains and trades and engagements for services.

That the marriage relation was entered into with due circum-spection in St. Louis in those early days is evidenced by the fact that from 1766 to 1770 not less than sixteen marriage contracts were made and duly recorded by the notary in the new village. The first marriage was celebrated on April 20, 1766, and the high contracting parties were Toussaint Hunaud, from Canada, a hunter and trapper, and Marie Beaugeneau.⁵⁶ The first child born in St. Louis was John B. Guion, September, 1765, son of Amable Guion, Senior, a stone mason by trade,⁵⁷ and Margaret Blondeau. And the first death of which we have a record is that of Jean B. Olivere, buried January 7, 1771, Rene Kiercereau officiating.⁵⁸ The first graveyard was the church-yard on Second street. A graveyard seems also to have been located near or on the present courthouse lot, and which was unconse-crated ground and where Protestants and Indians were buried. It was in this graveyard that it is supposed that St. Ange had Pontiac interred.

Dr. Auguste Andre Conde, who settled in the village in 1766, and died November, 1776, was the first physician of St. Louis,⁵⁹

⁵⁵ See St. Louis Archives, cited in Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 74.

⁵⁶ Toussaint was a son of Louis Hunaud of Ste. Genevieve. Antoine and Louis Hunaud, junior, were his brothers; the widow, Charlotte Hyacinthe, of Louis Hunaud, in 1776 married Louis Ride, senior. (1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 419.)

⁵⁷ This on authority of Judge Wilson Primm, related to the Guion family. The family came from Kaskaskia. Amable Guion, senior, had a grant on Little Prairie near St. Louis, and was killed by the Indians in 1780. Amable Guion, junior, owned property at Carondelet, and died there September 18, 1813, aged fifty years.

⁵⁸ But it is quite certain that between the first settlement of St. Louis and January, 1771, deaths occurred among the residents, although not recorded.

⁵⁹ Dr. Conde was a native of Aunis, France, surgeon in the French service at

and, according to his books, nearly every family in the town was in debt to him for professional services, among the list of debtors being St. Ange de Bellerive, who died December 26, 1774. Dr. Jean B. Valteau, who came up the river with Captain Rui in 1768, secured a concession of a lot from St. Ange, and made a contract with Peter Tousignan, one of the early carpenters and builders of the town, to build a house of posts eighteen feet long by fourteen feet wide, shingled roof, stone chimney, partitioned in the center, door in partition and door on the outside, two windows and shutters, well floored and sealed with well jointed cottonwood plank, and the pay for this work to be "sixty silver dollars," Dr. Valteau to furnish the iron and nails. When it is remembered that this work was all done by hand, even the plank sawed out of the logs by hand, no machine work and steam to help, "sixty silver dollars" must seem an extraordinary low price to us in our day. Dr. Valteau did not live long in St. Louis, but died on the 24th of November following. His will is dated the 23rd of November, and in it Duralde is named as executor, and it is witnessed by St. Ange, Labusciere and Joseph Papin, then a trader in St. Louis. Duralde sold the house and lot in December, 1768 for 251 livres (\$50), but his personal effects, it appears, were sold in 1771, after the arrival of Piernas "in the village of St. Louis, in the Spanish part of the Illinois."⁶⁰ Shortly after the death of Dr. Valteau, in 1771, we find that "Joseph Connand, surgeon," purchased a stone house from Papin dit Lachance, and infer from this that he was a practicing physician in St. Louis at that time.⁶¹ Dr. Antoine Reynal arrived in St. Louis about 1780, and began to practice his profession, remaining until 1799, when he removed to St. Charles, where he Fort de Chartres where he married Marie Anna Bardet de la Ferne, July 16, 1763, died November 28, 1776; his widow married Gaspard Roubieu, dit European, removed to St. Charles with him, and they both died there.

⁶⁰ Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 60. 1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 185.

⁶¹ This Connand lived in this house for seven years (Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 161). His name occurs several times during that time. Seems to have moved away. In 1781 a Dr. Jacques François Connand was "as master of surgery received in the jurisdiction of Illinois," and likely the same person. (53 Draper's Collection, Clark MSS. No. 78.) A Joseph Connand in 1784, and whose signature, says Draper, looks like that of Dr. Connand, meaning Jacques François, was in Havanna on the island of Cuba in that year, and afterwards trader from the Illinois to New Orleans down the Mississippi. A Joseph Connand seems to have been an early settler on Burginon river near Natchitoches, in lower Louisiana, and may be the Dr. Joseph Connand of St. Louis. Perhaps his name was Joseph Jacques François Connand, and he may have used sometimes the first and sometimes his other Christian names.

died in 1820. Contemporary with Dr. Reynal as a physician, we also find Dr. Claudio Mercier, who came up to St. Louis from New Orleans in 1784. Dr. Mercier was a native of Lavasiere, Dauphiny, France, where he was born in 1726, and died in St. Louis in January, 1787. Dr. Bernard Gibkins, a native of Germany, who afterward



DR. ANTOINE SAUGRAIN

lived in Ste. Genevieve where he died in 1784, during the years 1779 and 1780 was also a resident physician of St. Louis. The most eminent of the early physicians was Dr. Antoine Saugrain,⁶² who came to St. Louis in 1800. He was a native of Paris, France, and removed to the United States in 1787. Dr. Saugrain was a man of great scientific attainment and a personal friend of Benjamin Franklin, at whose instance he emigrated to the United States. He first resided at Gallipolis, but moved to upper Louisiana, no doubt in-

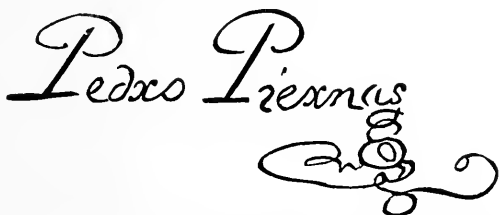
duced by the liberal land policy of the Spaniards. As to the general health of the country, Trudeau, in 1791, wrote that the "mortality has been heavy, and came only from colds in the chests," the only "dangerous illness" of the country; that in general work-people have been victims "because of the badly founded preconceptions of some against bleeding, and the lack of a blood-letter for others."

The first grist-mill impelled by horse or ox power, was built in St. Louis in 1766 by Joseph Taillon usually pronounced Tayon. To secure water-power he first dammed the *Petite Rivière* with a small dam. Before this mill was built the settlers used mortars and hand-mills to make meal and flour. Taillon, in 1767, sold out to

⁶² Dr. Saugrain was born in 1763, he married Genevieve Rosalie Michau, also born in Paris July 23, 1776, in Kanawha county, Virginia, opposite Gallipolis, March 20, 1793. He first came to the United States with M. Piquet, a botanist, and M. Raquet, in 1787; he then prepared to establish himself in Kentucky. Jefferson recommended him as well as Mr. Piquet warmly to General George Rogers Clark in a letter. (16 Draper's Notes, Trip 1860.) In the same year he went to Pittsburg, from Philadelphia, and on a flat boat descended the Ohio, where near the Falls of the Ohio the boat was attacked by the Indians. M. Piquet was wounded and drowned in the river, and M. Raquet killed and scalped by the Indians. Saugrain was captured, but in the night escaped with a man by the name of Pierce. After this experience Dr. Saugrain returned to France, but in 1790 returned and became one of the founders of Gallipolis, and in 1799 moved to Portage des Sioux between Missouri and Mississippi, and from there to St. Louis in 1800, where he received a large grant of land from De-Lassus; was also at Carondelet. He died May 19, 1820, his wife survived him forty years and died at the age of eighty-four, July 13, 1860.

Laclede, who raised the mill dam to increase the water-power and equipped the mill with two pair of mill-stones. After Laclede's death Auguste Chouteau, in 1779, acquired the property and operated a mill here during a half century. In 1784 or 1785 Jos. Motard built a windmill out of stone on what is now Third street.

After Piernas assumed control of the affairs "of the establishment of Illinois and the dependencies belonging to his Catholic Majesty," under orders of O'Reilly he caused a census to be taken, and according to this enumeration the population of all the Illinois country, west of the Mississippi river, then did not exceed 891—distributed in the various small settlements.⁶³ And a large number of these settlers

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Pedro Piernas". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent flourish at the end of the word "Piernas".

had only recently crossed into the Spanish territory. How small, then, must have been the population on the west side of the river prior to 1762! In 1772 the total population had increased to 1288, of which 803 were whites and 485 slaves. St. Louis then had a population of 399 whites of both sexes, and 198 slaves.

All the official papers executed from the year 1768 to the 20th of May, 1770, were delivered to Piernas by Labusciere, and also the "Register of the Concessions of Land and Lots in the village of St. Louis." After the survey of the village of St. Louis to fix the boundaries of the lots, Piernas expressly confirmed all grants of lots made by St. Ange, and continued to make other grants until April 24, 1775, when he was superseded by Don Francesco Cruzat. Piernas was a "man of dignity," and this, so it is said, "made him distasteful to the Indians."⁶⁴ Shepard says that he was an officer of "kind and liberal

⁶³ Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 355.

⁶⁴ It is said that on account of his dignified manner an Osage chief took offense, "mistaking his reserve, so different from the affability of the French, as evidence of personal dislike", and resolved to kill him in revenge for a fancied insult, but while intoxicated betrayed his murderous secret to a Shawnee Indian, who prevented the assassination by slaying the intended assassin. (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 202.) And Mr. Shepard says that the Shawnee was a chief and came to treat for some lands in the rear of Ste. Genevieve. But if this story depends on the Shawnee chief, it is manifestly a fiction, because the Shawnees did not come into the Spanish possessions until afterward. (Shep-

disposition," and conducted affairs "with that wisdom and prudence which seldom failed to make both the governor and the governed happy."⁶⁵ It was also remarked that, after the arrival of Piernas, the town or settlement of St. Louis did not increase in population as rapidly as during the first few years of the establishment of the village, the French residents on the east side of the river evidently having recovered from their first fear of the English and English government.⁶⁶ During the administration of Piernas in 1774, the first village prison was constructed, a small stone structure fifteen by twenty, built against one of the gable ends of the stone house built by Laclede, and in which the governor resided. The cost of this prison was \$165.⁶⁷

Piernas was succeeded by Don Francesco Cruzat, a lieutenant-colonel of the stationary regiment of Louisiana. We are told that he was a mild and agreeable gentleman, who conducted the administration so quietly "in the healthful channels of his predecessor" that he was considered a man of very ordinary capacity then, but whom "the good and the wise will always desire to praise and imitate, as he made all about him happy, contented and prosperous."⁶⁸ It was during this period that the traders of the town began to evade "the oppressive imposts by systematic smuggling," that is to say, imported

ard's History of St. Louis, p. 21.) The statement of Shepard that "The Shawnees and Delawares were assigned lands at that time near Ste. Genevieve, and built villages on them, and cultivated them while the Spanish laws remained in force in the territory," (Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 22), and during the administration of Piernas, is based upon misapprehension.

⁶⁵ According to the Spanish law his successor, Cruzat, obtained a certificate from the citizens of St. Louis in May, 1775, that they had received justice from Piernas, that he treated them well and paid his debts, and this certificate was signed by fifty of the leading habitants. But before he came to St. Louis, in a memorial of the French insurgents of lower Louisiana, addressed to the Superior Council, Piernas is charged with having impressed two rowers (*voyageurs*) from a French boat coming down the river at the Ecores à Margot, Piernas then being accompanied by one Chouriac, the Spanish store-keeper and commissary of the Illinois country, and that he threatened to fire on the boat with a swivel gun if he was not obeyed, and to put the men in chains; that he refused to stipulate for wages, but that Chouriac told them they must go to work for the King without further discussion, (Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 241), and again these petitioners say, that when Piernas was Spanish commander at Natchez, he compelled Chanard's boat going to the Illinois country to turn over provisions to him, having a piece of artillery loaded to compel compliance with his demand.

⁶⁶ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 124.

⁶⁷ It is interesting to know that Antoine Roussel dit Sans Souci did the stone work, François Delin the carpenter work, that Guion and Labbe furnished the iron work, and Joseph Mainville dit Deschenes the lime for this primitive jail. A François Roussel was a "soldat de la compagnie de Grandpré" at Fort de Chartres in 1745. This Roussel was a native of Franche Comte and no doubt related to the stone mason.

⁶⁸ Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 22.

goods without paying legal duty. Cruzat, it seems, did not stop this illegal traffic. Under such circumstances, his popularity is well accounted for; and "his genial fellowship," the historians tell us, in strains of panegyric, "endeared him to the people fond of social enjoyment," and it might be added, dealing in "contraband goods," thus adding much "to their commercial profits." Under his administration a ferry was established across the Maraméc by Jean Baptiste Gamache, facilitating intercourse between the mining districts and Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Both Piernas and Cruzat resided in a



house on the corner of what is now Main and Walnut streets, and Shepard says that it "was the seat of hospitality and high school of fashion during both their administrations."⁶⁹ During Cruzat's administration, we note the "unaccountable disappearance" of the parish priest, Father Valentine,⁷⁰ and who in 1775 had inaugurated the construction of the first church. Pierre Lupien dit Baron, the carpenter, was the contractor, and died during the progress of the work, in 1775, and Jean Cambas completed the building in 1776.

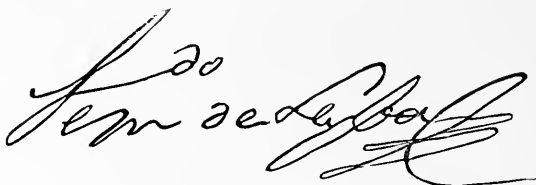
At this time, and long afterward, the great and constantly recurring trouble was the inadequate circulating medium. The merchants and people had large quantities of furs but little actual money, and were ready and could pay in furs, but not in actual silver dollars, and this caused frequent controversies. Thus, one Etienne Barré, a boat owner, brought six barrels of rum and some dry goods for Benito Vasquez, from New Orleans to St. Louis, delivered to him by one Roy, the freight being \$25 on each barrel of rum, but instead of paying the freight "in dollars," as contracted, Vasquez proposed to pay in peltries, which Barré refused to accept, because he says he was "obliged to pay his outfit and expenses in dollars," and accordingly he appealed to Cruzat for justice and to compel said Vasquez "to pay him as per agreement." It was such troubles as this that caused the merchants of St. Louis to appeal to Cruzat to make rules for the inspection of furs and peltries, and weighing same, and Cruzat accordingly made such a

⁶⁹ Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 72.

⁷⁰ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 131.

decree in March, 1776. During the administration of Cruzat a system to fortify St. Louis was first considered, but before actual work was begun he was superseded by Don Fernando de Leyba, in July, 1778.⁷¹

De Leyba was, for some reason, not popular with the people of the village, and is said to have been "singularly deficient in the qualities which command political success—devoid of tact and discretion, rabidly penurious and intemperate." By Shepard he is characterized as a "drunken, voracious and feeble-minded man, without a single redeeming qualification."⁷² But these sweeping assertions seem in no wise sustained by proof. It may be that De Leyba strictly enforced the Spanish trade regulations and tariff, which Cruzat quietly ignored, and that this may have been the cause of his alleged unpopularity. Naturally, the traders who were illegally bringing English goods into the Spanish possessions would feel aggrieved, in a case of this kind. It is admitted that on his arrival at St. Louis, De Leyba immediately



sought to make provision for the protection of the village. He caused a stockade to be erected,⁷³ and the work on the northwest bastion and northeast demilunes was commenced. The stockade was simply a straight line of pickets firmly set in the ground and bound together near the top by sapling switches; but whatever the character of the stockade, it evidenced that he was not unmindful of the duties devolving upon him as lieutenant governor and commander of the country.

During the administration of De Leyba, Laclede died, June 20, 1778, aged fifty-four years, at Arkansas Post, on his way from New Orleans to the village he had founded. He was buried in the wilderness there. Hardly anything is known about him personally. That

⁷¹ Fernando de Leyba was a native of Barcelona, Spain; and was a Captain in the Stationary Regiment of Louisiana. In September, 1779, his wife died and was buried in the church "in front of the right hand ballustrade," and in June, 1780, Don Fernando de Leyba was buried by her side in the same church. M. de Liboa, Colonel of Infantry in command of a corps of grenadiers under O'Reilly in 1769, at New Orleans, may have been a relative. (Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyages*, p. 20.)

⁷² Shepard's History of St. Louis, p. 22.

⁷³ So stated in Scharff's History of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 138. But Chouteau himself says, "In regard to the line of fortification, I only traced it in 1780, by order of the government." What he means by "traced" he does not explain.

he was a man of enterprise, of courage, of resolution and tenacity of purpose is certain; that he was far-seeing and not devoid of imagination is shown in the selection he made of the site where is now located his great city, and whose glory and magnificence he could even then see in the dim future. The fact alone that he, of all the Frenchmen locating trading posts at that early day in the Mississippi valley, did select, not by chance but evidently upon mature consideration, a location for a great city, which has been ratified by all men since as eminently wise impresses upon us his great intellectual forethought. That he was full of energy is shown by his frequent journeys to New Orleans; for it was then no easy task for travelers to go a thousand miles up and down a great and lonely river, enduring every privation, beset by every danger. That he also traveled through the interior of our state; that the paddles of his canoe dipped the waters of the Missouri, the Osage, the Gasconade, and even the Platte, we feel certain. That he was a man of liberal spirit is shown by the fact that, without hesitation, he invited his countrymen to his own trading post, when they became agitated about the cession of the country east of the Mississippi to England, thus bringing competitors to his own door. That when an emergency arose he was capable of decided original action, is shown by the fact that, although his firm only had a concession to trade with the Indians, and no land grant, he nevertheless assigned to all new immigrants landed locations, exercising a power not delegated or granted, and at that period, both under French and Spanish rule, requiring more than ordinary self-reliance. That he was wise is shown by the fact that he induced St. Ange to remove the seat of his government from Fort de Chartres to his trading post rather than to Ste. Genevieve, the nearest, oldest and most important settlement on the west side of the river, and then caused St. Ange to expressly grant the lots assigned by him to the first settlers, opening a record of land grants, and in this way placing on a firm basis his work. All these characteristics we can infer from what he did, but no more. In personal appearance he is said to have been about five feet eleven inches high, and to have had a "very dark olive complexion, a broad forehead, a prominent nose, and penetrating, black and expressive eyes."⁷⁴ The spot where he is buried is unknown, and no stone marks his grave; but the great city which has grown up where he so wisely established his trading post is his monument.

Shortly after the death of Laclede, Spain and England became

⁷⁴ Prof. Waterhouse in Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 204.

involved in war, and on June 16, 1779, King George III. advised Parliament that Spain had resorted to arms. About this time the inhabitants of the village became alarmed by rumors of Indian attacks. It has been suggested that the report of the outbreak of hostilities could not have reached a remote post in the wilderness like St. Louis as early as March, 1780, and that the British officers could not have organized an expedition before the close of the winter of 1779, and hence that it may well be doubted that any such uneasiness existed in the village. In support of this view it is said that Charles Gratiot, a merchant of Cahokia, in March, 1780, sent a barge loaded with goods and provisions to Prairie du Chien for the purpose of trade, and that this barge was captured and pillaged by the British and Indians, and that he afterward testified, in 1780, that he was absolutely ignorant of the declaration of war. But it should be remembered that his boatmen, in a suit brought before Governor Cruzat for wages, in 1781, charged collusion on the part of Gratiot with the public enemy. The captain of the boat was John B. Cardinal. The crew, consisting of Peter Lafleur, John Durand, François Chevalier, Louis La Marche and J. A. Matthews, apparently an early English or American settler, were plaintiffs except La Marche and Matthews. In their petition the boatmen aver that the pillage of the barge supplied the Indians with the provisions and ammunition without which it would have been impossible to have reached or attacked St. Louis,⁷⁵ and that these same Indians afterward did attack St. Louis was fully established in this suit. In all things except as to the charge of collusion with the enemy, the statement of facts, as made by the plaintiffs, was confirmed rather than controverted by the other witnesses.⁷⁶ It is very strange that in March, 1780, a man of the intelligence of Gratiot should not have heard that in June previous war had been declared, and hostilities had actually broken out between the Spaniards and the English, in September previous, in Florida. It is true, news traveled slow in those days, but hardly as slow as that, from New Orleans to Kaskaskia, Cahokia or St. Louis.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 207.

⁷⁶ 1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 207.

⁷⁷ But Gratiot as a merchant of Cahokia, in 1780, certainly was not ignorant of the fact that war prevailed between England and the United Colonies at that time. How can his attitude viewed from that standpoint be explained? By the people of Cahokia (Cahos) in May, 1780, he was solicited to ask the protection of Colonel Clark "contre les incursions des sauvages dont on etoit menace" (1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 205, note 3), and yet in March of that

Governor Reynolds says that an expedition was planned by the British authorities at Mackinaw to recapture Cahokia, but from the Haldimand papers it appears that not only the recapture of Cahokia but also St. Louis and other Spanish posts on the west side of the river was planned.⁷⁸ Reynolds connects with this attack on St. Louis one Dominique Ducharme,⁷⁹ a Canadian, who was engaged illegally in the Indian trade on the upper Missouri, somewhere near Loutre island, in the Spanish possessions, and whose goods were accordingly seized and confiscated by the authorities, and who personally barely escaped with his life.⁸⁰ He supposes that, out of revenge, this Ducharme diverted the expedition against Cahokia to the Spanish settlement on the west side of the river. Concerning this Ducharme incident, which occurred at least eight years before the attack on St. Louis, Captain Vattas writes to General Haldimand, June 16, 1773, from Michilimackinac as follows: "One Ducharme, a trader, has been plundered in the course of the winter by one Lasaide (Laclede), who follows some business on the Spanish side. This Ducharme went, I believe, beyond our limits, and was served so in consequence of it, by order of Mr. Purenasse (Piernas), the Spanish commandant of Missouri. The Spaniards, I'm told, want much to engross all the trade with the Sax's (Saukees), and prevailed on them very lately against the Osages, with whom they had since engaged; that fifteen of the former had been killed on the spot and the rest had fled much "dissatisfied" with the expedition."⁸¹

same year he sent a boatload of goods up to Prairie du Chien, at that time under British control. His removal to St. Louis to the Spanish possessions, seems not wholly unconnected with this transaction, so inimical to the United States. If Gratiot did not knowingly supply the goods to the enemies of Spain, did he supply goods knowingly to the enemies of the United States? In a note in 11 Wisconsin Collection, page 151, it is said "as a matter of fact he was aiding the Americans with supplies," referring to 10 Wisconsin Historical Collection, page 239. Gratiot in a letter to General Clark says that he removed from Cahokia to St. Louis on account of the "excessive and unbridled license" that prevailed there, and because he had been charged "by three men with treason" (Draper's Collections, Clark MSS., No. 78). The English officers explaining the failure of the attack on St. Louis, charged afterward that in March it was generally known throughout the country that the expedition was being organized. Gratiot was a merchant, but also had a saw-mill on the River des Péres. He was a large land owner, owning property on the Ohaha, Maramec, Mississippi and Missouri.

⁷⁸ 19 Michigan Historical Collection, p. 529, Haldimand Papers.

⁷⁹ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 99.

⁸⁰ Ducharme's island, what is now Loutre island. (28 Draper's Collections, Clark MSS., p. 48.) Full name was Jean Marie Ducharme. He was a native of Lachine; died at Sault St. Louis in 1791, eighty-five years old. Cerré saw him there.

⁸¹ 19 Michigan Historical Collection, p. 303, Haldimand Papers.

The Haldimand papers conclusively show that a direct attack on "Pancour" was planned by the British officers at Michilimackinac, for at that time the true name of the town of St. Louis was to them not even known,⁸² because June 16, 1779, the day after war was declared, Lord George Germain wrote Haldimand "to reduce the Spanish posts on the Illinois."⁸³ In pursuance of this order, a body of Canadians, traders and their servants were assembled on the upper Mississippi early in 1780. On the 17th of February, 1780, Sinclair, lieutenant-governor of Michilimackinac, ordered a Mr. Hesse, "formerly of the 60th (Royal American) regiment," but then a trader among the Indians, to assemble the "Minomines, Puants, Sacks and Rhenards" in the neighborhood of the Portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, and to collect there all the canoes and corn in the country, for his own use and the use of other Indians, who would be ordered to join him at the confluence of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, but he was particularly ordered not to make any movement from where he was stationed until instructions should be sent him by Sergeant (J. F.) Phillips of the 8th regiment, who would set out from Michilimackinac on the 10th of March with a very noted chief, Machiquawish, and his band of Indians. The distinct object of assembling these forces was to reduce "Pencour" by surprise, and which from the easy admission of the Indians at that place, and from assault of those without, having for its defence as reported, only "twenty men and twenty brass canon," Sinclair did not consider very difficult. The capture of this place, Sinclair writes Governor Haldimand, would secure the rich fur trade on the Missouri, and redress the injuries done English traders who "attempted to partake of this trade." In order thoroughly to interest these English traders in this enterprise they were assured that any pecuniary advantages they might deny themselves in order to make this enterprise successful would be amply recompensed by a better and surer trade in case of success.

On the 2nd of May, 1780, Machiquawish and his band, having arrived from Michilimackinac, seven hundred and fifty Indians, together with Captain Hesse and other traders and servants, proceeded down the Mississippi. While these Indian forces were being assembled by Hesse, an Indian detachment of "Minomines" stationed at Prairie du Chien captured the large armed boat, already mentioned as belonging to Charles Gratiot, of Cahokia, coming up-

⁸² Papers from Canadian Archives, 11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 151.

⁸³ Canadian Archives, Report, 1885, pp. 276 and 302.

stream with provisions, a boat which Sinclair says "was loaded at Pencour," and in charge "of twelve men and a rebel commissary." ⁸⁴ At the lead mines a supply of lead was also obtained, and "seventeen Spanish and rebel officers" captured. Thus a war spirit was kindled among the Indians by the chiefs Machiquawish and Wabasha, who led the Indians. To cover the meditated attack, Sinclair ordered Captain Langlade with a chosen band of Indians to be stationed on the "plains" between the Wabash and the Mississippi to guard against hostile attacks from that direction. So confident was Sinclair that the attack would be successful that he ordered Captain Hesse to remain in command of "Pencour," and the chief Wabasha was ordered after the capture of the town to attack Misere (Ste. Genevieve) and Kacasia (Kaskaskia), and to such traders as would secure or capture posts on the Spanish side of the river, he promised the exclusive trade on the Missouri, and "that their canoes should be forwarded." The "Minomines" and Winnebagoes seem to have composed the principal part of this army. It was a band of thirty-six "Minomines" that captured the Gratiot boat coming up the river loaded with provisions. Supplied principally with the provisions obtained from the boat of Gratiot, this army moved south, and about the end of May reached the vicinity of St. Louis. The country there was full of rumors of the approach of this hostile force, and Sinclair in his letter to Haldimand laments this want of secrecy and which he said "must always be hurtful to the service." On account of this want of secrecy he states that the Spaniards at St. Louis threw up "a breastwork around a stone house." ⁸⁵ But Reed says that a line of intrenchment was made by the people and governor along or near what is now Third street (Rue des Granges), on the west side of the town. The Intendant Navarro writes that a wooden tower was

⁸⁴ In November, 1780, David McCrae and John Kay presented a memorial to Governor Haldimand in which they set out that they sent "a certain Charles Gratiot" with goods to the Illinois country to trade, and that finding "the rebels" in possession of the country, he traded on the goods belonging to them, and that he only made one remittance of 700 or 800 pounds, "Halifax currency value in furs," that in April, 1780, Gratiot sent a boat load of goods under a Spanish pass up the Mississippi, to be disposed of there, but that the boat was seized by Lieutenant Alexander Kay of the Indian department, a brother of one of the memorialists, and the goods sent to Michilimackinac, except the provisions, tobacco, rum, etc., which were used by order of Governor Sinclair at Prairie du Chien by the Canadians and Indians on their way "to attack the Illinois," and they pray that the goods seized and used may be paid for, and the remainder delivered to them. (12 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 55.) It is an open question whether the petitioners received these goods and payment or not, likely, however, the goods were paid for by the government.

⁸⁵ 11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 154.

built at one end of the town, overlooking it, and that five cannon were placed in it; and that two other intrenchments were built, and that these intrenchments were manned by twenty-five veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one militia.

About the 24th of May, 1780, the English-Indian forces reached the neighborhood of Cahokia, lurking around in the woods on the east side of the river and near Cahokia, where Gratiot then lived; and on the 25th the Indians, accompanied by twenty volunteer Canadians, a few traders and their servants crossed the river⁸⁶ several miles above St. Louis, and Rivière says that the attack was made about noon on the 26th of May, on the north side of the town where no opposition was expected, but here this attacking party was repulsed by the militia. For some time a vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so the Intendant Navarro writes. The Indians finally discovering that the town could not be taken, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers and slaves at work who, although rumors of the contemplated Indian assault prevailed, did not believe that an actual attack would be made, paying so little attention to these rumors that they were out in their fields at work when the Indians appeared. Thus Jean Baptiste Rivière, then residing in St. Louis, was captured by the Indians in the Grand Prairie at a place known as "Fontaine à Cardinal," belonging to Jean Marie Cardinal, while sleeping in the house there.⁸⁷ Cardinal was also there, and in making his escape was wounded by the Indians, and died upon reaching Marais Castor (a name under which Beaver Pond was then known), about three miles away.⁸⁸ Rivière himself was tied to a tree near the spring, and when the Indians retreated was taken by them to Chicago, and after remaining in captivity for some time escaped, returning to St. Louis, where, long afterward, in his testimony before Commissioner Hunt, he gives this account of the attack. It is evident, however, that Rivière only details incidents relating to himself. Chouteau in his evidence gives no particulars, and merely states that the year of the Indian attack was known among the residents as "Année du Grand Coup," and erroneously gives the date of the attack to have been on May 6, 1780.⁸⁹ The burial register of the St. Louis Catholic Church shows

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 155.

⁸⁷ Jean Marie Cardinal, came from St. Philippe and must not be confused with Jean Baptiste Cardinal. The Cardinal place or claim was afterwards bought by Dr. John Watkins.

⁸⁸ 2 Hunt's Minutes, Book 1, p. 51, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

⁸⁹ 1 Hunt's Minutes, [Book 1, p. 126, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

that among others Amable Guion, Guillaume Bissette, Joseph Calvè, Junior, and Chancellor's negro were all "murdered" on the 26th day of May by the Indians, thus giving the true date of the attack. No mention is made of the burial of Cardinal, who, Rivière says, died from the effect of his wounds.

The only detailed report of the attack on the village is preserved in Navarro's letter dated August 18, 1780, written to Don Joseph de Galvez, then minister of the Indies. Navarro's report probably is based on a report of this attack made by De Leyba. Reed in his evidence says that at the time the Indians made the attack on St. Louis he was seventeen years old, and that he mounted guard in Michael Lami's barn, along the line of intrenchments built by the government and people.⁹⁰ This statement is about the only evidence of an actual resident of St. Louis at the time, that an actual attack was made on the town, but is confirmed by Navarro. Sinclair himself says that the Winnebago Indians without exception attempted "to storm Pancour," that they lost a chief and three men on the spot, had four men wounded, one of them mortally, that they were "enraged against the backwardness of the Canadians, and the base conduct of the Sacks, who had been debauched by the rebels on account of the lead mines, and the traders in their country."⁹¹ He further says that the Indians "would have stormed the Spanish lines, if the Sacks and Outagamies under their treacherous leader, Monsieur Calvè, had not fallen back so early as to give them but too well grounded suspicions that they were between two fires."⁹² According to Sinclair, the Indians brought off forty-three scalps and eighteen prisoners, whites and blacks, and that in all about seventy persons were killed, although "beat off on their attack." We have only the names of four persons killed in this attack on St. Louis, yet Rivière says that fifty-eight or fifty-nine persons were killed and taken prisoners,⁹³ but it has generally been considered that his testimony gives an

⁹⁰ I Hunt's Minutes, Book 1, p. 107, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

⁹¹ II Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 154.

⁹² II Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 156. Calvè complained to Haldimand in a letter dated April 23, 1780, of the reception lieutenant-governor Sinclair accorded him and the "Sacqs, Renards and the Aimaiois" (Menomonees) on their return, "of our campaign" when he arrived at Michilimackinac, and which he says greatly surprised him, as he "had no reason to expect it," and he applies to Haldimand for an opportunity to prove that his conduct has been "irreproachable." (12 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 52.) Calvè seems still to have been in English service in 1783. (12 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 66.)

⁹³ 2 Hunt's Minutes, Book 11, p. 51, Missouri Historical Society Archives

exaggerated account of the events of this attack. The statement, however, contained in Sinclair's letters to Haldimand lends support to Rivière's testimony. Navarro's letter gives the number of whites killed as fifteen, wounded six, and prisoners fifty-seven, and slaves killed as seven, wounded one, and prisoners thirteen. No doubt, in the number of persons reported by Sinclair to have been killed are included all persons killed on this raid on both sides of the river.

The failure of the attack was attributed, by the English, to the treachery of Calvè and Ducharme, who were partners in trade and interpreters for the English among the Saukees and Renards, and who preferred "a little underhand commerce in that country" to the promise of the advantages "of the trade the British agents held out to them" on the Missouri, provided they would gain and garrison the Spanish Illinois country. Calvè and Lecroix, Sinclair afterward complains, although in English employ, sent one Provençal equipped with goods to the Spanish country to winter there, "which they made a sham attack upon,"⁹⁴ and he is much mortified to find that "the protection Monsieur Calvè and others have received should meet so perfidious and so ungrateful a return."⁹⁵ In connection with this attack it has been attempted to make it appear that General George Rogers Clark sent troops to St. Louis to aid the people to resist the attack. Cerré, a most intelligent and reliable man, says that he has no recollection of any such thing. In 1828 Mr. Chouteau, in his conversation with the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, does not mention it.⁹⁶ At the time of the attack Clark was at the Iron-banks, engaged in building "Fort Jefferson" and had two hundred men with him, and a flotilla.⁹⁷ De Leyba may have sent Gratiot to him to ask for help, but there is no evidence that troops crossed the river, or would have reached St. Louis in time; then, too, Cahokia and Kaskaskia were threatened as well as St. Louis. Colonel Montgomery says nothing about Clark having gone to St. Louis or sending men there, but says, "Luckily, he joined him at Cahos in time enough to save the country," as the enemy appeared within twenty-four hours after his arrival, and says that the Indians, after "doing some mischief on the Spanish shore," returned, and that the mischief could have been prevented if the high winds had not prevented the signals from being heard. In Bradford's

⁹⁴ 11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 158.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹⁶ *Travels of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar*, vol. 2, p. 103.

⁹⁷ *Drapers' Collections*, vol. 28, Clark MSS., p. 9.

Notes (Stripp's edition), pages 54 and 56, it is said that the Spanish commandant offered to confer upon him (Clark) the command of St. Louis (?), but that he declined to accept it until he was certain that the assault would be made, and that he remained in St. Louis only two hours—yet at the time Clark was at the Iron-banks, or Kaskaskia.⁹⁸ It is very likely true that Clark sent three hundred men under Montgomery to follow the Indians, and this may be what is meant when it is said that he sent three hundred men to the relief of St. Louis, because undoubtedly such a movement would have had the effect to relieve St. Louis. The expedition up the Illinois destroyed the Indian towns on Rock river.⁹⁹ Peck thinks he sent two hundred of "his gallant men to the ferry opposite the town, and made a demonstration of crossing with two hundred men," and that "this disconcerted the Indians and caused the Indians to retire after killing sixty of the inhabitants and carrying thirty into captivity."¹⁰⁰

Collot says that out of this attack a mass of "absurd exaggeration has been invented," and Professor Waterhouse states in a letter to Draper dated March 29, 1882, that "old French documents convince him that no attack was made at all," but he does not specify the documents upon which he rests his opinion. As a matter of fact, documents and records make it clear, that an attack was made. If any doubt ever existed as to this attack on St. Louis, and attempt to capture the town by the English, the correspondence of Governor Haldimand and the detailed report of Intendant Navarro (a copy of which I recently received from the Spanish archives in Seville) should set all such doubts at rest.

De Leyba died a short time after this event, June 28, 1780, and was buried in the little church of the village. His death, it is claimed, was hastened by "dissipation and remorse." But it will be difficult to sustain this statement. By hearsay, in every respect, the memory of De Leyba has been covered with obloquy, but the archives show that he was a man of clear intelligence, business knowledge and sound judgment. His insight into the principles of law and his impartiality in the administration of justice are unmistakable evidence of high qualities.¹⁰¹ He was on terms of intimacy with George Rogers Clark, and omitted nothing in his power to show his attachment to the

⁹⁸ *Annals of the West*, p. 241.

⁹⁹ 28 Draper's Collections, Clark MSS., p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Beck's Gazetteer, pp. 220-225.

¹⁰¹ See a number of cases, cited in 1 Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, pp. 152 et seq.

American cause during the Revolution.¹⁰² As soon as Clark took possession of the Illinois country, he opened a correspondence with him, and Clark says that he was surprised to find him free from the reserve that characterizes the Spaniards.¹⁰³

Upon the death of De Leyba, Don Silvia Francisco de Cartabona, lieutenant of the Spanish troops at Ste. Genevieve, acted as governor *ad interim*, until the arrival of Don Francesco Cruzat, who for a second time was appointed lieutenant-governor, and until October 7, 1787, administered the affairs of the Illinois district of upper Louisiana. Immediately on his arrival he divided the militia into two companies for the defense of the village, as had been suggested by De Leyba. Before the death of De Leyba Don Benito Vasquez had been made captain of one company and Auguste Chouteau and Pedro Montardy lieutenants; of the other company, Don Eugenio Pourée was captain and Carlos Tayon and Luis Chevalier were lieutenants, this company being a company of cavalry, although the officers were commissioned as infantry officers. Don Benito Vasquez was afterward appointed adjutant (*Ayudante Mayor*), to instruct the force in the essential parts of "royal military service," he having seen active service; and then Auguste Chouteau became captain of the first company. The fortifications of the village were also extended and strengthened, but St. Louis was not attacked again.

It was during the second administration of Cruzat, in January, 1781, that a military expedition was organized in St. Louis by him to invade the British possessions east of the river, under orders from Havana. Of this expedition, Don Eugenio Pourée,¹⁰⁴ known as "Beausoliel," was made chief, Don Carlos Tayon being appointed second in command, and Don Luis Chevalier sub-lieutenant and interpreter. Pourée's force consisted of sixty-six Spaniards and Frenchmen and sixty Indians—Outagamies, Saukees and Pottowatomies, designated in the Madrid "Gazette" of March 12, 1782, as "Outaguos, Sota and Putuami." With this small force, Captain Pourée in mid-winter marched through the wilderness, a distance of six hundred miles, his soldiers carrying their supplies on their backs through snow and ice, through forests and prairies, environed by

¹⁰² Vigo was at the time of the conquest in partnership with De Leyba the governor of upper Louisiana, and furnished Clark all the supplies needed from both sides of the river. (8 Draper's Collections, Clark MSS., p. 33.) Vigo was a native of Genoa, and came to New Orleans in about 1774.

¹⁰³ Clark's Campaign in the Illinois, pp. 35-46.

¹⁰⁴ Name usually spelled "Pouré," but he signed himself "Pourée."

unknown perils and hostile Indian tribes, and successfully accomplished the object of the expedition by capturing the little British fort, St. Joseph, located within the present state of Michigan. Here Pourèe raised the standard of His Catholic Majesty, hauling down the flag of England. The fort was plundered and the supplies found there divided among the Indian allies of the Spaniards. After remaining at the fort for a short time, the expedition returned to St. Louis, bringing along the captured British flag and delivering it to the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis. For his services in this expedition Pourèe received the rank of lieutenant in the army, with half pay. Tayon was appointed sub-lieutenant with half pay, and the governor of Louisiana was authorized to assign Chevalier an appropriate "gratification."

Concerning this affair of St. Joseph, a letter of De Peyster to Brigadier-General H. Watson Powell, dated Detroit, June 8, 1781, gives additional facts, as follows: "A detachment from Cahokia, consisting of sixteen men only, commanded by a half Indian named Jean Baptiste Hammelain, timed it so as to arrive at St. Josephs with pack-horses when the Indians were out on their hunt, an old chief and his family excepted; they took the traders prisoners and carried off all the goods, consisting of at least sixty bales, and took the route to Chicagou. Lieutenant Dagreux de Quindre, who was stationed near St. Josephs, being informed of it immediately assembled the Indians and pursued them as far as the Petite Fort beyond the Rivière du Chemin, where, on the 15th of December, he summoned them to surrender, and they refusing to do so, he ordered the Indians to attack them. Without the loss of a man on his side, he killed four, wounded two and took seven prisoners; the other three escaped in the thick of the woods * * * I look upon these gentry as robbers and not prisoners of war, as they had no commission that I can learn other than a verbal order from Mons. Trottier, an inhabitant of Cahoes." As a consequence, on the 23rd of January, he says that he was visited by a great number of St. Joseph Indians, who "make event" of their loyalty. But in a subsequent letter De Peyster writes that afterward "the enemy returned, or rather a fresh party arrived in St. Joseph and carried the traders and the remainder of the goods off." This time De Quindre could not rapidly enough assemble a party large enough to pursue them, but he reports the substance of Mr. "Bean Solid's" speech or proclamation, to the Indians, amusingly enough making out of Captain Pourèe's nickname "Beausoliel," the

English words "Bean Solid."¹⁰⁵ De Peyster also remarks that the Canadians are not to be depended upon, and that hence he cannot establish a reliable garrison at this fort.

This insignificant conquest of this insignificant fort, St. Joseph, afterward, when the terms of the treaty of peace were discussed between France, Spain, England and the United States, was made the basis of a claim by Spain to all the territory along the Illinois river to Lake Michigan, and caused the commissioners of the United States, who arranged the terms of the treaty, no little anxiety. So important was this military exploit considered that a translation of the detailed account of this expedition, as published in the Madrid Gazette, was promptly transmitted to Philadelphia by the United States representative.¹⁰⁶

Captain Pourée, who so successfully conducted this expedition, died at St. Louis April 30, 1783. He was a merchant, and well known by the nickname of "Beausoliel" (Sunflower). No particulars of his life are now known, further than that he was one of the original

¹⁰⁵ 19 Michigan Historical Collection, p. 600.

¹⁰⁶ "By a letter from the commandant general of the army of operations at 'the Havanna,' and governor of Louisiana, his Majesty has advices that a detachment of sixty-five militiamen and sixty Indians of the nations Otaguos, Sota and Putuami, under command of Don Eugenio Purrée, a captain of the militia, accompanied by Don Carlos Tayon, a sub-lieutenant of militia, by Don Luis Chevalier, a man well versed in the language of the Indians, and by their great chiefs Eleturno and Naquigen, who marched the 2d of January, 1781, from the town of San Luis of the Illinois, had possessed themselves of the Post of St. Joseph, which the English occupied at 220 leagues distance from that of the above mentioned San Luis, having suffered in so extensive a march, and so rigorous a season, the greatest inconvenience from cold and hunger, exposed to continual risks from the country being possessed by savage nations and having to pass over parts covered with snow and each being obliged to carry provisions for his own subsistence and various merchandise which were necessary to content, in case of need, the barbarous nations through whom they were obliged to cross. The commander, by seasonable negotiations and precautions, prevented a considerable body of Indians who were at the devotion of the English, from opposing this expedition, for it would otherwise have been difficult to have accomplished the taking of said fort. They made prisoners of the few English they found in it, the others having perhaps retired in consequence of some prior notice. Don Eugenio Purrée took possession in the name of the King of that place and its dependencies, and of the river Illinois in consequence whereof the standard of his Majesty was displayed during the whole time. He took the English one, and delivered it on his arrival at San Luis to Don Francisco Cruzat, the commandant of that post. The destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods, which the English had there (the greater part of which was divided among the Indians and those who lived at St. Joseph, as had been offered them in case they did not oppose the troops) was not the only advantage resulting from the success of this expedition, for thereby it became impossible for the English to execute their plan of attacking the fort of San Luis of the Illinois, and it also served to intimidate these savage nations, and oblige them to remain neuter, which they do at present." (Extract from the Madrid Gazette, in 8 Spark's Diplomatic Correspondence, pp. 77, 78.)

settlers of St. Louis, and captain of the militia. In 1771 he sold one Peter Lupien dit Baron a lot of merchandise, and to secure him, Lupien dit Baron mortgaged a building and billiard table, likely the first table of that kind in St. Louis. This mortgage was made with due formality, Lieutenant-Governor Piernas being witness, as well as Labusciere and Benito Vasquez. It also appears that a M. Beausoliel was a merchant in Kaskaskia in 1779, and sold merchandise to General George Rogers Clark, evidently the same person.¹⁰⁷ According to Judge Primm, on another occasion when he came up the Mississippi from New Orleans with a boatload of valuable merchandise, he and his vessel were captured by river robbers. It is said that the daring and presence of mind of a negro, the cook of the boat, named Cacasotte, saved the crew and the merchandise, and Pourée's fortune. As soon as the robbers had taken possession of the boat, Cacasotte appeared overjoyed, danced, sang and laughed, showed them every attention, so that they at once were induced to believe that he was overjoyed to have been liberated from slavery by them, and hence allowed him to go about the vessel unmolested. He secured an opportunity to speak to Pourée and obtained his consent to make an attempt to rid the boat of these dangerous guests. Taking into his confidence two other negroes, also on board, it was agreed that the signal for dinner should also be the signal for action. When the dinner hour arrived the robbers assembled on the deck and stationed themselves on the bow and stern of the boat, and some also sat down on the side of the boat, to prevent any attempt at resistance on the part of the crew, but Cacasotte went among them with great unconcern and as soon as his two comrades had taken their station, he managed to place himself in the bow near one of the robbers, a stout, herculean fellow, well armed, and when he gave the signal for dinner he with a lunge pushed this robber overboard. While he was struggling in the water, with the speed of lightning he ran from one robber to another sitting on the side of the boat and pushed them overboard, and thus in a few seconds had thrown overboard several more; then, seizing an oar, he struck those on the head who attempted to save themselves by grappling the running board, and, taking the rifles that had been left lying on the deck of the boat, shot some others. His comrades in the meantime assailed other robbers in the same way at the other end of the boat, and so the boat was cleared. Thus Pourée

¹⁰⁷ 18 Draper's Collections, Clark MSS., No. 116. In 1724 a Pierre du Vaud dit Beausoliel lived in Kaskaskia. See Church Records of Ste. Genevieve, p. 13.

and his merchandise and crew were saved from robbers. This incident took place near an island in the Mississippi long known as "Beausoliel Island," and maybe from this island Pourée acquired his nick-name. Some confusion exists as to the date of this incident, which is placed by Rozier, following Primm, in the year 1787.¹⁰⁸ Evidently this is a mistake, because, as we have seen, Pourée dit Beausoliel died in 1783. It is probable that this incident occurred, if it occurred at all, some time in 1778 or 1779. Pourée's name occurs for the last time in the old Spanish records in November, 1782. Shortly before his death he brought a suit against Auguste Chouteau, on account of extra labor incurred in bringing up for him some goods on the Mississippi from New Orleans. In his petition he states that on account of an attack of the English near the Yazoo he was compelled to return to Natchez to save the cargo, increase the number of his men, and that, afterward coming up the river in company with the boats of L'Abbadie and Vallé, he found that the cargo would also be imperiled by an attack of the Chickasaws near Écore de Margot, and that therefore he went up to Arkansas Post, where he unloaded the goods for safety; afterward he reloaded them, and finally safely brought them to St. Louis, but that Chouteau refused to compensate him for the extra expense and labor incurred for the protection of his goods. This suit was brought before Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat, on the 9th day of November, 1782, and process duly served on the 16th of November on Chouteau, by Demers, *huissier*.

Owing to the lawless condition, that prevailed in the eastern Illinois country shortly after the conquest by Gen. George Rogers Clark, many of the leading citizens of Cahokia and Kaskaskia removed to the Spanish possessions on the west side of the river. Among others Gabriel Cerré, the leading merchant of Kaskaskia and one of the most influential men removed to St. Louis. Cerré came to Kaskaskia in about 1755 from Canada¹⁰⁹ and it is said when the English afterward invaded Canada, that he returned and served in the French Colonial troops in the defence of Quebec under Montcalm. In his extensive trading operations he annually by land went from Kaskaskia to Montreal. Many are the adventures he had and strategies he necessarily practiced in order to carry his goods safely to and from these trading places. When Gen. Clark captured Kaskaskia he was, in his words, "one of the most eminent men in the

¹⁰⁸ Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ Mo. Hist. Society Collection, vol. 2, No. 2, p. 59.

country, of great influence among the people." Although advised that he was not favorable to the Americans, Gen. Clark concluded to secure his influence, because "he might be a valuable acquisition." Cerré at this time was in St. Louis on his way to Canada, but learning that Clark had protected his property by a guard, he concluded to return and at Ste. Genevieve received assurance from the Spanish officers that he could do so safely. When he arrived at Kaskaskia, Clark advised him, what was charged against him, but he replied that he was a mere merchant, that he did not concern himself about state affairs any further than the interests of his trade required.



GABRIEL CERRÉ

Clark then read him a letter from Gov. Hamilton to Rocheblave in which he was alluded to with much affection and he answered, that while at Detroit he behaved himself as became a good subject, that he had never encouraged Indian warfare and that no doubt much information had been given Gen. Clark by persons indebted to him in order to get clear of debt by ruining him. On a full investigation Clark

gave him permission to dispose of his property as he pleased, or if he chose to become a citizen of the Union. He then explained, that many doubts in his mind

had been cleared by this interview and that he was ready to take the oath of allegiance, and Clark concludes his report by saying, "he became a most valuable man to us."¹¹⁰ Cerré was appointed Judge of the Court of the District of Kaskaskia and served in that capacity for some time, but the conditions that prevailed immediately after the conquest, the want of an organized government, the constant change, the arbitrary and lawless conduct of many of the officials, and constant political agitation and controversies did not impress him favorably with popular government. In 1779 he purchased property in St. Louis and several years afterward removed with his family to the west side of the river. He doubtless was an important acquisition to the commercial interests of St. Louis.

¹¹⁰ Clark's Report of his Campaign in English's Conquest of the Northwest, vol. I, p. 477.

In 1782 he described himself as "Gabriel Cerré, vecino de este Pueblo de Sn Luis."¹¹¹ In the census of that year it is stated that 42 persons were members of his family, embracing his employees. About the same time Charles Gratiot the leading merchant of Cahokia, also removed to St. Louis. He too, was the most conspicuous citizen at the time of the village of Cahokia and the transfer of his business and capital to St. Louis greatly tended to make St. Louis the trade centre of the east side of the river. Many others also immigrated across the river and says Major Hamtramck: "the greater part of our citizens have left the country on this account to reside in the Spanish



CHARLES GRATIOT HOUSE

Dominions; others are now following, and we are fearful, nay certain, that without your assistance, the small remainder will be obliged to follow their example."¹¹² Under the flag of Spain these immigrants found safety, law and order. The inducement held out by the Spanish officials to allure this immigration — free land and no taxation — not only attracted the French habitants but Americans as well.

About this time Godfrey Linctot visited St. Louis and remained there for some time.¹¹³ This Linctot was a Frenchman and lived at Cahokia. It is not certain whether he resided there before the con-

¹¹¹ Mo. Hist. Society Collection, vol. 2, No. 2, p. 71.

¹¹² Alvord's Ills. Hist. Collection, vol. 2, p. cxliv.

¹¹³ 51 Draper's Collections, Clark MSS., No. 78.

quest. But afterward he organized a company of militia in that town. He seems to have been personally acquainted with Jefferson and enjoyed his confidence and was appointed Indian agent of Virginia by him. When Clark contemplated an attack on Detroit he was ordered up the Illinois to pacify the Indians in that district and secure their friendship. He was a master of some at least of the Indian dialects and from this it may be inferred that he was at some time a trader among them. He seems to have been a very useful man. While in St. Louis he learned that a man by the name of Clairmont with six others had been sent from Michilimackinac with a letter addressed to the people of Cahokia and Kaskaskia inviting them to raise a company of militia to be paid by the King, to resist his enemies. When Cruzat ascertained his errand he quickly arrested him. Nor was such a plan at that time hopeless, for from a letter of Antoine Girardin to Governor Sinclair preserved in the Cahokia archives it appears, that he then assured him "of the good sentiments of the inhabitants of these regions," that the people would not "be offended at seeing themselves again dependent and subject to the English government," and that "the English flag would be well received." He also advised him that his deputies (Clairmont and the others) made "too many mistakes to expect success from their journey," for says he: "they stopped at St. Louis, which they should not have done," and that the Spaniards "have arrested them without cause." Perhaps in consequence of this attempt Cruzat promulgated an ordinance prohibiting the circulation of false and unreliable reports in the village, but no doubt with little success. To prevent surprises, he also published an ordinance that every person, whatever his rank, occupation or condition, "should not leave his dwelling by day or night without being armed," so as to be provided for every emergency. By other ordinances the people of St. Louis were prohibited from advancing or giving credit to soldiers for more than twenty-five sols, without permission of their superior officers. He prohibited horse racing in the streets of the town, and no one was allowed to ride horseback or drive a cart faster than a trot (*le petit pas*). Slaves were forbidden to hold assemblages at night in their cabins, or to leave their cabins after the beating of the *retraite*, unless on some errand for their masters, on a penalty of receiving fifty lashes, nor were they allowed to have a dance without express permission from their masters and government, either at day or night, and negroes, either free or slave, were prohibited to dress like the Indians and savages. An ordinance

was promulgated fining persons in whose house a person dangerously sick might be, for failure to advise such person to make his will, and "to perform the duty of a good Christian," and to notify the lieutenant-governor, so that "we ourselves may go to the dwelling of him who wishes to regulate his conscience by a will or other act by which his legitimate heirs may not be deprived of inheritance," thus to avoid "the lawsuits and chicanery which almost always result from the death of a person, who had died without making a will, which has already occurred only too often." He ordered that in St. Louis kids and goats must be kept shut up, and plows, carts, sledges, carriages, etc., not left on the street. Particular rules were made by him for the extinguishment of fires in the village. Any one quartering or assisting a deserter was punished by a sentence of six years' service in the arsenal or public works, or if a nobleman, to six years' exile.¹¹⁴

To engage forest traders from a foreign district was strictly forbidden under penalty of imprisonment and heavy fine, and, much fraud having been practiced by notes showing on their face to have been given for "equipment" to such forest traders, because such notes enjoyed a preference, when in fact nothing had been furnished by way of equipment, the lieutenant-governor promulgated a new ordinance which provided that the holder of a note, to enjoy this preference, must have it signed by the commandant, in the presence of all interested parties, and that an itemized statement must be presented of the "equipment" furnished, and filed with the commandant at the time he so certifies such a preferential note. Nor were the merchants allowed to advance more than a reasonable amount to such forest traders, so that when they returned to the village they would have something with which to pay other debts. Then and long afterward the principal business of St. Louis was the fur trade. In this trade the forest trader played no unimportant part. It was the forest trader who went among the Indians and obtained the furs by trading off the goods (equipment) purchased from the merchants, who resided permanently in one place and furnished the outfits. The forest traders usually left St. Louis and settlements in the fall, spending the winter with the Indians, and returning in the spring with the proceeds of the trade. In 1776, when Cruzat was lieutenant-governor, Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, Martin Duralde, Benito Vasquez, J. M. Papin, J. B. Sarpy, Antoine Bernard, J. F. Perrault and Joseph Motard were the principal merchants, and at their instance Cruzat also made

¹¹⁴ Archives of the Indies, Seville — Copies of Cruzat's ordinances.

regulations for the better inspection of the furs and peltries brought to the market there.

The Indian trade under the Spanish government was open to every merchant, but the Chouteaus enjoyed the exclusive trade with the Osages under contract and on the expiration of this contract the trade was given to Manuel de Lisa, then a merchant of New Orleans. Lisa, who had been engaged in the Indian trade on the Wabash, the Ohio and in the New Madrid district first came to St. Louis in 1802 and went up to the Osage villages. But this change of traders did not satisfy all these Indians and as a consequence a large number of them residing on the Osage river seceded and removed to the Arkansas, where the Chouteaus still enjoyed a trading privilege. All this led to much controversy. How Lisa secured the trade privilege with Osages has never been explained. It is certain that he was not in favor with DeLassus or with Morales. In 1789 Juan Munie, a resident of St. Louis, discovered the Ponka tribe on the upper Missouri, penetrating for a distance of 1,400 miles up the river, an unusual enterprise, in the pursuit of trade. This tribe was unknown up to that time, and in consideration of his services Munie—or Munier—was granted the exclusive trade with these Indians.



DE LISA

The year 1785 became memorable on account of a great flood of the Mississippi. Auguste Chouteau says that in April of that year the river rose twenty feet above the highest known water-mark, and that for the purpose of procuring plank he went with a boat through the woods of the American Bottom, to the village of Kaskaskia. Governor Miro, reporting the overflow to De Galvez, says that it "entirely submerged the village of Santa Genoveva, so that the people were compelled to abandon their houses," and their furniture and other possessions, that the fields of wheat were very completely lost, that the commandant, Don Cartabona, was compelled to retire with his troops to the hills, and that the American district on the opposite side of the river was affected in the same way. Among the old French inhabitants this year was known as "*L'année des Grandes Eaux*,"¹¹⁵ and subsequent events were dated from it.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ See copy of Hunt's Minutes, Book 1, p. 126, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis.

¹¹⁶ The following additional names of residents not heretofore given, and

In 1787, when Don Manuel Perez was lieutenant-governor, the Osage Indians became distinctly unfriendly, and bands of these sav-

Emanuel Perez

ages prowled around the village and killed many unwary settlers. Perez is credited

facts as to some already named, chronologically arranged, may interest some readers. We note: In 1770, Veuve Beaugeneau; François Marechal, one of the first settlers of St. Ferdinand in 1785. The name Vigo first appears in St. Louis in this year, and François Baribault, then a boy of nineteen years, bound himself to Jacques Denis, to learn the joiner's trade, for a period of two years; Jean B. Cois; Louis Chamard (Voise); Madame St. Germain, probably from Cahokia also lived here; Denau DeTailly (DeTaille), Indian interpreter, came from St. Philippe, married an Indian and died in St. Louis in 1771, and his widow married Nicolas Marechal; Benito Vasquez, a native of Galicia, Spain, came to St. Louis with Piernas, married Julia Papin, had a family of twelve children, his sons were, Benito, Junior (1780), Antoine F., dit Baronet (1783), Joseph (1786), Hypolite (1792), and Pierre Louis (1798). Jos. Robideau—or Robidoux—from Montreal came to St. Louis in 1770. His son Jos. Robidoux and grandson Jos. Robidoux were all engaged in the fur trade. His grandson founded St. Joseph. Pedro Lupien, dit Baron; Louis Perrault; Joseph Turgeon, likely came over from Kaskaskia; Emilian Yosti, a prominent person in the early annals of St. Louis, also land speculator, ran a lime kiln and stone quarry in 1799, was also at Carondelet and on the Missouri: Yosti was a native of Italy; Claude Dupois; Jean Marie Cardinal, had a root house or caveau near St. Louis, owned Cardinal Springs in White Ox prairie (now in the city) which was so named for him, and where he was killed by the Indians in the attack on St. Louis in 1780, also owned property in Carondelet; Joseph Hubert; Louis Langlois, dit Rondeau, came from Kaskaskia to the west side of the river, died somewhere on the Missouri river. In 1771, Charles Paran, died in this year; Louis Pouillotte.

In 1773, Jean Vaudry; Veronique Guitar (or Guitard, which name occurs often in the St. Louis Archives); Joseph Guittare; Louis Bolduc, afterward in Ste. Genevieve district as early as 1788 with Baptiste Vallé on the Mississippi, and at Marais Polchecoma, in 1798, on Duclos Fork with Parfait Dufour, and common-field of Ste. Genevieve and New Bourbon. His widow afterward holding property, a large land owner, and had a number of slaves; Stephen Bolduc, also owned property in Ste. Genevieve district; Louis Bolduc, Junior; Charles Simoneau.

In 1774, Francois de Lui, owed St. Ange seventy livres for money loaned, and therefore mentioned in his will; Joseph Vachard, dit l'Ardoise, married Marie Mondion, widow of Jean B. Vien, dit Noel, he was a son of Louis Vachard who came from Montreal in about 1775, died in St. Louis in 1786, his wife was Isabella Bisette, a sister of Guillaume Bisette. His other sons were Antoine, dit Mimi l'Ardoise; Louis, residing at New Madrid, but also in St. Louis, in 1797, and Charles, dit Creole l'Ardoise; Nicholas Briesbach, from Lucerne, Switzerland, died in this year.

In 1775, Jean B. Perrault, dit Duchène, a trader among the Indians; François Barrere, a baker, native of France; Jean Baptiste Sarpy, died in New Orleans in 1798; and Sylvester Delor Sarpy, a brother of J. B., natives of France both merchants, and Sylvestre, public scrivener, dying in New Orleans in 1799. Another member of the family, Pierre L. Sarpy, came to St. Louis in 1786, and Gregoire Berald Sarpy about the same time, who died at St. Louis 1824, married Pelagie, daughter of Sylvestre Labbadie, and Jean B. Sarpy (2) who became one of the leading merchants engaged in the fur trade, was his son; François Faustin, dit Parent, married Rosalind Kiercereau in 1781, at Grand Glaize in 1799 and St. Ferdinand; Joseph Rivard; Diego l'Arrive; Alexis Loise, married Elizabeth Beaugeneau in 1773; Jean Baptiste Lorain, had a tannery near St.

with conceiving the policy of introducing friendly Indians, Shawnees and Delawares, between St. Louis and the hostile tribes, Ferdinand, which he sold to Manuel Lisa in 1800, was on the Mississippi near Portage des Sioux and in prairie near St. Charles; Louis Lemond.

In 1776, Louis LaSudray.

In 1777, François Deslorier (Deloire or Delauriere), dit Normandeau, forgeron (blacksmith) from Cahokia or Kaskaskia, Sub-Lieutenant of militia, afterward in 1794 at St. Ferdinand, raised tobacco on his lot in 1802, on river Loutre in St. Charles district; Regis Vasseur, married Françoise Guitard dit La Grandeur.

In 1778, Jean B. Lachappelle, constable in this year; d'Avignon; Pierre Parans; Sylvestre Labadie, a native of Tarbes, capitol of the Department Hautes Pyrenees, France, a merchant and Spanish Indian agent before Pierre Chouteau was appointed to this place, and often otherwise employed in public affairs, made a claim under grant of Governor Miro to a tract of land running back to the road to "Vide Poche" (Prairie Catalan), and on remonstrance of the people was stopped in improving this land by the lieutenant-governor, until the intendant at New Orleans should be made acquainted with the circumstances. (American State Papers, 2 P. L., p. 561.) A son, also named Sylvestre, born in 1778, a land speculator, one of his claims being the Isle of Boeuf in the Mississippi river above the mouth of the Missouri; Charles Sanguinette, owned property on Isle Cabaret near St. Louis, a Canadian and engaged in the fur trade, says his business greatly interfered with by the formation of the Fur Company, married a daughter of Dr. Condè. A Sanguinet at St. Ferdinand in 1800; Louis Lirette, a boatman; Nicolas F. Guion, a blacksmith.

In 1779, François Villette, dit St. Cloux; Jean B. Lepire (or LaPierre), forgeron (blacksmith), also owned property at L'Anse a la Graise or New Madrid; Demers, constable; Jean Baptiste Brugierre; Jean Baptiste Domine, also owned a lot in St. Ferdinand, and sixty-five miles north of St. Louis in 1799.

In 1780, in the records of the burials we find the name Tremblee, and one Dernige, no Christain names being given; Raymond Quenel; Hebert Lacroix; Celeste Lalandé, wife of Joseph DePlacie; Alexis Lalandé; Joseph Pepin, dit Lachance; (Joseph) Calvé, Junior, murdered by the Indians in this year. At the same time a negro, owned by Chancellier, was murdered by the Indians; Alexander Grimaux, dit Charpentier, and Louis Crepeau, his brother-in-law; François Duchemin; Antoine Stefanelly; François Hebert, dit Belhomme, killed in what is now Forest Park, his widow a daughter of Julien LeRoy, married Jean B. Trudeau; Pierre Gladu, a Canadian, also killed by the Indians; in May, 1780, Pierre Dorion, a name afterward made famous by Brackenridge, and then a resident of St. Louis, asked permission of General Clark to settle at Kaskaskia, but did not stay there, apparently, but see note 154.

In 1781, we find the name of Belkemier, as a purchaser at the sale of Louis Dubreuil; François Cailhol; Joseph Labusciere, in prairie adjacent the village at the end of the Pallsades of post, sold in this year to Joseph Labrosse, also owned another place near the Pallsade.

In 1781, Joseph Brazeau, Junior, received a grant from Cruzat on the Mississippi and on Gingras for services, his wife was Marie Delisle; a Joseph Brazeau had a grant in 1797 on river Antonio, in St. Charles district, and on the Mississippi in St. Charles district. His father, Joseph Brazeau, Senior, came to Kaskaskia from Canada, and was killed by the Indians in 1779, his widow came to St. Louis in 1787. Louis Brazeau, dit "Caïoua," was another son, and he also married a Delisle, Marie Françoise, a daughter Françoise married Jean B. Chauvin, dit Charleville, already mentioned. Louis Brazeau, dit "Caïoua," was about the only French resident at Kaskaskia who advocated resistance to General George Rogers Clark, when he was marching upon Kaskaskia, of which the people were then pretty well advised. He was a man of medium size, or under, says Menard. (25 Draper's Collection, Clark MSS., No. 58.)

In 1782, Antoine Oliviere (Oliver), dit Bellepeche; Charles Henrion; Marie Joseph Godeau or Gobeau.

and it is said that he sent Louis Lorimier to visit the tribes east of the river to induce them to settle on the west bank of the Missis-

In 1783, Joseph Verdon, a cabinet maker and turner, died at the age of ninety-five years in 1813; Jean Baptiste Vien, dit Noel (1783), probably a son of a Vien of the same name heretofore named, testified to events on the river Aux Cardes as early as this year, in 1797, at St. Ferdinand or Carondelet.

In 1784, François Marmillon, merchant of St. Louis, had a grant on the Mississippi; Duchemin; James Burns in this year sold one half of his land to Claibourne Rhodes.

In 1785, Jacques Loise, the best apples in the town grew on his lot says Andrew L'Andreville, tavern keeper and merchant; a Paul Loise here later, also Joseph at Portage des Sioux; Joseph Delisle; Louis Delisle, dit Bienvenue; François Dion, perhaps a relative of Nicolas who married Theresa Hervieux, in 1769, no doubt a Kaskaskia family; Henry Duchouquette, dit Lafleur, married Felice Quior San Filip, and Jean Baptiste Duchouquette, dit Lami, married Marie Brazeau, this Duchouquette was at the mouth of the Osage in 1800 at Côte sans Dessein where he claimed that he established a vacherie; Louis Boudoin, on Prairie des Noyers, and afterwards at Carondelet, married Marie Theresa Tesson in 1789; Joachim Roy, acquired property owned by Jean Rion (or Jean Cadet Rion); in 1790 Roy raised wheat on his lot, and in 1793 raised three hundred bushels of corn; a Carlos Charrion, dit Jean Rion, here in this year; Jacques Faustin and one Chartron cultivated the lot of François Faustin, dit Parent. They were his nephews, and at the death of Chartron the lot became the property of Jacques Faustin; Herbert, dit Berry Tabeau, father of Jacques Tabeau, at Carondelet in 1786 and at St. Ferdinand in 1794; Joseph Larava or Lavarre; Antoine Marechal married Mary Catherine Tabeau, and lived at St. Ferdinand in 1796; Paul Guitard at this time owned a place called "Guitard's Cul de sac" in the prairie.

In 1786, François Flory (or Fleury, dit Grenier); Catherine Crepeau Tougard, probably a relative of Joseph Crepe the soldier; Joseph Sumande, in this year sold property to Jacques Clamorgan; Claude Duflon (or Dufloc), dit Parisien, sold property this year to one Francisco; Pierre Choret in this year married Marie Josephine Kiercereau.

In 1787, Claude Mercier, surgeon; Antoine Vincent Bouis, merchant, native of Marseilles, Sub-Lieutenant of militia, got out stone on his lot in St. Louis in 1790, was also on the Missouri in 1795; Dorlac, probably François, had a grant on Prairie des Noyers; Florence Flory, negress, willed her property to her daughter Marie Flory; Charles Roy, here and at Portage des Sioux; Joseph DeSautelle, married Theresa Mainville in this year; Jean P. Pourcelly, a Provençal, was a master baker of St. Ferdinand, moved to Carondelet prior to 1803.

In 1788, Carlos Leveille, a colored man, it seems resided in the block fronting on the river south of the present Lombard street; Botelar; Joseph Biancour; Louis Biancour; Jean Baptiste Belland, afterwards lived on the Missouri opposite St. Charles and then in St. Charles; François Cotard (1788), seems to have been the earliest resident on Mill creek, he cultivated land for Joseph Motard, and in 1807 was at St. Ferdinand. Joseph Motard claimed land on Mill creek in 1788 and had an orchard bearing fine apples, and in 1793 Louis Dubreuil testified that Motard had a number of people working under him there, and that his (Dubreuil's) father bought produce of him. Michael Marli rented the place for several years as also Charles Vachard. Calvin Adams and Patrick Lee were successively the owners of this claim and his interests in the neighborhood.

In 1789, Simon Coussot (or Cuseau), in St. Charles in 1799; Noel Langlois; Amable Flamant, a stone mason.

In 1790, Gabriel Melody; Antoine Reihl (Reylh, Rheil or Reilhe), a merchant, lived on the river des Peres, and in the common-field near Carondelet one Antoine Reilhe, from Two Rivers, was the proprietor of a general store at Michilmackinac in 1783; Jean B. Dufaut, dit Benoni (also spelled Deffau, Defaut, Defaux), vstryman, married the widow of Louis B. Laroche, died 1802;

sippi, and to protect the village. At a later date, however, Lorimier acted in these negotiations directly as commissioner of Carondelet, one Dubois, may be son of the old soldier Louis Dubois, afterward found at St. Charles; Joseph LaCroix, afterward at St. Ferdinand; François Vallois; Jean Baptiste Tardif (Tardit), in his will made Jacques Clamorgan, merchant of St. Louis, his heir; Pelagie Primo; Pierre Barribeau, in 1796, at Crève Cœur and Pierre Troye (Trobe), Sub-Lieutenant of militia at St. Charles.

In 1792, Alexander Bellisime, born in Toulon, France, came to America during the Revolutionary war, died in 1833, sixty-seven years of age, hotel-keeper between what is now Myrtle and Spruce on 2nd street, opposite the old "Green Tree."

In 1793, Theresa Desmoulin; Ginginbre, returned to France in 1801; Joseph Calais, from Kaskaskia, also on the Missouri and at St. Fernando in 1797; Amable Oumate (Wimet); Jean Baptiste Ambroise Duval, dit Degroisiellier; afterward in 1799 in St. Charles district; Paul Guitard, a shoemaker, near St. Louis on Prairie des Noyers; Louis Guitard, dit La Grandeur, and Vincent Guitard were his sons, Louis was also north of St. Louis on the Mississippi, his sons were natives of Illinois; Jean Baptiste Marli died in 1797, his son Duke and brother Michael also here; Joseph Roy; Joseph Lecompte.

In 1794, Joseph Pallardy, died in this year; Jean Baptiste Desmoulin, stonemason, at St. Charles in 1800, and was 65 miles north of St. Louis; Marie La-Bastille, a free colored woman, the garrison for the Spanish troops was immediately in the rear of her lot; Jean Beaufils; Joseph Oneille (O'Neil) (1793), native of Quebec, Canada, son of Pierre O'Neill, and Joseph Chandonair, a merchant in St. Louis prior to this time owned property on Lake St. Mary, New Madrid district and lake St. Isidore bought of Pedro Saffray in 1803.

In 1795, Antoine Chenie, also at St. Ferdinand; Louis Dumont (or Dumond); Henry Belestre; Marie Bennet; Jean Belony Latresse; Catherine La-Violette, from Kaskaskia; Louis LaCroix, first came to St. Louis, but in 1798 a Louis LaCroix settled on the road leading to Mine LaMotte, in Ste. Genevieve district, near St. Michel, and may be the same. Joseph Labbadie, dit St. Pierre, afterwards moved to Florissant, a Joseph LaPierre in St. Louis in 1793, and perhaps same; Françoise Leveille, negress, no doubt related to Carlos already named; Joseph Lavallis; Titus LeBerge, Susa Leberge married François Tesson in 1787; Bazil Bissonette; John Stotts; Joseph Chartrand, owned property in the upper prairie near St. Charles on the Missouri in 1796, at Carondelet in 1797; Amable Chartrand, Senior, from Kaskaskia, at Portage des Sioux and Carondelet in 1802; Amable Chartrand, junior, and Thomas, also from Kaskaskia and afterwards at Carondelet; Adam Martin, in 1797 had a grant on the Missouri in St. Charles district, where in 1803 he employed a man by the name of Price to gather his corn, paying him two cows and calves; this place was on the frontier and the Indians were troublesome, lived at Marais des Liards; Theresa Barois (or Barion) near here on River des Pères; Françoise Brazeau, widow of Baptiste Charleville had a grant on the river des Pères.

In 1796, Joseph Louis (Lewis) in Bellevue valley; François Collard, near St. Louis.

In 1797, Jean Drouin, in St. Charles district, in 1799, 65 miles north of St. Louis; Jean Baptiste Morin, at Portage des Sioux in 1802, his brother Michael and mother Pelagie Morin were here prior to this time, and another brother Henry, later; John E. Allen testified to events in this year on the river des Pères, in St. Charles district in 1804; Claude Paneton; John Ball, on River des Pères near St. Louis and on Grand Glaize.

In 1798, Pierre Quenel; Margaret Martigny; Paul Dupuis (Dupois); John Lard (or Lord), at Spanish Ponds; Dr. Mackay Wherry, in 1800 at Portage des Sioux, and raised corn on his lot there in 1802, also in the St. Charles district in this year; Louis Martin, afterwards at St. Ferdinand; James McDaniels on the River des Pères and Cold Water and Missouri; Jean Baptiste Louis Collin, in commons north of Grand Rue, St. Ferdinand in 1800—seems to have moved up from New Madrid.

and invited these Indians to settle on the west side of the river to protect all the Spanish settlements from the incursions of the

In 1799, Louis Barois; Rene Brian; Hyacinth Egliz was also on the Mississippi and Maramec, and owned two tracts near Crève Cœur by purchase; Bazil Proulx, merchant, owned an estate consisting of a stone house, poultry house, petite mill, etc., was also at St. Charles in 1800, and on the Missouri; Pierre and Elizabeth Datchurut at New Madrid, 1792; Arend Rutgers, from Kentucky, merchant, was on the Dardenne in St. Charles district in this year, had a mill, store-houses, etc.

In 1800, Pierre Guerette, dit Dumont (or Dumond) from Kaskaskia; George Doggett was a witness to events in this year; Robert Forsyth; Henry Gratiot says as a boy played ball against Motard's mill with other boys, was a sort of resort for them; Mordecai Bell, in 1802 was on the Missouri, but sold his property there to Amos Stoddard, and after that this property was always called "Stoddard's Mound;" Patrick Lee, merchant in St. Louis, bought property on Mill creek in 1802; Gabriel Lord; Edward Bradley near St. Louis and on the Missouri; François Dupuis (or Dupois), a mongrel, descendant of Claude Dupois; Pedro Saffilard, a witness in St. Ferdinand.

In 1801, Joseph Neptune, sailor, died in this year; Hypolite and Sylvester Papin; Hyacinta Hamelin (Amelin); Pierre Bequette, from Kaskaskia, a very ancient family there, part of them coming to St. Louis at an early date, and others in Ste. Genevieve.

In 1802, Pierre Coudaire (or Couderre), a Provencal; Louis Ambroise; François Guinelle; Marie Simoneau; Phillip Guillory or Guillay; Louis Grimard, dit Charpentier at St. Charles in 1799. Prior to and in 1803, other residents were: Francisco Brichinelle; Julien Papin Benito; Dominique Uge; Baptiste Belcour; Helen Lereux; Joseph Descary; Baptiste Molere or Molair; Jacques Lageuness; Mary Nicolle Lebois; Jean Baptiste Erebour, dit Maturin (or Mataurin); Helen Delorier; Joseph Leblond; Jean Baptiste Girard; Felix Fontaine; Joseph Quenel; Jean P. Roy, dit Lapense, his property sold at public sale; François Châtillon, dit Godin; Robert Simpson bought property here prior to 1805; François Dorion, Junior; Mary Gyl de Guirau; Juan Gates; Charles Bosseron; Joseph Laprisse, was also at St. Ferdinand; Joseph Phillibert; Mathew and John Kerr; George and James Kennerly; Jean B. Larrade; Theresa Labbadie Joyal, daughter of Labbadie, dit St. Pierre; Hugh Connor; Baptiste Corno; Pierre Lirette; François Labreche; Louis Blanchette, married an Indian; J. B. Lamarche, dit Bricot; Pierre Chalifour; William Clark, a blacksmith in St. Louis; Barthélemi Courtmanche; François Laplante Lerie; Jean Baptiste Dubay; Alexis Thibaut or Thibault; Jean B. Ferrot, merchant; Antonio Bonnemain, merchant; Jean P. Comegys; Michael Foucher; Joseph Montaigne; Robert Duncan; Ralph Davis; Eugene Dorys (Dorsieres) Denaux; Calvin Adams; Etienne Barre, merchant; Lagarciniere, merchant; Gaspard Roubieux (probably Roubiere, dit European) merchant; Gabriel de la Claire, merchant and soldier; François Barrouelle, a native of St. Domingo, merchant; Louis Coignard, merchant, native of Châtillon; William Bellsa; Pierre St. Jean, dit Sans Souci, also at Carondelet; Louis Gibeau; Pierre Bordeau; Pierre Bourg; Samuel Solomon; Joseph Joinal LaBonte; Thomas Ligette; Jacob Brady; Jean P. Cabanne, native of Pau; Joseph Fayet; Louis Boudier; Pierre Valentine Ignace; Jean Jacques and Jean B. Lebeau; a Baptiste Lebeau in St. Charles in 1800; Jean B. Monier; Gabriel Paul; Pierre Panet; Andre Petteliar (or Peltier); François Doyon Emmons; White Matlock on the Missouri; Catherine Dodge on the River des Péres; François Hebert on the River des Péres; Mathew Remy (Ramey) and son Nathan; François Noise testifies he was a child in St. Louis when François Moreau in 1796 lived there, and fought with his son, Alexis Moreau, was also at Carondelet; Joseph Sorin, merchant, native of LaRochelle; Joseph Segond, merchant; Antoine Senacal; Provencal, (may be Pierre Coudaire) a trader, and may be the same who is referred to by Sinclair as "having been equipped with goods by Calvé to trade in the Spanish country," and who refused

Osages and other hostile tribes.¹¹⁷ At the time these Indians from the east side came to upper Louisiana it was also the policy of the Spanish government to strengthen in every way the military position of Spain in upper Louisiana, because the rapid expansion of American influence and increase of the population on the Ohio and in the territory between the Ohio and the Lakes filled the Spaniards with apprehension. The free navigation of the lower Mississippi was then a constant source of friction and controversy.

Colonel George Morgan, who came to upper Louisiana with a view of establishing an American colony in the Spanish possessions near the mouth of the Ohio, under a supposed grant of Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish ambassador at Philadelphia, visited St. Louis in connection with this project. Perez, in a letter to Governor Miro, informs him that Morgan was accompanied by seventyheads of families intending to settle, if he found a suitable location, and that in addition he had with him eleven Indians from on the Ohio; that he gave these some presents which made them "very happy," and that they promised to tell the chiefs of their tribes how well they had been received. He furnished Colonel Morgan provisions and there guides. The visit of Colonel Morgan resulted in the founding of New Madrid. It is said that while Perez was commandant, in 1792, honey-bees came for the first time to St. Louis.¹¹⁸ Perez was an old soldier. He was in the Spanish military service 38 years and 10 months. Entering as a private, he finally attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the Stationary Regiment of Louisiana; he saw active service in Spain and Portugal, and came with O'Reilly to Louisiana in 1763; participated in the campaigns in Florida under Galvez; in 1773 was at the siege and capture of Fort Manchack, and in 1780 at the capture of Mobile and Pensacola.¹¹⁹

Perez was succeeded in 1792 by Don Zenon Trudeau, "lieutenant-colonel and captain of grenadiers of the Stationary Regiment of to go to Michilimackinac and therefore is denounced by the English Commander as a "man of infamous character." (11 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 158.) Julien Roy, married Marie Barbara Saucier, their son Louis in 1802 married Catherine Millette, daughter of Jean Baptiste Millette of New Madrid.

¹¹⁷ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 800.

¹¹⁸ Scharff's History of St. Louis, vol. 1, 212.

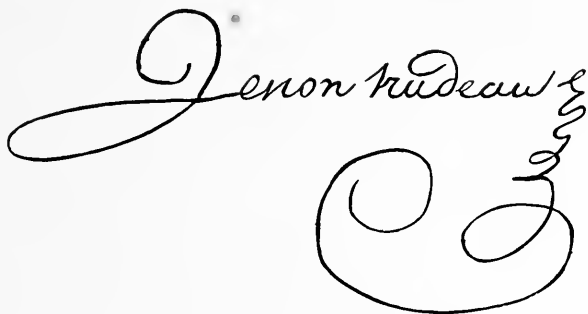
¹¹⁹ In 1793 he retired from the service on account of advanced age and ill-health contracted during the "rigorous winters which he endured" while "commanding the settlements of the western part of Illinois for the space of five years" and prayed for the monthly pay of a lieutenant-colonel retired, but Carondelet thought the "pay of a retired Captain enough as it is known that he enjoys a fortune quite sufficient to support himself and family with decency."

Louisiana.”¹²⁰ The population of the country now began to increase rapidly. Many Americans immigrated into the Spanish settlements, influenced by the free and generous donations of land. Probably in consequence of these numerous land grants and the increased value of land Don Antonio Soulard was appointed surveyor of upper Louisiana and acted as such from February 3, 1795, until the cession of Louisiana. Soulard was also captain of the militia, and *Ayudante Mayor* of St. Louis. In 1800 he was commissioned by the Marqués Casa Calvo, then governor-general of Louisiana, and Don Ramon de Lopez y Angulo, intendant-general of Louisiana, to make a report of the fortifications and necessary repairs and afterward, accordingly, made a full report to Lieutenant-Colonel Don Carlos Howard, military commandant of upper Louisiana, in regard to the same. Soulard was a native of France, had served in the French navy, and, wrecked in fortune came to Louisiana. In a memorial to the commissioners to adjust land titles, he complains that the services he rendered were never adequately rewarded, and that he only received a concession of about four thousand acres of land, when he might have received much more “from the well known munificence of the Spanish government,” which granted so much to “strangers scarcely known.”

Shortly after he assumed his office Trudeau was surprised by the arrival of one Don Pedro Vial in St. Louis, who, accompanied by two young men, came “from the city of Santa Fé of the Kingdom of Nuevo Mexico, having been commissioned by Governor Don Fernando de la Concha to open a road from that city to St. Louis.” Trudeau promptly advised Baron Carondelet of the arrival of Vial, and that he reported that he had not encountered an obstacle that he had not conquered, and that he could have marched from there to St. Louis in 25 days. Trudeau took a deep interest in the exploration of the upper Missouri river, and in the expansion of the fur trade. Under his advice, in 1794 some of the merchants of St. Louis formed a company to exploit the fur trade on the upper Mis-

¹²⁰ Trudeau was born in New Orleans Nov. 28, 1748—a son of Sieur Jean Trudeau, a lieutenant “des troupes de sa majesté détachée en cette colonie.” His mother was Marie de Carriere. He was well educated, had a family of several sons, one of his sons was Don Carlos Laveau Trudeau, surveyor general of Louisiana. Don Juan Baptiste Trudeau, the first school teacher of St. Louis, was his relative. Among the militia who enlisted at Montreal in 1663, we find the name of Etienne Trudeau, may be a common ancestor of Zenon and Jean Baptiste Trudeau. (*Sulte Canadien Française*, p. 9.) Zenon Trudeau in 1781 married Eulalie De Lassize, daughter of Nicolas DeLassize, captain in the royal army, and commandant of the militia of New Orleans.

souri, combining their capital for that purpose, and also agreed to use their exertions to penetrate the sources of the Missouri and "beyond if possible to the Southern Ocean." Clamorgan was active in organ-



izing this company. At his instance the *syndic* of St. Louis called together the commercial community—*comercia*—of the town to organize a company to secure this exclusive trade "farther up than the Ponkas," the exclusive trade with this tribe having been granted to Juan Munie. All the merchants of St. Louis at that time were present at this meeting—viz., Reihle, Papin, Yosty, Motard, Sanguinette, Vasquez, Sarpy, Cerré, Roy, Saint Cyrete, Conde, Andreville, Vincent, Lafleur, Du Breuil, Marie, L'Abbadie, Chouteau Senior, Robidoux, Chauvin, Collell, Duroche, La Valle, La Goye, Chouteau Junior, Gratiot, Delor and Clamorgan. The articles of association approved by the government were submitted, but Reihle, Motard, Durocher, Vasquez, Robidoux, Sanguinette, Helena St. Grasse, Du Breuil, and Clamorgan only entered into the corporation. Clamorgan was selected as director, and in a letter to Carondelet explains that some merchants did not join for fear of loss, and others "with the intention of harming, if they can, in the future the enterprise," and hence, since the company was about to incur "immense expense," petitioned that the exclusive trade on the upper Missouri be guaranteed the company for the first ten years, and Carondelet accordingly approved "the exclusive privilege" of trade for ten years.

This Missouri trading company was not a profitable venture; dissensions among the members, jealousies and want of confidence in Clamorgan making success impossible. Clamorgan, himself, under the name of Todd & Company, it was charged, monopolized the trade of the upper Missouri, and diverted it from New Orleans. Joseph Robidoux made an effort, without success, to have the company

reorganized by Gayoso, and Clamorgan excluded from it,¹²¹ charging that Clamorgan's "probity was suspected by several," that he was "intriguing, of fluent tongue, pliant and even servile," but admits that he had been accustomed to conduct great operations. It also developed that at least some of the merchants who had refused to take shares in the company afterward petitioned that the exclusive trade of the company might be revoked, as Clamorgan had anticipated.¹²²



THE CERRÉ HOUSE

In 1796, when the expedition under Lt. Col. Don Carlos Howard¹²³ came up the river to St. Louis in keelboats and galleys, as already related, with a force of one hundred men, then almost an

¹²¹ A native of Guadalupe, a merchant, fur trader, explorer, and land speculator, acquired a claim of Regis Loisel to 157,062 arpens on the Missouri; made a claim for 136,904 arpens on the Mississippi below New Madrid (now in Arkansas) to establish a rope walk and form a Canadian establishment; made another claim of 500,000 arpens fronting on the Mississippi, between the Dardenne and Charette, to pay him for an exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains, as chief officer; and another large district on the Maramec under grant of Trudeau, dated 1795, and various other smaller claims, the whole of his claims amounting to nearly 1,000,000 arpens. He was in Mexico in 1808.

¹²² See Memorial of Manuel Lisa, Chas. Sanguinette, Gosti, Guillaume Hèbert, Gregorio Sarpy, G. F. Robidoux, Patrick Lee, F. M. Benoit, Andre dit Le-compte, Joseph Marie, Andreville, Jacento Egliz, A. Reihle, J. Moutard, Emileon Yosti, Antoine Reynal, François Valois, Gabriel Proulx, G. R. Spencer, Mackay Wherry, W. Lacroix Prieur, J. B. Monier, Antoine Janis.—In Archives of the Indies, Seville, cf.

¹²³ Howard was an Irishman in the Spanish service.

army, this event at the time created no little sensation. The year of the arrival of these boats became known as the "*Année des Galères*" among the inhabitants.¹²⁴

Trudeau, on August 29, 1799, was succeeded by Carlos De-Hault DeLassus de Luziere, transferred to St. Louis from New Madrid, where he had been stationed as commandant since 1796. New Madrid commercially at that time was the most important station on the upper Mississippi. It was a port of entry, and all vessels going up or down the river, to or from New Orleans, were compelled to land there for inspection. The river traffic was rapidly increasing, and DeLassus complained that his duties were very onerous. Very likely on his application, he was transferred to St. Louis, so as to be nearer his father, the commandant at New Bourbon. Prior to the appointment of DeLassus, as lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana, New Madrid was a separate and independent post, and the commander there exercised the power of a subdelegate. When DeLassus was transferred to St. Louis, New Madrid and its dependencies were attached to, and first came under the jurisdiction of, the lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana. He was particularly advised by Gayoso, to encourage immigration from Canada, "as this is really the people we want," and he instructs him to ascertain "how it would be best to bring the people from Canada under the lowest expense."¹²⁵ DeLassus was the last Spanish lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana. While he was lieutenant-governor the people of St. Louis made a patriotic war contribution to aid Spain in the war.¹²⁶

Small-pox first appeared in St. Louis in 1799, and hence the year was called "*Année de la Picotté*." The winter following being unusually severe, the year 1800 was known among the people as "*Année*

¹²⁴ 1 Hunt's Minutes, Book I, p. 127, Missouri Historical Society Archives, Chouteau's evidence.

¹²⁵ Letter Gayoso to DeLassus, March 2, 1799 — Chouteau Collection.

¹²⁶ The subscription list preserved in the Archives of the Indies gives the names of "well-to-do people" of St. Louis who contributed on that occasion, and the several amounts, as follows: Gregorio Sarpy, 50 pesos; Carlos Gratiot, 50 pesos; Carlos Sanguinette, 50 pesos; L. P. Didier, 12 pesos; Francisco Marie Benoit, 30 pesos; Patricio Lee, 20 pesos; Pedro Chouteau, 50 pesos; Bernardo Pratte, 25 pesos; Silvestre Labbadie, 25 pesos; Jos. Robideau, 50 pesos; Francisco Vallè (Vallois) 10 pesos; Benito Vasquez, 10 pesos; Andres L'Andreville, 10 pesos; Jos. Brazeau, 20 pesos; Don Luis Labeaume, 10 pesos; Luis Coignard, 10 pesos; Don Jos. Hortiz, 25 pesos; Antonio Reihle, 10 pesos; Jacinto St. Cyr, 50 pesos; Don Santiago Chauvin, 10 pesos; Don Antonio Soulard 30 pesos; Mackay Wherry, 20 pesos; Pasqual Ceré, 20 pesos; Juan Baptiste Trudeau, 5 pesos; Manuel de Lisa, 10 pesos; Don Auguste Chouteau, 100 pesos; and Don Antonio Vincent Buois, 50 pesos. Total 762 pesos.

du Grand Hivèr." Chouteau says that in this winter the thermometer fell thirty-two degrees below zero.¹²⁷ In 1801 the Spanish government established a military hospital at St. Louis and of this hospital Dr. Saugrain was appointed Surgeon at a monthly salary of 30 dollars.¹²⁸ St. Louis, says Austin, at this time contained more than two hundred houses, "some of stone,"¹²⁹ had a number of "wealthy merchants and an extensive trade from the Missouri and on the upper Mississippi," but Morales complained in 1802 that the secret importation of English and American goods is depriving the Government of its revenue and New Orleans of trade.¹³⁰ The immigration of farmers from the United States also continued to increase, and to these settlers DeLassus made



many grants of land. At the close of 1803 nearly one-half of the population of upper Louisiana was Anglo-American, residing mostly on farms and isolated homesteads.

Several years after Laclede established his trading post, Clement Delor de Treget,¹³¹ born at Quercy, Cahors, in the south of France, established himself on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Rivière des Pères, about ten miles below Laclede's village, probably on the site of the original Jesuit missionary settlement. De Treget, it is said, had been an officer in the French navy. When he first arrived

¹²⁷ 1 Hunt's Minutes, Book 1, p. 127, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

¹²⁸ Letter of Morales to De Lassus, August 5, 1801.

¹²⁹ And "was better built than any town on the river" and asserts that some of the best hewn stone of Fort de Chartres were taken there.

¹³⁰ Letter of Morales to De Lassus, January 21, 1802.

¹³¹ Pierre Delor de Treget, son of Clement, was a captain of militia at Carondelet, and on the death of his father acted as commandant. Had a grant on road leading from St. Louis to Carondelet and on the Gravois. The first wife of Clement Delor de Treget was Catherine Marin, who died December 14, 1776, leaving four children, Pierre Delor de Treget, intermarried with Sophia Chouquet; Madelaine, intermarried with François Cailhol in 1781, and afterwards with Lambert Lajoie; Marie Rose, intermarried with Alexis Marie, 1784; his second wife was Angelique A. Martin with whom he intermarried February 15, 1779, and of their four children Angelique intermarried with Hyacinth Pidgeon; Felicite with Antoine Moitier; Margaret with J. B. M. Chatillon, and Agnes with Leon Constant, all early residents of upper Louisiana. The Ste. Genevieve church records show that one Jos. Delor de Treget resided there in 1774.

in Louisiana, he settled at Ste. Genevieve, but in 1767 from that place came up the river with his wife. Charmed with the beauty of the country, the hills gently sloping to the shore near the mouth of the Rivière des Pères, and the diversified landscape of prairie and open woodland, he resolved to settle there, and here St. Ange made a grant of land to him. At the foot of what is now known as Elwood street he built a small stone house, residing there until his death. The stone house stood for a hundred years, but finally gave way to improvements made by the Iron Mountain railroad in that locality. A village soon sprung up near his place of residence, known at first as "Delor's village," but afterward as "Catalan's prairie," so named for one Louis Catalan, also an early settler. Then the village was named Louisbourg, and finally, shortly before the acquisition of Louisiana, was called Carondelet, in honor of Baron de Carondelet, governor-general of Louisiana. Generally, however, the village was known as "Vide Poche" (Empty Pocket), a nick-name bestowed upon it by the habitants of St. Louis. It was also known as "Pain de Sucre." The village grew slowly, and for a number of years not more than twenty families lived there, principally engaged in agriculture, cultivating an adjacent common-field, "a farming people," Chouteau testified.¹³² The village had a common of 6,000 arpens, in fact more "commons" than they were able to pay Chouteau for surveying, and the whole town was present when the survey was made. When Louisiana was acquired, according to Stoddard, the place consisted of fifty houses and had a population of about two hundred and fifty. Pierre Delor de Treget, son of Clement Delor de Treget, was syndic of Carondelet after his father's death. "A man with no capacity, he neither reads nor writes," says DeLassus, and by way of apology for this appointment, adds that he "was appointed captain commandant for want of others."¹³³ In 1793 Carondelet first appointed him as sub-lieutenant to form a company of militia at "San Carlos del Misury" because "a person of courage, energy and good conduct." How rapidly, in many instances, the descendants of the French settlers retrograded intellectually and educationally in the wilderness this instance shows. Delor de Treget himself undoubtedly was a man of culture and education, and that he should have allowed his family to grow up without even the rudiments of knowledge shows how indifferent to the importance of education the surrounding wil-

¹³² American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 672.

¹³³ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 672.

derness and isolation from civilized and civilizing influences made him, as well as many of the other early French and American settlers. Apparently without a struggle to impart to his family the knowledge he personally possessed, De Treget allowed his children to grow up in the grossest ignorance, little higher in the intellectual scale than the Indians by whom he and they were surrounded.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Other residents of Carondelet were, Auguste Amiot (or Amyot) (1777), colored, in 1780 in St. Louis; Coussot (1778), Simon Coussot was in St. Louis in 1789; Jean B. Menard (1778); Louis and Joseph Menard (1786); François Lacombe (1791) on the Gravois near Carondelet, also owned a tract of land on the Maramec, which was granted to McFall but abandoned by him, another tract on the Isle à Boeuf, and in 1800 was a merchant in New Madrid, others of this family at Ste. Genevieve; Louis Ronde (or Ronday) dit Motie (1792), also a resident of Prairie Catalan near the village. The de la Rondes, according to Sulte, were "interpretes et agents dans les contrees sauvages" (7 Sulte's Canadien Français, p. 41); Julien Chouquette (1793), owned property at the fork of the Mississippi and River des Péres, was captain of the militia, and had a sugar house which he sold in 1804 to Antoine Pinoyer; Jean Baptiste Dauphin (Dolphin or Dofine) (1794), on river Feefee in 1798, and at Portage des Sioux in 1802; Joseph Lemai (or Lemay) (1794); François Fournier (1793); François DeSalle, dit Cayolle (1795), Louis Degieure (DeGuire) (1795). A DeGuire family in Canada in 1751, received the grant of a seignery in Yamaska county, under name of DeGuire DesRosiers. A native priest of Canada in 1750 also named DeGuire. (7 Sulte Canadien Française, p. 45.) To this family the DeGuires in Missouri may be related. A Louis Gegieure was here in 1795, and likely the same person; Gabriel Constant, dit Laramie, Senior (1795), from Vincennes, and Gabriel, Junior, at Belle Point near Carondelet, Julien Leon, Catherine and Joseph Constant, dit Laramie all lived in and near Carondelet, Joseph also at St. Ferdinand; and Gabriel, Senior, on the river Cuivre in St. Charles district in 1800; Veuve Rondon (Rondeau); Auguste Gamache, Junior (1795); J. B. Gamache, Senior, and son J. B., Junior, (1795); Jean Baptiste gave his name in Hunt's Minutes as "DeGamache" (3 Hunt's Minutes, p. 103, Missouri Historical Society Archives.) The Gamache name famous in Canadian history. In 1652 Genevieve Gamache, dit Lamarre, married Julien Fortin, dit Bellefontaine, in 1762 Nicolas Gamache and Louis Gagnier, dit Belleadvance, received the seignery of Lafrenage. A Nicolas Rohault, Marquis de Gamache, a native of Picardy, gave 30,000 ecu to the Quebec seminary in 1639; his son, Rene, a Jesuit, induced his father to make this gift; Lambert Salle, dit Lajoie (1795), may be a relative of Jean of St. Louis; Charles Vallé (1797), owned a tract on the Gravois near Carondelet, but did not live on it; Christopher Shultz and his two sons Peter and George (1797), evidently Germans, and also had property in St. Louis; François Roy (1800), also on the Mississippi in St. Charles district; Henry Chouquette; Joseph Leduc (1801), in St. Charles in 1802; Pierre Villeroy (or Villeray) (prior to 1802) from Vincennes. Others we find here prior to 1802 were: François DesNoyer, also at St. Louis; Pierre Mason, probably a relative of Amable Partenay, dit Mason, of Ste. Genevieve; Michael Tesson, dit Honore, who had a two-horse power grist-mill, Victoire Tesson married George Shultz; Gabriel Hunot, also in St. Louis; François Porier, in the common-field; Nicolas Gay, dit Gravir; Manuel Andre Roque, was the interpreter, appointed by the English, to attend "Wabasha" in 1780, and perhaps a relative or the same person, who was associated with Calvé, also an English interpreter, had a son who was an interpreter; Augustine Dubay (or Dube); Jean Baptiste Bouvet (Beauvet or Beauvais); Louis Moques (or Mouques). Others who owned property here by right of purchase in early times: Louis Constant, dit Laramie; Mary Ann Black; Pascal Mallet (Mayette) from Vincennes; Dominique Eugene (probably Uge of St. Louis); Antoine Pinoyer (1804) bought sugar-house

When the United States took possession of Louisiana, the St. Louis district embraced all the territory between the Maramec and the Missouri and extended indefinitely west. The largest settlement in this district outside of St. Louis was St. Ferdinand, or San Fernando de Florissant. This village then contained sixty houses. The date when the first settlement was made here is not now known. It is, however, supposed that about the time Laclède established his post some of the French immigrants from the east side established themselves near, and on Cold Water creek, engaged in hunting and incidentally opened up little farms in a common-field in the adjacent prairie. In 1767 Francesco Rui established "Fort El Principe de Asturias" near the Missouri, eight miles or so from where the village of St. Ferdinand is now located and it may be that the history of the first settlement of this village is connected with the erection of the fort. The ancient village of St. Ferdinand was located on rising ground on one side of Cold Water, opposite a fertile prairie two miles wide and twelve miles long, running parallel with, and about two or three miles from the Missouri river. This region was known as Florissant or "Fleurissant" long before it received the name of St. Ferdinand or "San Fernando de Florissant," and no doubt was so named because here we can well imagine the wild flowers then bloomed luxuriantly in the open prairie, and deeply impressed by their beauty even the rude hunters and trappers who first beheld the virgin land. Fountain à Biche or Cold Water, however, was called Fernando river (Rio Fernando) by the Spaniards. According to Perrin du Lac, Florissant was established in 1790 by "some inhabitants of St. Louis,"¹³⁵ but in this he is evidently mistaken, because many families resided in this locality long before this time. San Fernando de Florissant is also supposed to have been a missionary station, but of this we have no definite evidence. Although this suggestion is not improbable, because the Jesuit missionaries at that time traveled far and wide to promote the cause of religion. The location of St. Ferdinand "would have been most agreeable, if the inhabitants had not sacrificed everything to the proximity of the stream, which, however, contains

of Julien Chouquette; Devance Guion (1804); William Glenn; Jean Eugene Leitensdorfer; François Lemai; Louis Rivience (or Revence); Jacques Brunet; John Fardon; Jean Baptiste Mousset; William L. Long a witness of matters at Carondelet, and had an interest in a two-horse power grist-mill, and Z. Sappington had a two-horse power grist-mill, Hyacinth Pigeon, Amand Micheau, had a shot factory below a landmark on the "commons" known as the "Sugar Loaf." Henry Morin, Amable Chartrand; Louis Courtois, also lived here.

¹³⁵ Travels of Perrin du Lac, p. 48.

water only one half the year.”¹³⁶ However, the village was located in a fertile land, fresh springs gushed from the hill-sides, and park-like woods interspersed with prairies made a charming landscape. Perrin du Lac observed, in 1802, that the people could live here in opulence if they were able to exchange at a reasonable rate the productions of their lands for clothing and other necessities. During the Spanish occupancy of the country François Dunegant dit Beausier, was commandant of this village. DeLassus says that he was “an honest and brave officer;” but that he could “not read and write,” a poor man financially, but says Pascal Cerré “as to character, one of the best amongst us.”¹³⁷ Dunegant was in command of the settlement from 1780 until the acquisition of the country by the United States.¹³⁸ The extent of his territorial jurisdiction as commandant seems to have been somewhat indefinite, but extended over the village and adjacent country to the Missouri, and as far east as the Mississippi.¹³⁹ A company of militia was also organized in this village. Of this company Don Francisco de Lauxier was sub-lieutenant in 1793 — so also Francesco Moreau. In 1782 the Indians were very troublesome in that neighborhood. The earliest resident in the neighborhood of St. Ferdinand was Nicholas Hebert, dit LeCompte, who lived there in 1765.¹⁴⁰ Nicolas, Antoine and François Marechal, Jacques Marechal, and others of the same name were also here certainly as early as 1785. Hyacinth Deshetre, an Indian interpreter, came over from Cahokia about the same time.¹⁴¹ Pierre Deveaux (Devot), Joseph Montreaux and Noel Brunet were settlers in 1784, and Jean Baptiste Creeley, Creliz, or Crely, came from Kaskaskia in 1787. He owned a wind-mill on the Mississippi in 1798. In 1824 Joseph Presse¹⁴² gave evidence before Commissioner Hunt as an “an-

¹³⁶ Travels of Perrin du Lac, p. 49.

¹³⁷ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 612.

¹³⁸ 1 Billon's Annals, p. 301. Auguste Chouteau erroneously says that he founded the village in 1796.—Hunt's Minutes, Book 1, p. 127.

¹³⁹ Prior to his appointment as commandant, says he was a laborer at the post of St. Louis, in 1782 was at Fontaine des Biches.

¹⁴⁰ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 613.

¹⁴¹ The Deshetres were a family of Indian interpreters; Louis Deshetre was one of the first settlers of St. Louis; Antoine Deshetre, another member of the family, married Marie Kiercereau in 1788, died in St. Louis in 1798, his wife surviving him seventeen years; and Jean Baptiste Deshetre was in St. Louis in 1768; and one Joseph Deshetre, a resident of St. Ferdinand, testified before Commissioner Hunt to events prior to the cession of Louisiana.

¹⁴² Among other residents we find, Pierre Rousel (or Roussel) (1785), his property sold at public sale, also on the Cuivre in 1800; Auguste B. Trudelle (1786) also at New Madrid; Joseph Aubouchon, dit Yoche (1786), built a mill

cient inhabitant." Hezekiah Lard settled in this neighborhood in 1797, and erected a grist and saw-mill, which was in operation in later, also had a grant of an island in the Missouri river; Louis Reno (or Renault or Renaud) (1786); Joseph Hubert or Herbert (1788), seems to have been in the country in 1770, but afterwards in 1800 was in St. Charles district on the Cuivre, and on the Mississippi north of St. Louis. François and Michel Creliz from Kaskaskia (1787), no doubt relatives of Jean Baptiste Creliz. Alexis Cadot (1789); François Riviere (1790); Louis Ouvre (1790); Paul Dejarlais (1790), also on the Cuivre; Antoine Dejarlais (1790) on the Missouri and Cuivre in 1800; Baptiste Presse (1792) on Grand Rue, a Louis Baptiste Presse was here in 1796; James Williams (1790) from New Madrid; Quebec L'Evêque (1792) evidently a nick-name, an early inhabitant; Jean Baptiste DeLisle (1792) from Kaskaskia, in 1797 had property outside of the town on rivers Fernando and Cuivre, and in 1802 on Lake Gayoso in New Madrid district; Jean Baptiste Billon (or Billot) (1792), a Baptiste Billia or Billieu here in 1796, and married Pelagie B. Marechal Latour; Louis Picard (1794); Joseph Rivet (1794); Jacques Tabeau (1794); Joseph LaPierre (1793), who may be Joseph Labbadie, dit St. Pierre, or LaPierre; François Honore (1793), at Portage des Sioux in 1802, also Village à Robert; Herbert (Hunert) Talbot (or Tabeau or Tabot) (1794), seems also to have been in New Madrid; Michael Talbot; François Menard (1794) from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia; Louis and Joseph Rapieux, dit Lamare (1794); Joseph Lagrave (1794); Baptiste (or Jean Baptiste) Lachasse (Lachaise) (1794), Jean Baptiste Lachasse changed his name to Hunt, he was at Marais des Liards in 1802 and at St. Louis; Charles Lachaise; Madame Ladoucier (Ladouceur or Ladousier), an ancient resident and probably widow of Antoine; François Mendelle (or Mendelet, dit Bracome), and Auguste Buron cultivated land as partners in 1794; Buron was also in St. Louis; Amable Gagne (1794) from Kaskaskia, where he made sugar on the Marais Apaquois or river Gagne; Louis Marie (1794) also in St. Louis; Joseph Cadien (1794) from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia; Antoine Roy, dit Desjardin (1794), afterwards was on the Mississippi near St. Louis, where he built a wind-mill, also on Prairie Boeuf Blanc; Toussaint Robideau (or Robidoux) from Kaskaskia; François St. Cyr (1794); Michael Hebert (1794); Louis and Baptiste Aler (1795); there also seems to have lived here a Misset (or Minet) Alares, a Kaskaskia family, and the name is spelled in the American State Papers in every possible way, Alary, Alere, Allard, Allaire and Allari. It may be it should be spelled Allart, the name of one of the early missionaries, a Recollet priest; Joseph Presse (1794), also owned property sixty-five miles from St. Louis; Father Didier, priest of the village; Antoine Dubreuil (1795) and was on river Aux Bœufs in St. Charles district in 1799; and Pascal Dubreuil, son of Louis, also François; Romain Dufresne (or Dufrene or Dufraîne) (1795). One of the one hundred associates of New France in 1627 was Charles Dufresne, and secretary to the general of the galleys. Charles Mercier (1795) probably a branch of the Kaskaskia family of that name; Louis Tiblon, dit Petit Blanc (1795); Pierre Payant, dit St. Ange (1795), also in New Madrid district; Jean Baptiste St. Germain (1796); Noel Marechal (1796); Marion Labonne (1796); (Augustine) and François Bernard, dit L'Européen (1796); François in 1797 had a grant in St. Charles district; J. Thp. (Theophile) Boudoin (1796); Michael Castello (1796); Jacques Pera (Perez) (1796); Jean Baptiste Laurain (or Lorain), Junior (1796); Louis Collin (1797); Bernard Fetir (1797); Jean Farrot (1797), very likely Jarrotte or Jarrette, or Farrow, all of which names are mentioned; Joseph Couder (Conder or Coudaiere) (1797), from Kaskaskia where he served in the militia; Braconia (1797) Jean Bonin (1797), from Kaskaskia, on the river (creek) Fernando, and at Marais des Liards; Toussaint Tourville (1797); Pierre Tourville (1797), between the Missouri and St. Fernando rivers, his land sold at public sale to François Marat; Charles Tibeau (1797), on the Missouri and Fernando; Etienne Labonte (1790); Louis Liretet (1797); Auguste B. Lagasse (or Lagasa), sold in 1802 to George Fallis, an early American settler; Benjamin Verger (1797); Amable Montreuil (1797), probably a Kaskaskia immigrant; Palmer; Gabriel Aubouchon (1798); Baptiste Derosia

1799. Trudeau assisted Lard in the construction of his mill by loaning him \$200. The United States cantonment, Bellefontaine, was (DeSoca), dit Canadian (1798), may be the same as Jean Baptiste Derosier; L'Abbe Delorier (Delaurier) (1798); Amable St. Gem (or St. Jeme) (1799), probably related to the Beauvais, dit St. Jeme family of Ste. Genevieve; Joseph Moreau (1799); Baptiste Lachall (1799); Joseph Tibeau (or Thibault) (1799); Louis Lajor, dit Lajoy(e) (1799), also in St. Charles district in 1800; Antoine Lenacal (Senacal) (1799); Charles Dejarlais (1799) at Portage des Sioux in 1802; Joseph Lamirande, Lamer or Lammare (1800), from Saint Antonio Parish, lower Canada; Kincaid Caldwell (1799), on the Missouri near St. Ferdinand; Jean Baptiste Tesson (1799), and was at St. Louis, and also owner of property on Salt river in St. Charles district; Antoine Rancontre (1800) on the Missouri near St. Ferdinand, also in St. Louis; Jean Louis Vincent (1800); Louis Moreau (1800); François Drucis (1800); Amable St. Cenne (1800), came to the country and was in the employ of Mr. Bernard; Pierre Bargeron (1801); Eugennie Jerrette or Madame Therburn, dit Jarette, in 1801 exchanged property with Joseph Lagasse; Francois Payant; Pierre Provenchère; Jean Marie Courtney; Joseph Pelair (Pilaire); Amable Louis May (1804), on the Missouri and Fernando; Philipine Duchene (or Duchesne); Pelagie Belleville; François Boulanger; Delas; Joseph Joinal (Joutal); Marie Joseph Dunand, priest of the village; Antoine Deroche; Planchet, captain of militia at St. Ferdinand; Baptiste, Michael, Francois and Noel Honore, sons of Louis Honore, afterward members of this family lived at Marais des Liards; Antoine Smith.

In addition to these we find the following American settlers, either in the village and south of fork of the Missouri river, or in the adjacent territory: Edmond Hodges, who was syndic in the neighborhood in 1787; James Williams (1790); Cumberland James (1793); William Musick (1795), from Kaskaskia, also David and Thomas R. Musick, David was also at Marais des Liards in 1797, and part of the family on Feefee in 1800; John Brown (1796), from Kentucky, afterward moved to Fox river, and in 1797 owned property at Marais des Liards, his son B. G. Brown taught school for many years; William Griffen (1796); Isaac Crosby (1797), who in 1798 sold to Charles Mercier his claim in the common-field; Thomas Williams (1797), on the Maramec and Williams creek in 1800; Samuel, William, and Amos Duncan (1797), Amos afterwards removed to Pearl river in the Mississippi territory; Thomas Wilkinson (1797); Thomas Hooper (1797); William Palmer (1797), on the Missouri near St. Ferdinand, also claimed 1,000 arpents in the St. Charles district; Gilbert and Daniel Hodges (1798); Samuel Hodges, Senior, and Junior, (1798), also on the Dardenne; Ebenezer Hodges, Senior and Junior (1798), all these seem to have been on the Missouri near the town; David Brown (1798), from Kentucky; James Smith, Senior, (1798), and his sons James, Eli and Levi; George Smith (1798), and at Marais des Liards; John Patterson (1798), from Kaskaskia, seems to have lived on the Mississippi in the Ste. Genevieve district, and also in the New Madrid district; George Fallis, land speculator (1798) owned a number of tracts of land around St. Ferdinand, had a tract on the Missouri near St. Charles in 1800, bought Joseph Rivet claim, paying him in wheat; Bonaventure Marion; Baptiste Marion, who was also in St. Charles district; Sarah James (1799) on the Missouri; John G. James (1800), who owned considerable property; Farquar McKenzie (1800); Peter and John Ellis (1800); William Herrington (1800); William Hartley (1800); Joab Barton (1800).

Others here at an early date: James Whitesides; James English, from Tennessee; François Mandene; John Huit (Hewett); Uriah Campbell on the Missouri near the town; Joel L. Musick; J. J. James, the father of Judge Hyatt was also an early and prominent resident here. At this time so much confidence was shown in each other, it is said that the first lock on a smokehouse caused great indignation. Hezekiah Crosly (or Crosby); Alexander Clark (also at Portage des Sioux), Joseph Todd and James Mitchell in 1801 were residents near St. Ferdinand; Pierre Vial, dit Marritou (probably Meritoire), William Hart and Ira Nash (1801).

afterwards located near his plantation.¹⁴³ Pascal Cerré and others said that all the springs in this locality were called "L'eau froid" since 1787.

West of St. Louis, James Mackay, a native of the Parish of Kil-donan, county of Sutherland, northeast part of Scotland and one of the first English-speaking settlers of upper Louisiana, established a settlement known as "Sn Andre del Misuri," and of this settlement in May 1798 was appointed commandant by Gayoso. This village (now in the river) was laid off by one John Henry, in that part of the Missouri river bottom known as Bon Homme. Mackay was a man of education, a surveyor by profession and conversant both with the French and Spanish languages, was an able executive officer, a captain of the militia, and managed his settlements without friction, keeping down all dissension among the settlers. DeLassus says that he was an "officer of knowledge, zealous and punctual," and that "he caused roads and bridges to be constructed by the inhabitants." In 1797 he built a horse-mill on Wild Horse creek. In 1795 and 1796 Mackay was employed by Carondelet, as "a person of great loyalty and merits" to make an exploration on the upper Missouri, and in his letters to the Prince of Peace states that prior to that time he had been employed by the English with great success in an exploration of the countries on the Missouri "with the intent of opening communication with the South Sea."¹⁴⁴ As a general agent of the Company of Missouri he was dispatched by Clamorgan, to discover the Pacific ocean, and left St. Louis in August, 1795, accompanied by a number of picked men, going by boat up the river. He made one of the earliest maps of the upper Missouri region, until that time an "unknown part of the world." His journal of this expedition delivered to the Governor Don Manuel Gayoso, was never published by the Spanish government, but in search of material for this history,

¹⁴³ Other settlers in the neighborhood of Cold Water were: Elisha Herrington (1796) originally from Tennessee, but came here from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia, was a mill-wright by trade, and built a mill in 1799 at St. Ferdinand, and had a flour and saw-mill on the Mississippi and Petite rivière St. Roman (or Sandy creek) in St. Charles district, in 1801 at Charboneau; John B. Hart (1797); Morris James in 1797 secured a grant on this stream and the Missouri, and began to farm in 1803; John N. Seeley (1800); Guy Seeley (1800); William Patterson (1803), a person of same name in New Madrid district; James James (1804); John Colgin (1799) near the village St. Andre and on Wild Horse creek; Mathew Wichant (1799), a German, on the Missouri near St. Andre; Leonard Farrow (1802) bought Wichant property; David Cole; Nathaniel Porter; William Tardy; Daniel Lyon; John Carpenter; Jonah Henry; all resided near the post of St. Andre.

¹⁴⁴ Letter to Prince of Peace, General Archives of Seville, dated June 3, 1796.

in the Spanish archives, has been recently found. In 1798 Mackay complained to Gayoso that although he had been ordered to receive all honest and industrious persons, and especially good farmers, that the order to receive only Roman Catholics had been a "mortal blow for upper Louisiana," and that the Indians as a consequence were beginning to plunder the people who had settled, of their cattle and horses. He says that to people the country wholly with Roman Catholics "is entirely impossible without great expense, and that in the United States not one in a thousand persons belongs to the Catholic church," and, concluding, remarks that "as we are deprived of the advantages of having a priest and church I hope that your Excellency will please to send us a flag to show the people when it is Sunday."¹⁴⁵ One of the earliest settlers of this Bon Homme district was Richard Caulk, who arrived here in 1796 with his father-in-law, Lawrence Long, and was appointed syndic, acting in this capacity until the country was acquired by the United States, also acting as commandant in the absence of Mackay.¹⁴⁶ Subsequently he lived in the St. Charles district on the Mississippi Bluff and river Calumet, where he received a grant, Mackay says, as compensation for his services as syndic.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Mackay married Isabella, a daughter of John Long after the cession, lived on Gravois creek; died in 1823. His children were John Zeno, George Anthony, James Bennett, Eilza May, Catherine May, Jean Julia, Emelia Anne and Isabella Louise.

¹⁴⁶ Caulk was from Maryland, and an officer in the militia and also received a grant of four thousand arpens on the Maramec.

¹⁴⁷ Others who settled here were, Theopolis McKinnon dit McKinney (1796); Jacob Coontz (1797) who resided near the mouth of the Bon Homme, at St. Ferdinand in 1798, also Marais des Liards and on the Dardenne in St. Charles district; Charles Kyle (1797); John Richardson came to the Spanish possessions in 1787, and lived here in 1797, from Kentucky and was a land speculator; Jesse Richardson (1797) from Kentucky; John Bayse (Basey or Beasy) (1797) on Missouri and Bon Homme, and in 1798 on the Mississippi; Lawrence Long (1796) father-in-law of Richard Caulk, was a large slave owner, settled on a grant of 1,000 acres including site of Chesterfield, and erected a flour-mill and saw-mill in this neighborhood; James McDonald (1797) of Mondelear, at Bon Homme settlement on the Missouri, also at Marais des Liards on Louis Honore's claim; William Massey (1797) a Catholic from Kentucky, owned two slaves, in 1799 was at Point Labadie on the Missouri, returned to Kentucky to get his family but seems never to have returned; Joshua Massey at Marais des Liards, and Agnew Massey in Tywappity Bottom may have been relatives; Ephraim Musick (1797) at Marais des Liards; Asa Musick (1797) in this settlement on the Missouri; Abraham Musick (1797) sold to John Bear; Hugh Stephenson (1797) on Missouri; Michael Odum (1798); William Stewart (1798); John Stewart (1798) at this point on the Missouri, on the Grand Glaise in 1799; William Hamilton (1799) from Kaskaskia, who seems to have originally resided at Vincennes, was in military service; Jean Henry (femme) (1798) claimed a residence at a place called "The Taverne" on the Missouri; afterwards moved to Louisiana; Elisha Goodrich (1799) on the Missouri; John Lafleur (1799) a Frenchman, one of the voyageurs who accompanied Mackay on his voyage of dis-

Another considerable settlement existed near and on Crève Coeur in this neighborhood.¹⁴⁸ Conway says that the name originated from this circumstance: That in 1796 after a big flood of the Missouri there was much sickness in the bottom and among the first French settlers there, that a large number died, and that the survivors abandoned the locality, and hence the name "Crève Coeur," broken-heart. The lower lake then was three miles long, and one fourth of a mile wide, but the other lake much smaller. At Point Labadie on the Missouri river, near the present county line between St. Louis and Franklin counties, a settlement was also made,¹⁴⁹ and

covery up the Missouri, received this grant through Mackay for his services; Lydia Quick (1799) a widow who resided at Spanish Pond, Robert Bay (1803); John Bell; Edward Young (1803).

¹⁴⁸ Among the first settlers on, and in the neighborhood of Crève Coeur lake, we find: Peltier (or Pelletier) Senior, (1787), a native of Vincennes where the family were ancient residents, his son Pierre was born there in 1785, this Pierre bought property on the Missouri at St. Charles, and after his death his widow married Jean Baptiste Belland; Joseph Bodoïn (Boudoin) dit L' Habitant (1788), trader and voyageur, on Rio Fernando in 1794 and in St. Louis, he was a son of Jean Bodoïn who settled here at an early day, an Irish Catholic; Jean Cordell (1796); John Long, Junior, (1796); Francois LeBerge (1796) was also at Portage des Sioux, and his land afterwards became the property of Edward Richardson, originally of North Carolina, but an immigrant from Tennessee; George Gordon (1796); Joseph Conway (1797), was born in Greenbrier county, Virginia in 1763; moved to Kentucky with his father's family who settled at Ruddle's Station; was there when the Station was attacked; drove off the Indians; went out to reconnoitre, caught, tomahawked, had his skull broken and was scalped and was left for dead; was at Ruddle's Station when Col. Byrd attacked it two weeks afterwards; was captured and taken to Detroit wounded and with his head bandaged, but recovered and came to this settlement, and is the progenitor of the Conway family of Missouri; died in 1830; John Ward (1797) likely the same John Ward who came with Morgan to New Madrid in 1787; Gabriel Long (1797); James McCartney (1797); Oliver Caldwell (1797), was a tenant of Lawrence Long; Robert Baldrige (1798); Joe Sip (1798) at Point bas de Creve Coeur and Missouri; Mary Sip married Noel Tesson in 1802; Thomas Whitley (1798), and at Village St. Andre, owned two slaves; Jonathan Wiseman (1799), Irishman; Robert Buchanan (1799), at Carondelet prior to 1803, and St. Louis; Samuel Smith (1799) an Irish Catholic; Eli Musick (1799); Thomas Cropper (1799); Andrew Kincaid (1800); Andrew McQuitty (1800); Samuel Hibler (1802); Richard Young (1803); Edward Young (1803), in 1804 on Maneto Saline; George Washington Morrison, afterward a recruiting officer in the United States army and deputy surveyor, killed in Kentucky by an accidental shot in 1809, also acquired land in this neighborhood either before or immediately after the cession. According to James Long, Lawrence Long, Jos. Conway, Richard Caulk, James Green, John Chandler, Solomon Whitley with their families and several young men, among them Wm. Stewart of Kentucky, reached the Mississippi just before Christmas, 1797, opposite St. Louis, the ice running and river partially frozen over, and that they remained there until the ice broke in 1798, and that the Governor of Upper Louisiana sent them tents, coffee, etc., and all settled in this region and Bon Homme bottom.—Draper's Notes, vol. 24, pp. 151-204, inclusive.

¹⁴⁹ The earliest settlers here seem to have been, Ephraim Richardson (1798), who was driven away by the Indians in 1802, but returned; John Dey (or Day) (1798), one McCoy lived here in 1799; George Pursley (1798), in 1803 was driven

farther up the Missouri on Dubois creek, emptying its waters into the Missouri not far from Washington, in Franklin county, another settlement was formed by a number of Americans.¹⁵⁰

But the oldest American settlement in upper Louisiana was on the Maramec. The name Hildebrand, twisted into "Albrane" by the Spanish officials, is found in the old archives as early as 1770. The Hildebrands or Hildebrants, came from Monogahela county, Pennsylvania, and were Germans; according to Mrs. Elizabeth McCourtney some of them were at Fort Jefferson; from there in 1782 came to upper Louisiana, where a member of the family had settled before that period. The name of Thomas Tyler is also notable as being here in 1774. In 1779 he acquired the Hildebrand place, and in 1791 transferred it to Jacques Clamorgan. In 1788 Tyler who had lived for six or seven years, near the Maramec had about eighty acres in cultivation, but, in 1791, the Indians became hostile, and about this time Peter Hildebrand was killed by the Osages. Some of the settlers then fortified themselves, removing to a point in the fork of the

off by the Indians, but gave George McFall permission to live on his place, which he did that fall, and made sugar there in 1804, also had property at Bon Homme; James Pritchett (1800), and at Isle aux Boeuf; Peter Pritchett (1801), testified that in April, 1803, a man by the name of Ridenhour (John) was killed by the Indians in this neighborhood (on the Femme Osage across the river), which broke up this settlement until the following fall when most of the inhabitants returned, but Captain Joseph Conway says he was killed in 1801, and that the Indians were pursued by the settlers but escaped. Ridenhour and his wife were out hunting horses, and upon meeting the Indians who demanded the horses Ridenhour refused to give them up and rode off. The Indians began to shoot him and he fell off and soon died. His wife dismounted, took off the bundle and scared her horse away and the other horses followed. The Indians when they came up slapped her for scaring away the horses, but let her go. (Draper's Notes, vol. 24, pp. 151 to 204, inc.) William Fullerton (1802); Ambrose Bowles (1803) on Labadie creek, the present town of Bowles located about here, and named for this family, and some of the descendants still live there; Noel Musick (1805) at Point Labadie and river Feefee; Uri Musick (1805); John McMickle (or McMichael) (1799), saddler and tanner, secured a land grant to establish tannery; Daniel Richardson (1803); James Stephenson dit Stephens, an early resident; Thomas Gibson (1802) also on river aux Boeufs.

¹⁵⁰ Dubois creek was at this time on the extreme frontier, and here we find, William Hughes (1794), who removed from Kentucky to Kaskaskia, then to this creek, was at Point Labadie in 1799; John Sullins (1799), on this stream and aux Boeuf, owned two slaves; John Long (1797), from Kaskaskia, makes a claim for 5,000 arpents under concession from Trudeau, and 5,000 on St. John creek and on Crève Coeur. A John Long seems to have had a claim on the Homochitto in the Mississippi territory in Pearl river district; Ezekiel Rogers (1800) was a renter here; John S. Farrow (1800); David Collum (1803), Leonard Farrow, was on Fox creek on road leading from the Richwood to St. Louis and Missouri in 1799; Smith Collum (1803); James Cowan (1803) lived also in Ste. Genevieve district; Alexander McCartney (or McCourtney) in 1799, with Adams McCourtney acquired property at Bon Homme; Jonathan Vineyard (1803), from Georgia, also in Bois Brule Bottom in Ste. Genevieve district.

Maramec in the middle of the settlement for that purpose. That a considerable settlement existed at that time, on both sides of the Maramec, is shown by the fact that the first regular ferry established in Missouri, was established on this stream by Jean Baptiste de Gamache¹⁵¹ so that regular intercourse might not be interrupted, between St. Louis and the settlements of Ste. Genevieve. Gamache's ferry was established near the mouth of the Maramec, and remained in operation until about 1780, when, on account of the Indian disturbances, he or his employèes were ordered away. Gamache was among the first residents of Carondelet, where he raised tobacco on his lot in 1795, and operated a primitive mill on the river des Pères. Louis Courtois, senior, made an improvement on the Maramec in 1780, living here six years (unusual) owning a tract of 7,086 arpens, but in 1788 resided at Carondelet. Gabriel Cerré, according to Chouteau, located a claim on the Maramec in 1782 near a salt spring.¹⁵² David Hildebrand was Cerré's tenant on the Negro fork in 1785. William Crow, from Kaskaskia, lived on this river in 1785, where he died and his widow married George Bowers. The Osage Indians on the Maramec seem to have been more troublesome than in other localities, and Clamorgan says that in 1793 the settlers were driven away by the Indians repeatedly.¹⁵³ In 1800 Adam House, a farmer living near the mouth of the Maramec, was killed by the Osage Indians.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Was born at Quebec 1733, married Charlotte D'Amours May 3, 1767, was with the first boat that landed at St. Louis, but moved to Carondelet where he died.

¹⁵² Don Gabriel Cerré owned large tracts of land in the St. Louis and Cape Girardeau districts. In 1782 had a grant on the head waters of the Saline and Maramec, including a lead mine, which he said he paid an American \$200 to show him, owned a number of slaves and also worked a number of white men in his salt works on the Maramec. In 1787 he received a grant on the Gravois and River des Pères, on which to build a saw-mill and flour-mill, establish a fruit garden and sow maize, but was frightened away "through fear of inroads of savages", and in 1804 assigned this claim to Reuben Smith. In 1798 he had some trouble with Louis Lorimier claiming the land where Lorimier had settled, and appealed to Governor Gayoso de Lemos, setting forth services he had rendered the government, but Gayoso decided the matter in favor of Lorimier and ordered the same amount of land to be surveyed elsewhere for Cerré as compensation for his services. In 1800 he owned property at St. Charles, and also in New Madrid.

¹⁵³ 2 Public Lands, p. 566.

¹⁵⁴ Of this murder Pierre de Treget makes this brief and graphic report: "Repaired to the Renault Forks, with the few militia I could assemble in pursuit of the Indians, on reaching the place I found an old man dead, head cut off and laid at his side, scalp taken and body full of wounds from musket shots, and a few paces by a boy eight or nine years old, head cut off lying near him, face smeared with blood, with a small piece of maple sugar in his mouth, no wounds on his body from either musket or knife." (1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 298.) Robert Owen of Marais des Liards was appointed guardian of the

Not only the Osages, but the Indians living in what is now Pemi-scot, New Madrid, Stoddard and Dunklin counties, and perhaps composed, as De Lassus says, of runaway Creeks, Cherokees, and other vagabonds of the tribes from the southeast Gulf territory, would make raids into this district. Against these the

minors Betsy, John, and Peggy House, by Pascal Leon Cerré, ensign of the militia. At this time (1800) there also resided in this neighborhood Mathew Lord; James Craig; Andrew Park; James Gray; Adam Stroud; Joshua McDonald; also William Bellew, a settler on the Maramec in 1778, and on Wild Horse creek, and Missouri at Bon Homme settlement in 1795-97; David Hildebrand (1780) on Negro fork, in 1795 at Village á Robert, also St. Louis and Isle á Boeuf; Abraham Hildebrand (1780) also on Negro fork; Bazil Des-Noyers (1783) who owned two Indian slaves, was driven off his place by marauding Indians; Jean Gerrard (1782); Philip Fine (1786) near the mouth of the Maramec, a brother of David; in 1795 at Village á Robert, on the Mississippi in 1800 and in St. Louis; Jacob Schelling, a German (1788); John Pyatt (1790), on Negro fork, was driven away by the Indians, lived at Marais des Liards in 1798, returned in 1800 to the Maramec, and was again driven away, and some of the farmers were killed here in 1805, according to the testimony of James Richardson; Philip Shultz (1790), on Negro fork, apparently a German; William Boli (1794), Mary Bolli married J. B. Tesson in 1802; Francois Bittick, had a grant adjoining Courtois; Francois Poillevre in 1793 received a grant on the Maramec from Trudeau, road to St. Louis ran through this grant, which he sold to Charles Gill of Grand Ruisseaux de Kaskaskia, including a "petite tan yard", one Catalan had lived on the land, made some improvements and then deserted it, this Poillevre also received 1,600 arpens from DeLassus in 1800 on the river Establishment, but never settled it. It may be that Poillevre was known as Catalan-Gill (or Guill), also had a grant on Gravois in 1797 and on Sandy creek, in 1798 sold his land on the Maramec to Tersy (Jesse) Keyne, and this may be Jesse Cain who lived in St. Charles district, and afterwards on Byrd or Hubble creek; Joseph Neybour (or Neubauer) 1794, a German, also at Marais des Liards in 1795; John Neybour (1794) German, at Marais des Liards in 1795, sold his property there, and was on the Mississippi in Ste. Genevieve district; James Head, from Kaskaskia, settled on this river prior to 1793, but abandoned his claim; Isaac Hildebrand dit Asie Ellebrand (1795) also at Marais des Liards and St. Louis; Madame Loitie, prior to 1796 owned property on the north side of the Maramec, lying between the Ruisseau de la Fontaine and Ruisseau Baptiste Poriot, part of which she sold to Jacob Wickerham, a German, in 1796, and part in 1797 to Jacques Clamorgan. Wickerham also had a claim on Negro fork in 1797, but claimed the Indians interfered with his improvement there; John Coleman (1796) an Irishman, lived on a farm below Mill creek at Gorman Point; Thomas Donner (1796), likely a son of Jacob Donner, apparently a German; George Sip dit Sheepe (1796); John Cummings (1797), on this river and the Missouri; Christopher Carpenter (1797), relative of John on the Missouri; Dr. John Watkins, an American speculator, made a claim to a league square, or 7,056 arpens, of land here granted him in 1797, but never lived on it, seems to have lived in St. Louis, and from there removed to New Orleans; Jean Baptiste Rouillier dit Bouche lived on Black Water emptying into the Maramec in 1797, but sold his farm to John or James Stewart dit Tuckahoe, who was also an early resident on this creek; Mathias Vanderhider (1797) on Negro fork; Mark Wideman came to the country in 1798, and with his family settled on the Negro fork by permission of François Vallé, also John Wideman; Sarah Pruitt (or Prewitt) widow of Charles Prewitt, lived here in 1798, was a sister of John Wideman; John and Samuel Prewitt, also said to be early settlers in this neighborhood. Pascal Leon Cerré, a son of Gabriel, claimed a league square, including a big salt spring, on the Maramec, granted in 1798 by Gayosa de Lemos in consideration of the service of his father, owned several slaves, was

Renards and Saukees also made predatory excursions, meeting on the tributaries of the Maramec.¹⁵⁵

sub-lieutenant of militia, and says he made a journey to Canada in the interest of the government; John Boli (1798) had a ferry on the Maramec, served in the militia under de Treget at Carondelet; François Bourasses (1799); Joshua Shavers (Shaver) also an early settler here; Paul Robart dit Robar (1799) was afterwards employed to assist in surveying Gamache's claim on this stream, was also at Carondelet; Hardy Ware, cultivated land here in 1799, was on Little Rock creek and at Mines in 1803; Michael Fostin (1799) from Kaskaskia, his grant extending across the Maramec; Jonathan Hildebrand (1799); Bernard Pratte (1799) a resident of St. Louis and also had claims on the St. François; John Williams, senior, (1800); Ninian Bell Hamilton (1800), the Orphan Protectorate founded by the Catholics situated on part of his grant, also at Bon Homme; Andrew Hamilton; Jacob Collins (1802) on Negro fork; James Stewart (1802) on Black Water fork of this river; William Eastep or Estes (1802); David Delauny (1800), a Frenchman, Spanish officer, formerly an inhabitant of the Isle of St. Domingo, first came to Ste. Genevieve in 1799, but was induced by DeLassus to come to St. Louis and had property in St. Charles district; James Davis (1803) land speculator on Negro fork; Jacob Connor (1803); James Sweeney (1803) owned ten slaves, afterwards moved to Louisiana; Joseph Horn (1803); Hugh McCullough (1803); Joseph Kiver (1803); Peter Lashaway (1803 or prior); John Caldwell (1803) on this stream and the Missouri, but stopped by the Indians from improving; Samuel Bay (1803); Aquilla Wickerham (1803) on Negro fork; T. Thomas Moses (or Mores); John Brindley; Mary Gill (1807); Christian Ewalt (Devalt or Twelt) Hildebrand (1804) on Negro fork; Pierre Tornat or Tournat dit Lajoie (1800) had a tract in the bottom on this river, Giguire (DeGuire) and Boudoin (probably Jean Boudoin dit l'Habitant) worked for him living in camp made of clap-boards; and Levi Thiel.

On Grand Glaise creek, a branch of the Maramec we find Alexander McDonald (1797); Andrew Parker (1797); John and Paul Whitley (1799); Levin Cropper (1798), from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia; Joshua Tansy (1799) on this stream and at Marais des Liards; Edward Butler (1801) and Philip Roberts (1802) and their mother Mrs. Ann Skinner, who was also on the Joachim; Jonathan Skinner; William Drennon (or Drenning) (1801) at White Oak Springs; Peggy Jones (1803); William Miller (1803); Thomas Henry (1803); John Hensley (1803); William and David Hensley (1799); John Ball (1803); Thomas and Edward Mason, from Kaskaskia. On Little Rock creek, another branch of the Maramec, the early actual settlers were all Americans, thus we find Samuel Wilson and his son John (1801); John Henderson (1802); John Gillmore (1803); George Smirl, senior, (1801); James Smirl (1802), and George, junior, on Sandy creek in 1801; Joseph Uge.

On Gravois, another branch, were Pierre Lajore (Lajoie) (1790), a witness for the settlers on this stream and the Maramec; François Lacombe de Carondelet (1791); Hugh and Samuel Graham (1798); Sophia Bolaye (Boli) (1796), on aux Gravois near the mouth of the river des Pères; Barthèlemi Harrington (1798); Pierre Dodier (1803), who sold to John Sappington and he erected the first horse mill for grinding grain in the township; Pierre Lejeuness, from Kaskaskia, where he served in the militia; Louis Courtois, junior, (1799) on this stream 69 miles from the mouth of the Maramec, was a resident of St. Louis.

On another branch, the Matis, Mattest or Mathias, we find David Fine, who came to the country with Elisha Baker in 1798, made a settlement, and with Eli Musick and wife, and Judge Joseph Sale, organized the first Baptist church in 1809 or 10 in the township, which in 1883 was still standing, and known as Concord church; John Romine was in the neighborhood in 1798; Michael Masterson (1799).

¹⁵⁵ Autobiography of Black Hawk, as published in *Pioneer Families of Missouri*, p. 463.

In addition to these important settlements, American pioneers pitched their locations on Fifi or Feefee creek,¹⁵⁶ on Gingras,¹⁵⁷ on Wild Horse creek,¹⁵⁸ on Maline creek,¹⁵⁹ and on Sandy creek.¹⁶⁰ Also a village near the Missouri river, only about three or four miles from St. Ferdinand, was laid out by permission of the lieutenant-governor, Trudeau, by Robert Owens,¹⁶¹ who had been a resident of the country since 1789, and where, in 1793, Francois Honore and others had first formed a station to protect themselves against the Indians. Maturin Bouvet, as deputy surveyor, surveyed and platted the place in 1794. The settlement became known as "Marais des Liards," and also as "Village à Robert." The Wabash railroad now passes here and the station is called Bridgeton. After the cession the inhabitants obtained one thousand arpens as a common-field.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Sullens (1799), on this stream and the Missouri; Nathan Sullens (1802); Absalom Link, who lived here made a visit to Kentucky, and brought back clover seed, which he cultivated until it came into common use, it had never been cultivated up to this time; he was also at Marais des Liards; John Murphy (1799), on Feefee and at Marias des Liards; Edy or Ewel (Uel) Musick (1800); Samuel Harris, on this stream and Fox creek, his son William, afterwards a member of the State legislature, was born here in 1809; Lanham Hartley, from Kentucky; Nicholas Hebert dit Lecompte also had a claim, but probably never lived on it.

¹⁵⁷ On this creek, George Crumb or Crump (1803) and in 1800 a person of the same name on Missouri river. Here also Antoine Vincent Bouis of St. Louis made claim to land.

¹⁵⁸ William Bell, from Kaskaskia, settled in 1797, was on Cold Water and also in St. Louis; Alexander Graham (1798); James Calvin (1798), from Kaskaskia, in 1797 lived in L'Aigle prairie in the Illinois country, on the Cuivre in 1799 and remained there until 1804, and was resident on the Missouri. Henry McLaughlin says that Edward Perry in 1797 lived for a year on this creek.

¹⁵⁹ The first settlers here were Seth and Richard Chittwood (1797), and Isabella Chittwood, widow of John Pound (1797); John Allen (1798) probably John F. Allen who was a witness for various claimants of land on river des Péres in 1798; James Richardson had a still-house on this creek in 1799. He was one of the earliest American settlers in the St. Louis district; came from Kentucky; killed a man there and hence fled to upper Louisiana. His family followed him to upper Louisiana and he settled near Marias des Liards.

¹⁶⁰ William Jones (1798), at Grand Glaise in 1797 and Bellevue settlement in 1803; John and Ben Johnson (1800), Ben was afterwards a justice in this locality; William Null, senior, (1800), and on Joachim in Ste. Genevieve district, also William Null, junior; David Boyle (1803) also on the Joachim; Roger Cogle; Gabriel Cobb (1803); Richard Glover (1803); William Moss (1803); John Litten (1803); Wm Johnson.

¹⁶¹ This Owens came from Maryland; could talk French and was intimate with the French settlers; was shoemaker by trade, and even after he became a farmer would occasionally make a pair of shoes. He first settled on the Maramec, but when the Indian troubles began there moved to the place which became known as Owen's Station. Adam Martin, Thos. Hardy, Wm. Hooper, Jacob Lurty and Wm Clark joined Owens in "forting". He afterwards moved to Big River, and died there in 1829. His wife died at the age of 90 in 1840. (Mrs. Elizabeth McCourtney's narrative in Draper's Notes, Vol. 2, pp. 151-204.)

A number of Americans opened up isolated farms in this neighborhood, or cultivated a part of the Marais des Liards common-field,¹⁶² and in 1806 established a school in the village. Other pioneers further up the river secured concessions and settled on the south side of the Missouri,¹⁶³ and still others located themselves in various parts of this extensive district, far away from the village of St. Louis.

¹⁶² Thomas Worthington and son seem to have been among the earliest settlers in the village in 1794, but one Birot claimed the lot on which Worthington lived, in the name of one Solomon. This Thomas Worthington was a revolutionary soldier. James and Joseph Worthington who settled in the Cape Girardeau district may have been his sons or relatives, so also Charles Worthington of Opelousas in lower Louisiana. Joseph St. Germain first settled here, but in 1796 went to St. Ferdinand, was also in St. Louis; William Belon (1795) also in St. Louis; Alexander Clark (1797) but because he had no spring on his land he claimed the adjacent land where there was a spring, also had a grant fifteen miles northwest of St. Louis, in St. Charles district, from DeLassus, also bought of Jean Baptiste Mortes (or Hortes) who was here in 1797, but afterwards in St. Louis; Jonas and John Sparks (1797); John Chambers (1797) from Kaskaskia, originally from Kentucky; William Campbell (1797) on St. Fernando river; Joseph Williams (1797) near here on the Missouri, was also on Bouré's land on Grand Glaize; Solomon Petit (1797) also at Portage des Sioux; Elias Metz (1797) on the Maline; Charles King (1798) from Kentucky, Timothy Ballew; Jean Baptiste Buron (1798); Solomon Link (1799) at White Oak Run; Juan Wedsay dit John Whitesides (1799), his widow Phoebe Wallace; Jacob Lentz; Louis Rogers dit Indian Rogers, chief of a part of the Shawnee Indians, who planted themselves here about thirty miles northwest of the lead mines. Rodgers was a very respectable and worthy man and a warm advocate of Indian civilization, offering a teacher who would stay with the Shawnees "plenty of corn and plenty of hogs", and to erect a house for him (Morse's Report, p. 236); Joshua Massey (1803) at White Oak Run; Mathew Ramsey; Peter Tamp (1801);

¹⁶³ These were, John Scarlet and John Waters (1796) had a concession of four hundred arpens on this river; John Chandler (1797), came to the country with Richard Caulk in this year, and secured a grant from Trudeau on this river; Sam and Ebenezer Farrow; Peter Rock (or Roque) (1797); John Scott (1797); Peter Vaughn (or Valign) (1797), in 1800 sold to William Brady; Joseph Griffin (1797) had a coal mine on this river, his son Joseph, junior, lived on the Missouri in St. Charles district in 1800; John Howe; William Burch dit Burts (may be Busch dit Bush) was here prior to 1798; Vincent Carrico (may be Torrico) (1798); Dennis Kavanaugh (1798); Aaron Colvin (1798) on a stream above Tavern Rock south of the Missouri, "sur ruisseau au dessus de la roche du Tavern rive sud du Missouri;" John Bishop (1799) a German; Louis Delisle, junior, (1799) Creole, on Santa Buxa del Rio; David King Price (1799); Robert Ramsay (1799); Lawrence Sidner (Sydener) (1800); John Doghead, (1801), likely a relative of Isaac Doghead, who settled on Big river; Robert Barclay.

CHAPTER XIII

St. Charles — Boundaries of District Vaguely Defined — Settlement of St. Charles Founded by Blanchette—Don Santiago Mackay Commandant of a Post Named St. Charles, but Evidently Another Place—Don Carlos Tayon, Commandant—Survey of the Village by Chouteau—Common Fields of St. Charles—Chouteau's Attempt to Build a Water-mill—Village of St. Charles and Population 1797—Names of Early Settlers of St. Charles and Vicinity—Portage des Sioux Settlement—How it Obtained the Name—Military Importance of This Post—Creole Immigration—Names of Pioneer Settlers of Portage des Sioux—Surveys on Salt River Interrupted by Indian Attacks—Settlement of Charette—Daniel Boone—Names of Pioneer Settlers of La Charette—Femme Osage—The Boone Settlement—Names of Early Settlers—The Cuivre Settlement—Names of Early Settlers—First Settlement on the Perruque—Names of early Settlers—The Claim of Clamorgan—Settlement on the Dardenne—Other Settlements and Names of early Settlers.

The district of St. Charles embraced all the territory within the limits of the Spanish boundaries north of the Missouri river, and extended vaguely westward.¹ No particular limits either on the north or west of this district were ever officially promulgated. That the district was supposed to extend indefinitely to the north is shown by the fact that one Basil Giard claimed a league square of land opposite Prairie du Chien as being within this district, the famous *coureur des bois*, Pierre Dorion, Senior, being produced as a witness to prove this claim.² The so-called "Spanish Mines," a tract embracing 148, 176 arpens of land, or twenty-one leagues square, near the city of Dubuque, Iowa, claimed to have been granted to Julien Dubuque by Carondelet, was also considered in this district.

St. Charles, the earliest and most important settlement north of the Missouri river and in the district, was at first known as "Les Petite Côtes" and afterward as "Village des Côtes"—this from the fact that

¹ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 715, Testimony of Albert Tison.

² American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 529. This Basil Geard, or Giard, "settled upon Prairie du Chiens" in 1781, together with Pierre Antaya (Pelletier) and Augustine Ange. These names all occur in the Ste. Genevieve church records. A Basil B. Geard married there in 1783, so also a François Ange in 1790 and a Michel Antaya resided there in 1784. These are presumably all related to the first settlers of Prairie du Chien, who, in 1781, purchased from the Indians through Gov. Patrick Sinclair, then at Mackinaw, nine square miles of land. They were all Indian interpreters and traders. The Giards were very early settlers in the American Bottom. The name appears in the St. Anne Church records in 1726. Gabriel Cerré married a Catharine Giard at Kaskaskia in 1764, where she was born.

the village was situated at the foot of a range of small hills, sufficiently high to protect it from the overflows of the Missouri. The census of 1787 calls the village: "Establecimiento de los Pequeñas Cuestas"—Village of Little Hills. Shortly before the cession the village was officially known as "San Carlos del Misuri." The first settler was Louis Blanchette. Perez, in 1792, speaks of him as "fundador y priméro habitante de Sn. Carlos del Misuri." It is usually said that Blanchette le Chasseur (the hunter) was the first settler, and hence the ordinary reader, unfamiliar with French, often conceives the idea that "Chasseur" was the name of the founder of St. Charles. This Blanchette was a native of the Parish St. Henry, Diocese of Quebec, Canada, and a son of Pierre Blanchette and Mary Genesereau. In 1790 he married Angelique, a Pawnee woman.³

There seems to be reason to believe that, for a time, at least, Blanchette's settlement was officially known at New Orleans by the name of "San Fernando." In 1793 Baron de Carondelet made an order referring to the fact that a new settlement had been formed "in the district of Ylinoa by the name of San Fernando," and it "being necessary to provide for the civil and military government of the same, because of good conduct, distinguished zeal, exactitude, probity and disinterestedness, which are requisite to insure confidence in the administration of public affairs, and these qualifications being united in Mr. Blanchette, therefore, exercising the authority in me vested by said royal decree, I declare and nominate for special lieutenant, with the rank of captain of militia of the said settlement of San Fernando, its boundaries and jurisdiction, the said Mr. Blanchette, immediately subordinate, however, to the captain commandant of the establishment of Ylinoa." Blanchette at no time lived in the village of "San Fernando de Florissant," where François Dunegant dit Beausier acted as civil and military commandant as early as 1791, and hence I conclude that when Baron de Carondelet in 1793 made the order appointing Blanchette lieutenant and captain commandant of "San Fernando" he referred to the village Blanchette had founded. Blanchette no doubt acted as the first civil and military commandant of the settlement St. Charles prior to 1792—but it is not certain that he acted as such in 1793 under this order which appears to have been issued by mistake.⁴

³ "Angelique, sauvagesse, nativois des Panis Piques d' autre part" it is said in the marriage contract preserved in the St. Louis archives.

⁴ I am indebted to Judge Walter B. Douglas for the following additional facts as to Blanchette:

Don Santiago Mackay is also often referred to in ancient documents as the commandant of St. Andrew and St. Charles, but this must be some other place known as St. Charles, because before he came to upper Louisiana, in 1792, Don Carlos Tayon had been appointed as commandant of the district of St. Charles and its dependencies, and remained in command until Louisiana was acquired by the United States. Tayon was one of the original settlers of St. Louis. He entered the Spanish service in 1770, participated in the capture of Fort St. Joseph, as second in command under Captain Pourée dit Beau-soliel, and on account of the valuable services rendered by him in that expedition received the rank of lieutenant in the stationary regiment of Louisiana. He rendered other services afterward to the government in operations against the Indians, training the militia and protecting the district, using a great part of his own property in public employment. His rank as lieutenant was the only compensation he received in addition to the monthly stipend of \$11 as commandant of St. Charles, and which it was claimed was "seldom paid."⁵ In consideration of his services in 1786, Don Francesco Cruzat made a grant to him of sixteen hundred arpens of land on the river des Pères in the neighborhood of the present Forest Park, now in the city of St. Louis;

"The census of 1787 of St. Charles or the "Habitaciones del Establecimiento de las pequenas cuestas" contains the following about Blanchette:

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| " Juan Bapta Blanchet, aged 51, | |
| Maria Su Mujer, . . . | " 48, |
| Sus Hijos } Bapta . . | " 24, |
| } Maria . . | " 21." |

His occupation is given as "Labrador" or farmer. His household contained in addition to those named above, one carpenter, one huntsman and four laborers. The occupation of his son Baptiste is given as huntsman (Cazador). In this census his name is placed three-fourths of the way down the list, and nothing is said about his having any official position; indeed, no official is designated in the census.

In the census of 1791, the first name in the St. Charles list is "Don Luis Blanchette." This census does not give the occupation of the men or designate the officials. But in the Florissant list the first name is Beausrosier, whom we know to have been the principal officer of the village. In Carondelet the first name is "Don Clemento Delor," and in Ste. Genevieve "Don Enrique Peyroux." From this it is to be inferred that Blanchette was in 1791 the chief officer of St. Charles. Also from an affidavit of allegiance taken by several persons before Blanchette it appears he was the chief officer of the place. His signature is written by Gaspar Roubieu, lieutenant, and is written Luis Blanchet. Blanchet makes his mark."

I may also observe that the statement made by Auguste Chouteau, as noted down in Hunt's Minutes, Book 1, p. 127 (Copy in Mo. Hist. Society), "les Petites Cotes was established by Blanchette Chasseur A. D. 1796, and called St. Charles, 1804," undoubtedly was misapprehension by Hunt of what Chouteau said.

⁵ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 779.

but this land, not being promptly surveyed and his official duties preventing his settling on it, was, as land increased in value and many Americans flocked into the country, taken possession of by others, "to his surprise."⁶ So, in order to avoid trouble and because of his "love of peace," he asked Governor DeLassus, in January, 1800, for another grant "in any other part of the vacant domain," and accordingly DeLassus, "having taken cognizance of this matter" and "as a proof of our approbation," ordered that "the surveyor of this part of upper Louisiana, Don Antonio Soulard, shall survey in favor of Don Carlos Tayon the quantity of land mentioned in his above title and concession (i. e., made by Don Francesco Cruzat) in any other vacant place in the royal domain, at his will and choice."⁷ In addition to this, another grant of ten thousand arpens was made as a reward for his services to Francesco Tayon, Junior, his son. This concession was on the River Renaud (Fourche à Renault), in the district of Ste. Genevieve.⁸ DeLassus, in his report to Captain Stoddard, as to the personal characteristics and qualifications of the commandants of the various posts, says that Tayon "is a brave officer and zealous in obeying orders he receives when he can comprehend them," but that "he gives himself to drink" and "that he recently committed an injustice to the inhabitants of his post," and which "is already too important for his capacity to regulate as he should," and he adds "as he neither reads nor writes."⁹ That he was "zealous in obeying orders" is shown by an incident given in the testimony of François Duchouquette, who says that when his brother Pierre was attacked and wounded by the Delaware Indians, he made complaint to Governor Perez, and that he sent out a party under Tayon to punish these Indians. Tayon, with an energy and promptitude that astonished the Spanish officials, vigorously pursued the Indians and killed a number of them. For this he was afterward ordered to New Orleans to "explain" his "zealous" conduct, and after no inconsiderable trouble and, no doubt, numerous explanations and excuses, he was finally permitted to return "vindicated." The killing of Indians was by the Spanish authorities not overlooked as a mere venial offense. La Trail says that Tayon when he was commandant at St. Charles occupied the lot upon which the first house in the village was built,

⁶ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 780.

⁷ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 780.

⁸ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 779.

⁹ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 336.

being the square now numbered 19 bounded on the south by McDonald, west by Main, east by Missouri and north by Water streets, and from this we infer that Blanchette must have first erected his hut on this block when he made a settlement at what is now St. Charles. This lot had a front of two hundred and forty by three hundred feet in depth.

The first survey of the village was made by Auguste Chouteau, under order of the Spanish authorities, but the map of the village, if Chouteau ever made a map, has not been preserved. Gabriel La Trail says that he assisted in this survey, likely carrying the chain. This Gabriel La Trail in 1824 was one of the oldest residents of St. Charles, and one of the principal witnesses before Commissioner Hunt testifying as to the ownership and occupancy of many of the lots in this village, and according to Dr. Mackay Wherry, he was always considered "a man of truth."¹⁰ Louis Barrada, Senior, also assisted in this survey. Another old resident was Joseph Laurain, who settled in St. Charles in 1784. He, too, was an important witness before the commissioners, as well as Jean Filteau or Felteaux, who afterward went to St. Louis. Jean Baptiste Belland, Senior, appears to have been one of the earliest residents of St. Charles, but this Belland also was an early resident of St. Louis. Jean Provost, François Dorlac (or Durlac),¹¹ Baptiste Brusier, upon whose lot was situated a spring called "Maxwell Spring," Don Antonio Gautier, Gotier or Gaultier (1786), lieutenant of militia, near St. Charles at Marais le Temps Claire and Marais Croche, and in 1796 at Cul de Sac; and Michael La Sage severally were among the pioneer settlers. Don Pedro Troge—who had emigrated from Cahokia, where in 1780 he was *huissier*—in 1791 was one of the prominent residents of the village. In 1793 he was commissioned by Governor Carondelet as lieutenant of the militia.

All the early inhabitants of St. Charles, although engaged more or less in hunting and the fur trade, were engaged in tilling the soil, cultivating two common-fields adjacent to the village, one known as the upper¹² and the other as the lower field. The lots in these com-

¹⁰ Hunt's Minutes, vol. 1, p. 40, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

¹¹ A François Dorlac, one of the earliest residents of Ste. Genevieve, owned property in the Big field in 1760; a resident of the village in 1774, may be the same person. Perhaps a German, as I have seen the name spelled "Durlach" in the Ste. Genevieve Church records. Judge Douglas tells me that the name is a Breton name, and that the family is still living in St. Louis and is not German.

¹² American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 689 et seq.

mon-fields were similar in extent to the common-field lots in St. Louis, being one arpent in front by forty in depth. The St. Charles common-fields were bounded on the east by Marais Croche (Crooked Swamp) and west by the public lands, and embraced considerable extent of ground. In addition, fourteen thousand arpens belonged to the villagers in common. This grant the inhabitants secured for their necessary fencing and fuel from Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau in 1797, and in making this grant he says: "Having been informed that the land demanded for timber is not at all fit for settlement, on account of its overflow every year, and that the said timber growing on it is only fit for firewood, and can renew itself in a short time, not being like that of the hills, which it is experienced never grows up again (sic), and said lands being nighest and at proximity to the village of St. Charles and of the several tracts granted in the prairie of said village, whose inhabitants would have to procure wood from a much greater distance, the same shall remain (as well as all the other adjoining it, either ascending or descending the Missouri, and which were demanded by the several petitions to us directed, with the present one of M. Tayon) to the king's domain, and for the common use of said village of St. Charles, as well as for the use of all the lands granted or to be granted in future in the prairie of said jurisdiction of which M. Tayon will notify the inhabitants, and particularly those who have petitioned for the same, and whose petition I herewith remit to him."¹³ And in 1801 DeLassus, with reference to the same subject, writes that "if the common of the inhabitants of St. Charles is not sufficient, we do permit them, provisionally, to enlarge it according to their wishes, without insuring to them the right of property for which they are to petition as above," i. e., to his lordship the Intendant of this province. Pierre Blanchette, one of the leading inhabitants, testified before the commissioners to adjust the land titles, that unless the people had secured these commons to supply them with fencing and fuel, they would have been compelled to abandon the cultivation of their lands.¹⁴ These commons were surveyed by Mackay and his deputy, John Ferry (or Terry), who afterward was killed by the Indians. La Trail also claims to have assisted in this work. In 1797 the village of St. Charles was surrounded by a fence,¹⁵

¹³ 3 vol. Minutes of Commissioners, p. 68.

¹⁴ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 672.

¹⁵ Chouteau vs. Eckert 7 Mo. Rep. 15.

a part of this fence separating the town from the common-fields and common wood and pasture land.

In 1787 Auguste Chouteau received a concession to build a mill about "fifteen arpens above St. Charles," on a branch called St. Augustine, but he assigned this claim to his brother, Pierre Chouteau, who started work on the mill, getting out timber to build a dam, Noel Mongrain, nephew of Cheveux Blanc, assisting in the work. A quantity of clay was hauled for the dam to strengthen it, but in the spring of 1788 the milldam, such as had been constructed, was swept away by the flood. We have no evidence that this water-mill was ever built. In 1790 John Coontz (or Coons), a German from Illinois, however, had a mill in operation on his lot in St. Charles. This Coontz was a slave owner, and before he came to St. Charles, had been a resident of Illinois for fourteen or fifteen years. Hyacinth St. Cyr, a former resident of St. Louis, had a horse-mill in the village in 1796. John Cook, also, had a mill there in 1799. Cook owned property on the Dardenne, on Cook's run. François Duquette, a French-Canadian, born in 1774, first lived at Ste. Genevieve, but came to St. Charles in 1796. He established a wind-mill in a stone circular tower—about 30 feet in diameter, which had been erected as a fort. He was one of the principal traders and merchants of the village, a large land owner, and in 1794 married Marie Louise Beauvais, daughter of Vital Beauvais, of Ste. Genevieve. Rene Dodier, one of the original settlers of St. Louis, cultivated land for him in 1801.

The population of the village of St. Charles at no time prior to the cession of Louisiana exceeded one hundred families. Antoine Lamarche says that the village was composed of eighty families in 1797. The houses, about one hundred in number, in which the four hundred and fifty inhabitants then lived, were scattered along a single street about one mile long, running parallel with the river, each house being located in a large lot surrounded by a garden. At that time the population was chiefly composed of French-Canadians and their descendants. "In their manners they unite," says Lewis, "all the careless gaiety and ample hospitality of the best times of France, yet, like most of their countrymen in America, they are but ill qualified for the rude life of the frontier. Not that they are without talent, for they possess much natural genius and vivacity; not that they are destitute of any enterprise, for their hunting excursions are long and laborious and hazardous, but their exertions are desultory, their

industry is without system and without perseverance. The surrounding country therefore, though rich, is not generally well cultivated. The inhabitants chiefly subsist by hunting and trading with the Indians, and confine their culture to gardening, in which they excel."¹⁶ But Gen. Collot, who visited the village in 1796, says: "Aussi est-il difficile de trouver un rassemblement d'invidius plus ignorans, plus grossiers, plus laids, et plus misérables."—all of which he attributes to extreme poverty.¹⁷

One of the principal inhabitants of the village was Noel Antoine Prieur, the secretary of the commandant, Don Carlos Tayon. This Prieur was a cripple, having lost his leg while pulling down a small house which had been presented him by François Duquette. Prieur was "chanter" in the little chapel of the town; he owned property in the upper fields of St. Charles, also on the Dardenne; two of his sons had grants in Portage des Sioux. Another important resident was Dr. Antoine Reynal, who, in 1799, removed from St. Louis to St. Charles, and resided there as a physician until his death in 1821, at the age of 80 years.¹⁸

¹⁶ Lewis & Clark's Expedition, vol. 1, Coues' Edition, p. 6.

¹⁷ Collot's Voyage dans L'Amerique, vol. 1, p. 578.

¹⁸ Other settlers of St. Charles, some of whom cultivated land in the upper and lower common-fields were, Barthélemi Courtmanche (1782); Louis Blanchette (1785), raised wheat on his lot (1799); Isidore Savoye (1791), who was a resident of Cahokia in 1787, cultivated land in both the upper and lower common-field; Jean Louis Marc (1788), at one time lived on the "*Tudros Trace*", which seems to have led from St. Louis to St. Charles, and was the Indian road to their hunting grounds. Marc's wife was frequently insulted by these Indians, so he moved to St. Charles for protection; he made a trip up the Missouri, and in 1798 was a tenant of Antoine Vincent Bouis on the Missouri, making sugar on his place; this land was situated between the land of Emelian Yosti and Nicolas Lecompte; Marc also seems to have lived at St. Ferdinand, and had a concession sixty-five miles north of St. Louis; Pierre Gagnon (1789) afterwards moved to Cul de Sac. This Pierre Gagnon in 1780 lived in Cahokia. Andrew Roy (1790); Nicolas C. Coontz, probably a relative of John, also a slave owner, was here in 1795 and was employed in expeditions against the Indians, in 1796 owned property at Marais Croche; John B. Grazer, in 1789 built a barn on the lot of Gagnon; Claude Paneton was here about 1790, was also a resident of St. Ferdinand, and in 1786 appears to be a resident of Cahokia; Paul Lacroix (1794), no doubt also related to the Cahokia family; Jos. Laurain (1794); Joseph Beauchemain (1795), on the Perruque in 1800; Charles Cardinal (1795), and cultivated a field in Upper Prairie; Louis Canoyer (or Cornoyer); Jean Baptiste Contara (1795); Romaine Dufraine or Dufrêne (1795); Deshomets (1795); probably Bazil Hebert dit Deshomets of St. Ferdinand, who we find here in 1812; Auguste Felteau (1795); Joseph Fortier (1791); Pierre Palardi (1795), in 1802, moved to Perruque creek; Quenel (1795), probably Pierre of Cahokia; Antoine Bricot (or Bricant) dit Lamarche (1796), and his son Antoine, junior; Paul Canoyer (1796); Comme (1796) died in this year, and his property sold at auction to one Tuton, or Tusson; Tous-saint Cerré (1796), in 1800 owned an island in the Mississippi river, six miles from the mouth of the Missouri, called by the French "*Le Grand Isle de Paysa*"; Pierre Didier (or Dodier) (1796); Edward Hempstead afterward acquired con-

The most important settlement in the St. Charles district was Portage des Sioux, located on the Mississippi on the tongue of land between this river and the Missouri, and where the Missouri approaches near-

siderable property in this district, as well as in St. Louis and near St. Ferdinand; Jean Baptiste Lamarche (1796), a Canadian, on the Maramec and Missouri in 1798, on Lamarche creek and also a resident in St. Louis; Baptiste LaFlame (1796), no doubt a descendant of Charles LeBoeuf dit LaFlame (see Alvord's Illinois Hist. Col., Vol. II., page 627); Clement Misty (1796), in the lower fields; Jacques Metot (1796), owning field in upper fields; Marie Ann Quebec (1796), also cultivated land in the lower fields; Joseph Rivard (or Rivare) (1796); John B. Senecal (1796) Joseph Tayon (1795), and son Joseph, junior; Charles Vallé was in this district in 1796, and find him at St. Charles in 1802; Joseph Voisard (1795), in 1802 opened a farm of twelve arpens on the Dardenne; Jeremiah Wray (1796); Louis Human or Hunot (1796) in the upper fields, in 1797 on Cuivre at "Prairie des Butes," died in 1802; Louis Bartolet (1797); Antoine Barada (1797); likely related to same family in St. Louis, or the same person; Francis Tabien (1797); François Jourdan (1797), at Portage des Sioux in 1800; Antoine LaFranchise (or Frianchise) (1797) son of Madame LaFranchise who owned a lot also in the town; Isidore Lacroix (1797); William McConnell (1797), slave owner, and in 1803 was Commissaire and syndic of the rivière aux Cuivre district, in 1797 a firm under name of McConnell & Spencer did business in St. Charles; François Presseau (1797); Nicolas Royer dit Cola (1797); Baptiste Roy (1795); Bertran (1798); Nicolas Fay (1796); George Gatty (1798), from Pennsylvania, in 1799 on the Dardenne and Missouri; John Henry (1798), on Bonne Femme in 1798; Pierre Bissonette (1799), also in St. Louis; Jean Marie Bissonette (1799); Louis Louisgrand (1799), near St. Charles, (possibly Louisgow), or Louisgand, the same who lived in Cahokia in 1780; Pierre Rondin (1799) a negro, sold in 1805 to Pointe AuSable; Gregoire Tessero dit Bebe (1799); John Vallet (or Vallé) (1799); Claude Boyer (1800); Pierre Clearmont (1800), at Portage des Sioux in 1801; Jean Baptiste Doe (or Dow) (1800); Pierre Dubois; Baptiste Lebeau (1800), also in St. Louis; Joseph Lamarche (1800); a Joseph P. Lamarche on Salt river in 1800; Nicolas LaForret (1800), sold to Pierre Bequet (or Bequette) who sold to Ortiz, and in 1803 sold to Pierre Chouteau; Joseph Marie (1799), in 1800 seventy-four miles north of St. Louis; Pierre Provenchère (1800), lived with Charles DeHault De Lassus a number of years; August Robert (1800); François Carbonneaux (or Charboneau) (1801); moved away from Kaskaskia where he had been clerk of the court, on account of lawlessness there; Pierre Canoyer (or Cornoyer) (1801), a Frenchman; Baptiste LeSage (1801); Joseph Peache (or Pichet) (1801); Patrick Roy (1801), also at Portage des Sioux; Pierre Teaque (1801); Jean Tayon (1801), and on the Mississippi; Francois Girard (1802) near St. Charles; Baptiste Janis (1802), but sold in 1805 to meet his obligations; Antoine Lamarche (1802), also owned property on Lamarche or Spencer creek; Joseph Larava also in St. Louis (1802), owned a lot in partnership with Nicholas Fay; Baptiste McDaniel (1802); Baptiste Penrose (1802); Bazil Pickard (1802), also at Portage des Sioux; Baptiste Picard (1802); Francois Ragotte (1802); Manuel A. Roque (1802), and in St. Louis; Jean Baptiste Simoneau (1802); Louis Tayon (1802), son of Carlos, senior, in 1802 moved to a stream north of the Missouri; Alexander Vallé (1802); Pierre Berje (spelling of name uncertain); Ayme (or Agnice) Buat (1796) in the upper fields of St. Charles; Nicolas Boyer; Baptiste Cote (or Cotte); George Collier; Veuve Ellen Chevalier; Joseph Dubois; Etienne Dorwain, in 1798 sold his property here; Baptiste and Auguste Dorlac; Michael Deroy; Antoine Derocher (or Deroche); Duplessis, (or Duplacy); Joseph Girard also seems to have been in Ste. Genevieve district and elsewhere; Pierre Garreau; Antoine Janis, junior; Nicolas Janis; Joseph Jervais, also on Little Prairie; Pierre Labre dit St. Vincent; Jean Baptiste and Francois Langlois; Baptiste Lucier; James and Jesse Morrison (1800), from New Jersey, bought and operated the salt works at Boon's

est to the Mississippi, north of the mouth of that river. According to Beck, Portage des Sioux derived its name from the fact that the Missouris, who at one time had their huts near here, being at war with the Sioux, and having heard that the Sioux were coming down the Mississippi on a foraging expedition, with the hope to surprise them, ambushed themselves at the mouth of the river in considerable numbers, but the Sioux, being more cunning, instead of going to the mouth of the river, landed at a point since known as Portage des Sioux, above the mouth of the river and carried their canoes across to the Missouri, and thus evaded their enemies, and escaped with their spoils.

The village of Portage des Sioux was established at the instance of the Spanish authorities in 1799, and to countervail, in the words of Trudeau, "a military post which the Americans intended to form at a place called Paysa," a point near the present site of Alton, not far from the mouth of the Missouri, on the opposite or east side of the Mississippi. Although no such military establishment was formed there by the Americans, no doubt it was rumored that such an establishment would be made. It was a point always thought to be a favorable location for a military post to control the trade on the Missouri river. When the English first took possession of the Illinois country on the east side of the Mississippi river a military post near the mouth of the Missouri was recommended as highly important. Frazier, in 1768, urged the establishment of a fort opposite the mouth of "the Missouries" river, "which would give us command of that river."¹⁹ So, also, when the Spaniards took possession of the Illinois country west of the Mississippi, the first military movement was to establish a fort north of the mouth of the Missouri. In 1799 the Spanish authorities appear again to have been deeply impressed with the importance of a post at or near the mouth of the Missouri, and accordingly François Saucier, at that time a resident of St. Charles, was requested to form a settlement at what was then known as "La Portage des Sioux," and to draw to that point creole inhabitants from the east side of the river, and who, according to Lick, Jesse Morrison afterwards moved to Illinois; owned property on the Dardenne, and in 1803 on Bryant or Lost creek; Marie Marchand (or Merchant) Charles Machett, may be Joseph C. Machett whose name is found in the archives; Joseph Aubouchon; Joseph Picketts; François Prieur; Pierre Quebeck; Jean Baptiste Savoye, at St. Louis in 1801; Toussaint Soliere or Soulair; Abraham Smith; Joseph Tabeau; Randolph or Rudolph dit Rody Veriat, also on the St. François river in the Ste. Genevieve district; William Wooton; Louis Laurain (Lorain); Joseph Cote.

¹⁹ 2 Indiana Historical Publications, p. 415. A place known as "Payssa" existed there in 1783. Alvord's Ills. Hist. Coll., vol. 2, p. 153.

Trudeau, had expressed a desire to settle there, and this being a "population analogous to the one wanted in this country." Such a settlement he also thought would be a respectable guard to stop the depredations of the Indians from "the rivers Illinois and Mississippi upon the plantations in the interior of the country," on the Missouri, but of course making no reference to the no doubt silent object of also protecting the country against a possible American invasion, of which the Spaniards were then as apprehensive as of the Indian "depredations." Trudeau selected Saucier to establish the village, because he enjoyed the confidence of the creoles on the American side of the river. Saucier himself was a native of the Illinois country, born near Fort de Chartres in 1740. His father, also named François Saucier, was a captain of the French marines, and under his direction Fort de Chartres was finished. In 1765, when Fort Massac was surrendered to the English, François Saucier, Junior, was in command there, and after the surrender removed to the west side of the Mississippi, then still in the French possession. Trudeau, in furtherance of the idea of establishing a village at Portage des Sioux, urged Saucier to quietly induce the creoles living on the American side of the river to settle near the post, and to encourage them by giving every facility to form a village, assuring to the settlers land near the same, so as "to enable them to live at ease and be forever content," and thus "to collect the greatest number of people." Soulard was ordered to be ready "on his first demand" to go to the spot "where it is fit the village in question should be," and to make a survey. Saucier was also assured, if he succeeded in accomplishing what Trudeau proposed, that this important service would be appreciated by the government. Saucier accordingly took up his residence at Portage des Sioux early in the spring of 1799, had the village laid out, induced many creoles to settle there and acted as commandant of the post until Louisiana was ceded to the United States. Soulard says that Saucier was the father of twenty-two children. He died August 6, 1821, at the age of eighty-one years, in the village which he had founded.²⁰ For his services, Saucier received

²⁰ Says the St. Charles "Missourian" of August 8, 1821, He was the founder of the village and one of the first settlers of upper Louisiana, he lived as he died, "beloved and respected." His five daughters married respectively: Colonel Pierre Menard, Colonel Pierre Chouteau, senior; James Morrison; Jesse Morrison and Jean François Perry. François Saucier's second wife was Françoise Nicolle Les Bois, widow of Charles Le Febvre, of Cahokia. She was the eldest daughter of Étienne Nicolle Les Bois and Marie Angélique Giard, his wife, of Cahokia. They were both poisoned by their negroes (Alvord's Ills. Hist. Coll.

a grant from DeLassus of 8,000 arpens of land. This concession was made to him by DeLassus on the 18th day of September, 1799, and was located on Salt (Auhaha, or O-ha-ha) river, and the deputy surveyor, Charles Fremon DeLauriere was ordered to make the survey by Soulard. DeLauriere says that he experienced great difficulty in making the survey, and that he was twice driven away by the Saukee and Fox Indians, although well armed. This grant, except 1,000 arpens, was rejected by the first board of land commissioners, but in 1832 the remainder, 7,800 arpens, were confirmed to Saucier's heirs. The Saucier grant was adjacent to the grants of LeBeaume and DeLauriere on Salt river, at a place called "La Saline Ensanglantée" (Bloody Saline). Here we should note DeLauriere made salt in 1799 at the extreme frontier, fortified himself against Indians and had a cannon to resist their attacks.²¹

Among the early inhabitants of Portage des Sioux we find Pedro Vial, who was sent by the governor of New Mexico to explore a route from Santa Fé to St. Louis in 1798; François Lesieur, who claimed four hundred arpens near Portage des Sioux, and three thousand in the St. Charles district, which he assigned to Antoine La Marche. But this François Lesieur should not be confounded with the François LeSieur, commandant of Little Prairie. Other settlers were August Clermont, who came from the village of Prairie Du Pont, in the Illinois country, likely in 1795; Simon and Antoine Le Page, also from the Illinois country; Baptiste Pujol; David Esborough, and Mathew Saucier. Patrick Roy, Charles Le Fevre and Solomon Petit came to Portage des Sioux from the lower fields of St. Charles. Claibourne Rhodes was a resident of the town in 1799, but relinquished his claim in 1800, and secured a concession of land on the Mississippi, intending to establish on it a distillery, cutting the logs for it, but was deterred from building by the Indians, who killed three men near the tract of land he had secured. Another early resident of Portage des Sioux was Antoine Le Claire, a blacksmith, who died there in 1821. He was a native of Montreal, and married into a prominent Pottowatomie Indian family in 1792. In 1800 he was a trader, living in Milwaukee, and thence removed to Peoria, and from there in 1809 to Portage des Sioux. At the time he

vol. ii, p. 19). Françoise was born Sept. 19, 1761, and married Saucier Oct. 7, 1793. Her sister married François LeSieur Jan. 28, 1799, also one of the first settlers of Portage des Sioux. Madame Nicolle Les Bois was born at Kaskaskia, daughter of Antoine Giard, and sister of Madame Gabriel Cerré.

²¹ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 731.

lived in Milwaukee he was the only trader there. He was a man six feet high, well built, and a successful trader. His son, Antoine Le Claire, Junior, was United States interpreter in 1833, at the Saukee and Fox agency, when J. B. Patterson secured the autobiography of Black Hawk. Le Claire, the son, was a prominent citizen of Portage des Sioux and on intimate terms with the Indian agent, Major Thomas Forsythe.²² In 1818-19 the American Fur Company had one of its traders, Antoine St. Amont, stationed at Portage des Sioux.²³

Fifty miles up the Missouri river from the village of St. Charles, in what is now Warren county, and where a creek empties into the Missouri river from the north, there was a settlement known as La Charette. The original French name of the settlement has disappeared, and for it the name of Marthasville, located about a mile from the river, has been substituted. Three miles north of this village still stands the house in which the famous Daniel Boone died. La Charette creek and another creek known as Tuque creek, flowing parallel to it, meander through a fertile bottom. A Spanish fort, "San Juan del Misuri," was established here, and of this fort one Antonio Gautier, lieutenant of the militia, and who in 1796 was an "inhabitant of St. Charles," had command. What manner of fort this "San Juan del

²² 3 Minnesota Historical Society Collection, p. 140.

²³ Among other early settlers and inhabitants of Portage des Sioux, we may enumerate, Auguste Charan (1797); Alexander Clark (1799); Charles Eber (1799); Joseph Louis Gow (or Goe) (1799); Baptiste McDonald (1799); John McQuick (1799); Estevan Papin (1799); Baptiste Pujol (1799); Louis Charles Roy (1799); Jacques Godfrey (1799); Mathew Saucier, junior, (1799); Crosby (1799), possibly Hezekiah, whose name we find later; Charles Hebert (1800); Francois Leclair (1800); Baptiste Presse, senior, (1800), and his son Baptiste, junior, also of St. Louis and St. Ferdinand; Charles Saucier (1800), son of Francois; Abraham Dumond (1801) at Carondelet in 1802; Michael Gow (or Louisgand probably of Cahokia) also here; Charles and Alexis Lefevre (1801); Francois Moquez (1801); Julien Roy (1801), and Julien, junior; Joseph Challefous (or Challefoux) (1802); Joseph Guinard (1802); Joseph Gravier (1802); Joseph Gravelin (1802), and Joseph, junior; Joseph Papin (1802); Jacques Perras (1802); Francois Racine 1802, had a blacksmith shop here in this year; Joseph Lapatry (1803); Thomas Lusby, native of Ireland, came first to Illinois and in 1800 to the Spanish territory, his son Elliott, it is claimed was the first white child born in the town; John A. Seitz (1803); Ebenezer Ayers, from an eastern state, settled at the Point near Portage des Sioux, at a very early date, had a horse-mill, and was a large fruit grower; the first Protestant sermon north of the Missouri, it is said, was preached in his house; in 1804 he was appointed justice of the peace, one of the first under the American government; Charles Roy; Etienne Bienvenue; Joseph Couder; Catharine Delisle; Jean Baptiste Dofine; John King; François Longval (or Louval); Napoleon LeSieur, also at New Madrid; Edward LeSieur; Lefevre LaNoire; Marie Ombre; Louis Pujol; Charles Picard; Alexander and Simon Roy; Pelagie Robideau; Julien Papin Vasquez; Richard Taylor on the forks of the Cuivre.

Misuri" was, we do not know, nor whether the garrison was a squad of Spanish soldiers or composed of local militia; but most likely this fort was a small log-house built to protect the first settlers against the Indians. All remembrance, however, of "Fort San Juan del Misuri" in 1804 appears to have faded from the recollection of the people there. Gass names the settlement "St. John," in his journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and this name may be a survival of the name of the fort once located at this place. Among the earliest inhabitants of the vanished village La Charette, we find the name of Joseph Chartran (sometimes mis-spelled Shattrons), who was the syndic of the settlement, probably a relative of Amable Chartran, of Cahokia, and, no doubt, of the family found in Montreal as early as 1668. Joseph Chartran came there from St. Charles. In 1796 he was one of the lot owners of the Upper Prairie. Gass describes La Charette as "a small French village, situated on the north side," and says that the expedition camped one quarter of a mile above it, and that "this is the last white settlement of white people on the river." According to the official report of the expedition, La Charette consisted in 1804 of "seven small houses and as many poor families," who have fixed themselves here for the convenience of trade.²⁴ Brackenridge, when he passed up the Missouri river in 1811, says: "La Charette is a little village composed of about thirty families, who hunt and raise a little corn. It was founded by the original French colonists, and was for a time the residence of Daniel Boone, after he removed farther up the river from the Femme Osage."²⁵

Above the village La Charette,²⁶ and the creek of that name, was, as the early French pioneers named it, "Rivière Tuque." Tuque is sometimes written "Duque" in these days. On this creek Joshua Stockdale (or Stogsdill) settled in 1799; so, also, John Haun, a

²⁴ Lewis and Clark's Expedition, p. 9, Coues' Edition.

²⁵ Brackenridge's Journal, p. 19.

²⁶ Among other settlers of this region, in the town and on the stream, we may enumerate, Abraham Darst (1799), had an orchard on the creek in 1804, perhaps the earliest orchard north of the Missouri river, if it was indeed planted as Thomas Smith testified (2 P. L. p. 474); Joseph Chartron, junior, was also a resident of the village on the river; Thomas Witherington (probably Worthington) and son John in 1799 had property on the river Charette; Jean Baptiste Luzon, Louison or Leauzon (1801) settled between LaCharette and the Missouri; Pierre Burdeaux (1801) on the river; Joseph Arnois (or Arnoux); Pierre Blanchett (or Blanchette) received a grant on the Missouri near the village, and on the Tuque; James Meek (1803); Adam McCord (1803); Moses Russell (1803); Pullet (Polite) Cardinal, in 1805 had sugar camps on the waters of Charette; Veuve St. Franceway (François).

German; William and Stephen Hancock in the same year opened a farm at the mouth of the creek; François Woods, who came to the country with the Hancocks, originally made a settlement here, but afterward sold his property and lived on the Perruque.²⁷

About twenty miles from St. Charles, the Femme Osage empties its waters into the Missouri. This creek is about thirty yards wide, and during the Spanish dominion an American settlement was formed here. The earliest settler was Daniel Morgan Boone, in 1797, a son of Daniel Boone, and a slave owner, then indicating a man of wealth.²⁸ His father subsequently, in 1799, came to the country on the invitation of Trudeau, who promised him a grant of one thousand arpens of land.²⁹ In 1800 he was appointed by De-

²⁷ On this stream James Bryan or Bryant settled in 1799; he was also on the Missouri and in St. Louis, if the same person; David Bryan settled on this stream in 1800 near the present town of Marthasville, he was a native of Maryland, and had a large orchard which he grew from apple seed brought from Kentucky in his pocket; his aunt married Daniel Boone, and they were both buried on his farm; John Burnet (1801); Gabriel Marlowe (or Marlot) settled here under permission of the syndic Chartran in 1802, but in the same year sold out his claim to John Busby; Benjamin Rogers (1799) a witness for settlers on this stream, probably lived here; William Spencer (or Spence) (1800); George Arey, (Ayreys or Ayers) (1803); Robert Baldrige, from Ireland, one of the earliest settlers, obtained the grant on which Pond's Fort was built, his son Malachi, and two other men, named Price and Lewis, were killed by Indians while hunting on Loutre Prairie; Andrew Kincaid (or Kincaird) (1800); Jean Marie Cardinal.

²⁸ Colonel Boone and his son laid out a town near here on the Missouri river, called Missouriton, and built a horse-mill, but the place where the town was laid out has long since been washed away by the river. Nathan Boone, son of Daniel, was a surveyor, in 1812.

²⁹ Boone started for Upper Louisiana in September, 1799, going over-land with the stock, accompanied by George Buchanan, an Irishman, and a negro named Sam, belonging to Daniel M. Boone, Flanders Callaway, Forest Hancock, William Hays, senior, William Hays, junior, and Isaac Van Bibber. He reached the Mississippi in October and crossed his stock at the mouth of the Missouri, and from there went to the Femme Osage, where his son Nathan had established himself several years before. The boat in which Boone's wife, Nathan Boone and his wife, Daniel M. Boone, Callaway and others went arrived at Femme Osage before he came. From Femme Osage Boone went to St. Louis, where DeLassus had succeeded Trudeau; but Trudeau still being in St. Louis secured him the concession of land he had promised. In 1800 Boone hunted beaver on the Bourbeuse with a faithful negro boy named Derry, and in that year caught thirty or forty beaver. While on the Bourbeuse he visited Captain Fish of Roger's band of Shawnees and an old squaw with whom he became acquainted when a prisoner among the Indians in Ohio in 1778. In 1801 he hunted beaver on the Niango, called by the Spaniards "Yongo" and in 1802 W. T. Lamme and Nathan also hunted there. Hatters came from Lexington and offered to buy Boone's beaver skins. Lamme and Nathan Boone in 1802 captured nine hundred beaver and sold the skins at \$2.50 a skin. But in this year the Osages robbed Daniel Boone and Wm. Hays, junior, who hunted with him (Draper's Notes, vol. 6, p. 241). This Wm. Hays, junior, died near Fulton in Callaway county in 1846; he was born at Boone's Station in 1780.

Lassus commandant of the Femme Osage district. When he first arrived in the country he lived with his son, Daniel Morgan Boone, for several years, afterward with another son, Nathan, and finally moved further up the Missouri to La Charette, where he died. He did not cultivate his grant of land on the Femme Osage, because advised by DeLassus that, as commandant, under the Spanish law, he did not come within the meaning of the rules and regulations requiring cultivation of land before title could be perfected. By the commissioners, however, for the settlement of Spanish land titles, his claim to the land was rejected, but afterward in 1814, confirmed by a special act of Congress. Near here, on the Missouri, James Stephenson, in 1799, made a settlement, but in about 1800 his house was burned and he was robbed of everything he had by the Indians. He made claim for an additional grant as compensation for his loss, and on recommendation of Daniel Boone, DeLassus made another grant to the son of Stephenson, named John, Junior, antedating the same so as to correspond to the original grant. David Darst, Senior, a native of Virginia, came to upper Louisiana from Kentucky in 1797, and received a concession near this stream. His son, David, a cripple, also received a grant adjoining his father, from Zenon Trudeau, although only fourteen years old, but "intended as his support." William McHugh, in 1801, lived on Bryant or Lost creek, about twelve miles beyond this settlement, and William Ewing, who lived with him, testified that in 1803 McHugh had three sons killed by the Indians, also some cattle, and was frightened away from his place. Robert Hall lived on the Femme Osage in 1799, but left the country prior to 1800, and never returned. François Wyatt came from Montgomery county, Kentucky, in 1800, secured a land grant, and also applied for concessions for a number of other people from Kentucky.³⁰ Isaac

³⁰ Other early residents on the Femme Osage were, Joseph Haines (1797); James Baldrige (1797), and on this stream and the Missouri, also on the Dardenne; Samuel Clay (1797); sold his property in 1800 to Alexander McCourtney; Jeremiah and Santiago Clay (1799); John Marshall (1800), owned six slaves; Jonathan Bryan (1799), brother of David, Irish descent, native of Maryland, brought his family from Kentucky in a keel boat, and first settled near Cap au Gris, in what is now Lincoln county, but owing to the exposed position to Indian attacks, and supposed sickly location, he moved to the mouth of the Femme Osage, where in 1801 he built a water-mill; the millstones were carried from Kentucky on horse-back, and an old musket barrel formed the sluice or water-race; William Coshaw, step-son of Jonathan Bryan, native of North Carolina, came with Bryan, and afterwards served in the Indian war; David McKinney (1800), came to the country with François Wyatt; John McKinney also came in this year, and probably of this party, he was a native of Virginia and served in the war of the revolution, but moved from there to Kentucky, his son Alexander also came with him, married Nancy Bryan, was a surveyor and afterward

Vanbibber, a native of Virginia, who was raised by Daniel Boone, and came with him to the Spanish territory, settled in the Femme Osage Bottom, which at this time was also called "Darst's Bottom."³¹ Vanbibber was major of the militia in the Indian war, under Daniel Morgan Boone. Near the head-waters of the Femme Osage and Dardenne, James Beatty made a settlement in 1800. He came to upper Louisiana with letters from Governor Garrard of Kentucky, and presented these letters to DeLassus, who, after reading same, said to him that he would "be received with pleasure" and that he would grant him land. Beatty, however, after making his settlement remained in the country only a year, selling out his claim.³²

The Cuivre settlement was located on Cuivre river, or Rivière aux Bœuf (Buffalo river), which drains the western part of Lincoln county. This river is formed by the junction of the north and west forks. The junction of these streams is in about the center of Lincoln county, and thence the river flows around the southern end of the main ridge of hills extending south parallel with the Missouri, and being joined by Big Creek and Eagle's Fork, runs in an easterly direction debouching into the Mississippi about 30 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. This stream was in the early days called Cuivre or Copper river, because it was supposed by the early French pioneers that copper was, or would be, found in the country tributary to it. In the wide and fertile bottoms of this stream, well wooded and shut in by bold escarpments of rock, many American settlers secured grants from the Spanish officers. Where the two forks of the Cuivre meet, Richard Taylor secured a Spanish grant. James Mackay made a claim for 13,835 arpents on the Cuivre river, as a reward for services

served in the State Legislature several sessions; Arthur Burns (1800), an Irish Catholic, in 1803 sold a tract on the Mississippi bluff on the Dardenne, seems also to have owned property on the Perruque; his son, Arthur, in 1805, had property on Sandy creek; James Montgomery (1800); Thomas Smith (1799), on this stream and Missouri, also near or at St. Charles; Peter and Thomas Smith (1800), from Kaskaskia on the hills above Prairie du Rocher; William Dunn (1802), in the Femme Osage and Cuivre districts; David Kincaid (1803), also on fork of the Charette; John Littlejohn (1803), secured permission to settle from Daniel Boone; Phillip Miller; Samuel Watkins; Joshua Dodson of Ste. Genevieve district seems to have bought property here; Samuel Meek (1803); in 1798, John Lindsay, Josiah Dotson, Sam Clay and Sam Watkins, all young unmarried men settled near Daniel M. Boone and for some time that settlement was known as "Bachelor's Bottom."

³¹ In this bottom David Cole, a German, settled in 1798; Benjamin Gardner, a hunter and trapper, settled in 1801, going on hunting trips lasting from four to six months each, on his fourth trip returned home sick and died. Other settlers were John Manly (1801); Isaac Darst (1801).

³² Commissioner's Reports, vol. 4, p. 495.

rendered the Spanish government, in making an exploration in 1795 of the upper Missouri, under the orders of Baron de Carondelet, Governor-General, and Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Intendant-General at New Orleans. James Lewis in 1799 owned a flour-mill on this stream, but in the spring of 1803 was compelled to abandon it on account of the Indians, returning in the fall.³³ The settlers on Cuivre were much exposed to Indian attacks, and often obliged to leave their lands on account of Indian depredations.³⁴

The first settlement on the Perruque, in what is now St. Charles county, was made in 1796 by French Canadians. In that year, Louis Marchant, who subsequently moved to Belland's creek, Andrew and Jean Baptiste Blondeau, dit Duzey (or Drezy), made a settlement which they described as "at a place called La Perruque." Christopher Sommalt or Zumalt (or Zumwalt), Senior, a German, and a Revolutionary soldier, here in 1799, established a mill. He

³³ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 473.

³⁴ Among the earliest grantees and settlers in this locality are to be named Louis Boisse (1791); Isaac Hosteller (or Hostetter) (1797); Henry McLaughlin (1797), on the Missouri and Cuivre; Adam Sommalt (Zumalt) (1797), came with Christopher Sommalt, also Jacob; William Hays (1798), and a witness in Darst Bottom in 1801; Squire Boone (1798) owned ten slaves, and says had serious difficulty in making his settlement; David or Daniel Rowland (1798); Dr. Mackay Wherry (1798), his grant was made for a sugar plantation, in 1802 raised corn on his lot in St. Charles, was afterwards sheriff of the county; Baptiste Champlain (1799); Paul and Cerré Chouteau (1799); Joseph Cottle (1799); Baptiste Delisle, junior, (1799); Lewis Krow (1799) near the Cuivre on Krow's or Charles' Run; François La Rivière (1799) same person was also in New Madrid it would seem; Daniel McCoy, came to Upper Louisiana in 1797 or 1799 with his brothers, John and Joseph, and father-in-law Henry Zumalt, in 1804 was lieutenant of a company of militia in St. Charles district; Zadock Woods (1799), owned five slaves, was also in St. Louis district on the Missouri; George Weiland (1799); Joseph Baptiste Billot (1800); Godfrey Crow or Kroh (1799) on Krow's Run, in 1806 was deputy surveyor; Charles B. Thibeault (1799), also in St. Louis; William Craig (1799) adjacent Daniel McCoy; Andrew Cottle (1799); Henry Crow (1799), adjacent to Godfrey Crow; Michael Crow (1799), and in 1802 on the Perruque; Jacob Grosjean (1799), German Catholic; Louis Charboneau (1800); Andrew Chartrand (1800); Toussaint Gendron (1800); Abraham Keithley (or Kiefty) (1800), was obliged to abandon in the spring of 1803 on account of Indians, but returned in the fall, was killed by his horse on this stream in 1813; Augustine Langlois (1800), seems also to have been in St. Louis; François Paquette (1800) may be the same person living in the New Madrid district in 1794; Benjamin Quick (1801); Daniel Quick (1801) also lived in this district and possibly here; Hugh Swan (1802), on Eagle Fork; Nathaniel Simonds (1801) also in St. Louis and St. Charles, a witness to claims on the Dardenne; Robert Burns (1800); William Linn (or Lynn) (1802); Jonathan, Sylvanus, and Isaac Cottle, (or Cottell) (1800); Joseph Jamison (1802); Jonathan Woods (1802), afterwards moved to St. Charles; Martin Woods; John Barnabag; David Boyd; William Farnsworth (or Farrisworth), and his son who lived with him; Jeremiah Grojean; Henry Sommalt, junior; Christopher Clark; Benjamin Jones. In 1800 Gabriel Cerré received a grant of an island in the Mississippi at the mouth of the Cuivre.

seems to have brought a number of other settlers with him, as other petitioners said they belong to his family. His sons, Peter and Christopher, Junior, also located on this stream in 1799. Jacob Zumalt built the first hewed log-house ever erected on the north side of the Missouri; his sons, Andrew and Jacob, Junior, came with him, Andrew settling on the Brazo (Brazeau). William Tarbet came with this party and settled on the Cuivre.³⁵

The Dardenne flows in a northeasterly direction through what is now St. Charles county, almost parallel with the Missouri, and from ten to twelve miles north of it. It empties its waters into the Mississippi above the mouth of the Illinois. In early documents it is variously spelled "Darden" and also "Dardonne." It has been suggested that the name is derived from *Terre d'Inde* i. e. Turkey Land, but is more probably derived from the Dardenne family, early pioneers of the Mississippi Valley. A Touissant Dardenne from Montreal, Canada, married Marie Françoise Lever, "veuve de feu Michal Vieu," at St. Anne de Fort de Chartres, Novbr. 21st 1747. One of these Dardennes may have first camped and hunted on this creek, and thus given it his name. The lands along the banks of the Dardenne are fertile and productive, and it is a fine mill stream. One of the first pioneers on the Dardenne was Jean Baptiste Blondeau, the same Blondeau we find on the Perruque. He made an improvement in about 1796 and raised a crop on a grant on this stream, afterward assigned by him to John Mullanphy. François Howell, a native of North Carolina, removed to what is now Missouri, about 1797; he first settled thirty miles west of St. Louis, then moved to what has since been known as "Howell's Prairie," on the Dardenne and erected several small mills.³⁶ James Kerr in 1798 petitioned for a grant to build

³⁵ Other settlers were, John Ridenhour (1799); William Linx (1800); Melchior Amant Michau (1800); David Edwards (1801); Almond Cottle (1803); Angus Gillis, a witness in this neighborhood in 1803; Samuel Holmes (1803); Francis Woods (1800), came to the country with Hancock; David Conrad (1803); James Swift (1803) had a concession, but in the winter of the same year moved away; Samuel Lewis; Elizabeth Due; Daniel Johnson and Ira Cottle seem to have had a concession in partnership on this stream; François Kissler (1804), but on account of sickness was compelled to move to St. Charles; Henry Stephenson (1804); Matrom Lewis; Andrew Edwards; David Kichelie. James Wealthy settled on this stream in 1799 and after living here a year sold out to one Kiefty. Andre and Jean Baptiste Blondeau also had a grant adjacent to the grant of Louis Marchand on this stream.

³⁶ A son of John Howell of Pennsylvania. Four of François Howell's sons, John, Thomas, François, junior, and Benjamin, served as rangers in Captain Callaway's company, François, junior, was also Colonel of militia, and Benja-

a mill, which likely never was built. In 1799 Arend Rutgers secured 7,056 arpens on the Dardenne, from Trudeau, to induce him to build a mill there. Rutgers at this time lived at Red Banks, or Lexington, Kentucky, and on his request by letter, Soulard had a survey made of this land by Mackay, his deputy, in 1800. After this survey it seems Rutgers actively began work on his mill, and Pierre Provenchère, his son-in-law, says that in 1803 a large dwelling had been erected on the premises and a large field cleared, timber hewed and hauled for a mill and mill-dam. Rutgers brought a number of workmen from the United States to work on his mill and grant. Several times the mill-dam was carried away by water before it was completed, and altogether Rutgers seemed to have had some difficulty in getting his water-mill started, but in 1803 he had erected a store-house on the Dardenne and kept a store there. Thomas Howell, who resided at this time with his father François, was in the employ of Rutgers. Afterward Rutgers lived in St. Louis where he was a large land owner, and also acquired property on the Femme Osage and Cuivre. Alexander Andrews lived on this creek in 1797, but sold his property in 1800, and moved to the St. Louis district. Isaac Wilder, a blacksmith, located here in 1799, and John Draper, a well-digger, had a concession in 1802. A number of claims to land were made by persons along the Dardenne not actual settlers. Among others Pelagie Chouteau (veuve Pelagie L'Abadie), as assignee of Etienne Bernard; Antoine Janis; James Morrison, as assignee of Joseph Beauchamp.³⁷

min, captain of a company of rangers. Another son, Lewis, taught school a number of years, was deputy sheriff, and afterwards adjutant of the St. Charles militia; another son James F. was colonel of a regiment.

³⁷ Among other early settlers on the Dardenne we may enumerate, Joseph Genereux (1796), who seems to have been in partnership with Joseph Langlois on the Missouri and Dardenne; Etienne Bernard, (1796) also a resident of St. Charles; John Parquette (or Parkett); Joseph Beauchamp dit Bochant (1796) also a resident of St. Charles and Marais Croche, where he sold in 1798 to Antoine Janis, junior. The following named persons who evidently were from the United States also made claims to land on this stream John Lewis (1797), on the Dardenne and Missouri; Perry Brown (1798), on the Missouille in 1840; this stream; Warren Cottle (1799), "*ancien habitant des E. U.*," a native of Vermont, served in the war of 1812; his son, Warren, junior, was a physician and came with his father in 1799. Other sons of Warren, senior, Ira, Stephen and Marshall, also on this stream. His son Lorenzo founded the town of Cottleville in 1840; George Hoffman (1799), native of Pennsylvania, but lived in Virginia where he married, and came from there to Missouri; his sons Peter and George, junior, came with him and lived on this stream, Peter was a soldier in the war of 1812; Louis Jannetot (or Jeannette) (1799); Thomas Johnson (1799) Irish Catholic, in 1800 on the Maramec; Conrad dit Leonard Price (1799), one of those who came with Christopher Sommalt (Zumwalt); John Adam Smith (1799) soldier of the Revolution; Milton Lewis (1800); one Harrington settled on the

The largest and most notable claim, on account of its vast extent, was the claim of Clamogran to five hundred thousand arpens of land, which was located between the Dardenne, Cuivre, and Mississippi. This claim was based on services in exploring a pathway across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific ocean, but never was allowed or confirmed.³⁸ For many years the confirmation of this claim was and is still urged with great vigor, in and out of Congress. To some extent, for a time, it retarded the settlement of the country, but finally the land claimed was surveyed by the government and made subject to entry.

On the Auhaha or Salt river, Maturin Bouvet, a resident of St. Charles in 1792, had a saline, at a place called "Le Bastile," but the Saukee Indians took away all his effects, kettles, etc., and three valuable mares. He remained on his place alone one winter, and while absent the Indians again destroyed his furnace, dwelling-house and ware-house, which latter was about thirty-five feet in length; he himself sometime later on his return was burned to death by the Indians.³⁹ He also had a grant at Bay de Charles, on the Mississippi, for depositing his salt for shipment.⁴⁰ This Bouvet came from the

Dardenne in 1801 on a grant made to Don Carlos Tayon, and which included a salt spring; John McConnell (1801); Andrew Walker (1801); Michael Reybott (or Rybolt) (1802), on this stream and the Missouri; John Rouke (or Rooks) (1802) also spelled Rouke; Warner Gilbert (1803); Noel Herbert (1803); Dame Louise Langevin dit Baillette (1803), wife of Etienne Bernard, formerly widow of Joseph Violette; John Alexander Michau (1803); George Price (1803), a witness and probably a resident; Christian Dennis; Charles Denney (or Dennys) a German, and herb doctor, lived on this creek and had a water-mill, afterward had a distillery; Micajah Baldrige; Peter Tisne; Christian dit Christopher Wolf; Laurent Derocher; Etienne Pepin (1800) had a grant at a pond called "a Bequet" four or five miles northwest of Portage des Sioux; he was a Canadian and an old resident. On this stream St. Vrain, brother of DeLassus received a grant of 10,000 arpents; St. Vrain died insolvent, sold his grant at twelve and one half cents an acre payable in goods, and goods were sold at such a high price that according to Tesson, John Mullanphy got the land for about two cents an acre.

³⁸ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 629.

³⁹ Others who were on this stream were, Louis Bouré (1799); Charles Mainville (1799); John Baptiste Jeffre (1800); Jean Baptiste Bourette or Bouré (1801) Dr. Antoine Saugrain had a claim for land here on which to erect a distillery and mill and establish a stock-farm.

⁴⁰ Amable Roy made an early settlement here in 1785, but abandoned it on account of the Indians being troublesome; Jean Baptiste Tesson (1799); Albert Tesson (1793) had a claim of 7,056 arpents, but was driven off his claim by Indians, he was a surveyor, and attached to the administration of DeLassus from its beginning to the end, and lived with him; he testified that Trudeau wrote his own grants, but that DeLassus' were written by Soulard or others and that it was customary to date the concession the day the petition was dated or a day or so afterward, although the petition may have been made two years prior. He also had a claim at Rich Woods settlement but never lived there. John Guion (1801); George Ayrl (1801); Edmond Chandler (1803).

East side of the river to upper Louisiana. In 1786 he was civil and criminal Judge of St. Philippe. From there it seems he moved to Cahokia. Finally no doubt owing to the lawless condition prevailing in the American Illinois settlements at that time he came to the Spanish country. Other settlers in that locality secured land donations on Sandy or Romain creek,⁴¹ and on the Mississippi and Missouri bluffs.⁴² A small settlement was made sixty five miles north of St. Louis⁴³ and still another on Bryant or Lost creek, a stream also known as Ramsay creek, because in 1799 Captain William Ramsay made a settlement here called Ramsay's Lick, and where he made a hunting camp. This Ramsay was a soldier of the Revolution, was at the battle of Yorktown, and during the Indian war commanded a company of rangers. John Ramsay who lived on this stream was his son, and another son, Robert, lived near Marthasville, where his wife and three children were murdered by the Indians.⁴⁴ At the time of the cession a number of settlers lived

⁴¹ On the Mississippi and bluffs we find, Etienne Guitard (1799); Jean Baptiste Challefoux (1799); William Ewings (1800), and in 1803 lived with William McHugh on Bryant creek; William Jamison (1800); François Louis; Baptiste and Joseph Roy (1799) brothers; François Shaver (1803) at the forks of the Mississippi and Missouri; François Bouthellier (1803); Andrew Blondeau; Henry Langhorn, senior and junior; John François Misheau (Michau) (1802).

⁴² These were, Louis Charleville (1799); Baptiste Domine (1799); Louis Grimard dit Charpentier (1799); Dominick Uge (or Hugué) (1799); Marie Philip Leduc (1799) received a grant but did not settle on it; Louis Lamalice (1799); Baptiste Marley (1799); François Motier (1800); William Clark (1800) and may be the blacksmith in St. Louis in 1802; St. James Beauvais (1800); Antoine Bizet (Bisette) (1800); Jean Baptiste De Quarry (1802); John Godino; Louis Varre; Jean Baptiste Bravier (1800), probably Bravier dit Ciril.

⁴³ On this stream Aristides Auguste Chouteau had a grant in 1798; Thomas Caulk (1800), had lived here prior to this time cultivating land for Richard Caulk; a Thomas W. Caulk was in New Madrid district in 1792; Frederick Dickson (1802); Ralph H. Flaugherty (1801); Moses Kinney.

⁴⁴ Robert T. (or J.) Friend, arrived in this district "with his family, merchandise, slaves and cattle" in 1798, and settled on the Missouri and cultivated Indian wheat, seems also to have lived on the St. François; Isaac Fallis (1798); George Buchanan (1798) came to the country with Daniel Boone, was on the Dardenne in 1801; Samuel Griffith of New York, seems to have settled on the Mississippi and Missouri in 1795, owned two slaves; Forest Hancock (1798) came with Daniel Boone; James Hoff (1798), and afterwards sixty-five miles north of St. Louis; Antoine Janis (1795) on the Missouri and Dardenne, in 1798 at St. Charles; Ira Nash (1798), employed at the Spanish fort, received a grant of land on the Missouri in what is now Howard county, a man by the name of H. Nash (or Mark) was appointed deputy surveyor between 1799 and 1803; William VanBurkelo (1798), settled near the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri in 1798, he was a ranger in Captain Musick's company, and killed by the Indians about the close of the war, was married three times; John Watkins (1797), probably Dr. John Watkins who was a land speculator on the Maramec, a Catholic, sold in 1802, to Leonard Farrow; William Stewart (1798) on this river at Green's Bottom, one of his sons Elias C. was sheriff of the county several times, and his brother Jackey was a ranger in Callaway's com-

scattered near or along the Missouri and Mississippi at various points. Many large grants for land,⁴⁵ as a reward for services,

pany; François Smith (1799); Daniel Kiseler or Kieseler (1799); Anthony Kelle r (1799) German, Catholic; John Journey (1799) also James; Joseph Leduc (1800); Robert McKinney (1800), returned to Kentucky prior to 1803; William Nash (1800); Laurence Sydener (1802); Hypolite Bolon (may be the Indian interpreter of the Ste. Genevieve District) (1800) and at Carondelet; James Clay (1799) and on Charette in 1802; Joseph Deputy (1800); Baptiste Duchouquette (1800) on the Missouri, opposite the Osage; James Flaugherty (1799) on the Missouri at Green's Bottom, was one of the first justices of the peace appointed under the American Government in 1804; Antoine Gagnier (1800) on this river in Howard county; Antoine and François Gaguirie (or Giguares) (1800); Stephen Hancock (1799); James Piper (1800) testified to events at Portage des Sioux in 1798; Newton Howell (1801) on this river below the mouth of the Femme Osage, William Stewart had a sugar camp on his property by permission of Stewart; Timothy Kibby (1801), in 1802 at St. Charles and also on Dardenne; James Vanbibber (1803) of Virginia, was afterwards coroner, and his son Joseph was a surveyor; Jacques Eglise; John Ferguson, at the forks of the Missouri and Mississippi; William Griffith; James Griffin, junior, (1800); Peter, Joseph and James Jerney (or Journey) on the Missouri at Green's Bottom; Stephen Jackson (1803) on the Tuque in 1802, where he began cultivating a garden, but was taken sick, and on his recovery was compelled to hire out to pay James Mackay, for said concession, and who charged him considerably more for same than at first; Levis Lucas, forks of the Missouri and Mississippi; William Meek (1803), in 1804 on the Tuque; David Miracle; John McMichell; William Vantico, forks of the Missouri and Mississippi; Peter Valign.

⁴⁵ Thus Andre L' Andreville (1788), tavern-keeper and merchant, also a resident of St. Louis claimed 4,000 arpens, but never settled the land; Charles Bruire (1800) claimed 800 opposite Cedar island but it does not appear that he or Joseph Bissonette (1799) lived on their claims; Joseph Brazeau (1797), Antonio Brazeau probably a relative of the Brazeau's of St. Louis, and François Belonge (1799) claimed land in this district but did not reside on it; James W. Cockran (1800), forty miles west of St. Louis; George Crumps (1800) two miles west of St. Charles, built a house on his claim; Therese Crely (1803) wife of Louis Honore dit Tesson claimed 3,500 arpens on the river Jeffron but lived at Florissant; Jesse Cain (1799) planted corn on his land; also lived on the Maramec before he came to this district, in Nathan Boone's company of rangers in 1812; François Cayolle (1799) opposite Prairie du Chien on river Jaune, probably François De Salle dit Cayolle of Carondelet, claimed 7,000 arpens which he sold to Dubuque; Jean B. Chartier; Daniel Clarkland speculator made claims under Louis Charbouseau, François La Rivière, Vincent Guitard and others on the river Loutre, on the Aux Vase in 1804 and Cuivre, also bought several tracts in the St. Louis district; François DeLauriere dit Normandeau (1799) on Loutre river; Pierre Derbigne (Derbigny) (1799), of New Madrid; Veuve Susanah Dubreuil (1799) the mother of ten children, her husband did not receive a concession claimed 7,000 arpens; Louis Dupree (1799); Louis Delisle claimed 2,500 arpens in this district and Louis Delisle, junior (1799), 800 on the Bonne Femme; Jacob Eastwood (1801) claimed 800 arpens sixty miles northwest of St. Louis; Pierre Gamelin (1799); Daniel Griffith (1801); Duritt Hubbard located thirty-one miles northwest of St. Louis, and Euribus, Daniel and Felix Hubbard about 1800 located sixty miles northwest of St. Louis; Purnell Howard (1799) on Smith creek, also in the forks of the Missouri and on the Femme Osage; Jean Baptiste Lacroix (1795) at Cul de Sac, in 1797 at St. Charles and in 1799 at Portage des Sioux; Pierre Lord (1799) at Bay du Roy, sold to John Campbell and White Matlock in 1805; John Long (1801) on Bonne Femme; James Michew (Michau); Alexander McClean, on McClean's creek; Baptiste Marion (1800); Mrs. McKnight (1800) of Tennessee, said to have killed several Indians, her son came to this district in 1817, and was the owner of McKnight island

were also claimed in this district and upon which no actual settlements had been made.

in the Mississippi; Jean McMillan in 1799 was a saddler on a stream north of the Missouri; Thomas Overstreet; John Orain had a claim on the Cuivre; Paul and Pierre Primo (1799); William Palmer dit Beaulieu in 1802 was at Cape au Gris; Andrew Peltier (1800) maybe came from Vincennes; James Rankin (1800), deputy surveyor sometime between 1799 and 1803, in 1804 was at Creve Coeur, also St. Ferdinand; Seneca Rollins (1802); Joseph and James Russell (1802); George Robert Spencer (1797) on river Jacob; a Robert Spencer was at Portage des Sioux, on river Cuivre and Dardenne at Spencer's Run; Benjamin Spencer settled on Grand Glaise in this district and worked a saline, according to Charles Fremont; Thomas Spencer also on the Grand Glaise; Andrew Sommalt or Zoomalt (Zumwalt) senior, a son of Jacob, (1799) came with the family of Christopher Sommalt; Etienne St. Pierre (1799) a resident for a long time, had a grant at foot of hills below mouth of rivière à Berger including Point Basse, to establish stock-farm; Thomas Todd (1801) sixty miles northwest of St. Louis; Samuel Watkins; John Wedder (or Wedden) (1802); Rowland Willard; Nathaniel Warren dit Waring (1802); Joseph Drouen (1799); Daniel Baldridge, thirty-five miles west of St. Louis; Josiah M. Lanaham and Jacob Hany were residents in this district as assignees of Antoine Lamarche; John Young (1801); Albert Tesson (1793) claimed land fifty-one miles north of St. Louis and on Salt river, also owned property in New Madrid; on the Missouri and Isle aux Boeufs, John and Hugh Morel, and in 1797 secured a grant, they were Irish Catholics, and in 1798 sold to Robert Young of St. Andre; James Pritchett; John Phillips made a claim under date of 1803 on the aux Boeuf with Thomas Gibson, and Charles Phillips, witnesses. So also the Kaskaskia land speculator Jean François Perry claimed that he received a grant on the aux Boeuf 130 miles north of St. Louis in 1798.

On Mill creek Harry Cook, from Kaskaskia, where he rendered military service, made a claim to land as heir of one McCormack. He was a son of John Cook, who came to the Illinois country from the Eaton's station, Cumberland, near Nashville, in 1787. Of this John Cook the Kaskaskia commissioners for land claims do not speak in complimentary terms, saying "This man is a Dutchman without property, fond of strong drink, and without character," and that although not long in the country he has given testimony to support about two hundred claims. (P. L. p. 126.) Christy Romine (1798) was another settler on this stream; Jerusha Edmonson (1803); Benjamin Horine; Israel McGready; Henry Pinkley, a witness on this stream, one Antoine Gaguier in 1800 on the Missouri as far up as Howard county—a settler.

CHAPTER XIV.

New Madrid—Physical Features of the New Madrid Ridge—Hunters and Traders the First Settlers—"An Aboriginal Station"—Abundance of Game—"L'Anse à la Graise"—The Le Sieurs—Delaware Village at the Mouth of Chepoosa River—Report to Miro of Captain McCoy, 1786—Colonel George Morgan—His Life—Receives a Grant from Gardoqui—Extent of Grant—Explores the Territory between the Mouth of the St. Cosme and New Madrid—Letter Describing Country Published in Philadelphia—Reveals Spanish Designs—Preparations of Morgan to Settle his Grant—Plan of Surveying the Same—New Madrid Laid Out—Distribution of Lots—An Agricultural Settlement—Professional Hunters not Favored—Morgan's Advertisement—Morgan's Plans Antagonized by Wilkinson—Miro Objects to Grant—Morgan's Plan Destroyed by Miro—Peyroux Cancels Grants Made by Morgan—Pierre Foucher Appointed Commandant of New Madrid—Builds Fort Celeste—Morgan's Estimate of Foucher—Letter to Gardoqui—Great American Immigration to New Madrid—La Forge Details Work Foucher Accomplished—General Forman at New Madrid—Thomas Portelle, Commandant in 1791—Population of New Madrid—Americans Open Farms in 1790—Small Progress of Settlement—Thomas Power, Spanish Agent at New Madrid—Gayoso there in 1795—Portelle Succeeded by De Lassus—Biography of De Lassus—New Madrid Gateway of Commerce to the Gulf—New Madrid Attached to Upper Louisiana in 1799—Peyroux, Commandant, 1799—Succeeded by La Vallée in 1803—Fort Celeste Residence of Commandants—Antoine Gamelin—Pierre Antoine LaForge—Three Companies of Militia—Galleys Stationed at New Madrid—Names of Early Settlers—Merchants—Richard Jones Waters—Captain Robert McCoy—Barthélemi Tardiveau—The King's Highway North—Settlers on the Same—Territorial Limits of the New Madrid District—Principal Settlements—Bayou St. John—Lake St. Mary—Lake Ann—Bayou St. Thomas—Little Prairie Settlement Founded, 1794—The Portage of the St. Francois—Tywappity Bottom—Prairie Charles—Oath of Loyalty Administered to Early Settlers.

Long before the advent of the white pioneers in the valley of the Mississippi, the region which became known as the New Madrid district was inhabited by a numerous pre-historic population. The main physical feature of this New Madrid district is a low, partially clay and alluvial ridge which, beginning at the Scott county hills, runs south parallel with, and at some distance from, the Mississippi, to near where the St. Francois river empties into it. This ridge, however, is not of uniform height, but here and there is bisected by low depressions through which the river flows when at flood tide. At New Madrid, at Point Pleasant and at Little Prairie (now Caruthersville), in Missouri, this ridge touches the Mississippi and at these points the soil for many ages has crumbled away under the erosions of the mighty river, at New Madrid making the great bend

where is located this ancient settlement. Here everything combined to attract the early voyageurs and coureurs des bois; here the open prairie with its scattered trees, lending a park-like appearance to the landscape, and near by a large lake of clear and limpid water bordered with a white sandy beach, overshadowed by great isolated, wide-spreading oaks that had withstood the storms of centuries, invited the tired hunters and oarsmen to rest; here, a fruitful soil yielding a hundred-fold when tickled with the hoe or scratched with a wooden plow, made its cultivation a matter of pleasure; here, a prairie covered with luxuriant grass offered forage at all seasons; here, and in the adjacent cane-brakes was found an abundance of the game of the virgin land, the bear, the deer, the otter, the beaver, and other fur-bearing animals, and the fowls of the air, prairie, and water. Northwardly this ridge extended for many miles, an open forest. In the spring, the earth covered with variegated and fragrant flowers, filled the air with perfume. The high hills of the Ozarks separated and protected this district from the untempered blasts of the north-western winds. The varied year vouchsafed just enough winter to fully mark the beauty of spring and the magnificent splendor of summer. In autumn all the manifold beauties of the season overspread the landscape. The oaks here grew to immense proportions; the pecan and hickory, the walnut and butternut yielded a never-failing harvest, the gum raised its serried columns to the clouds, the sassafras, the elm and beach, the hackberry and ash,—all found a genial soil. The paw-paw, the plum, the mulberry and the wild grape flourished, and the redbud, the dogwood, the burning bush and many other blooming shrubs made the woods splendid in the spring with their blossoms.

The earliest white inhabitants of this part of Missouri raised their humble huts at this favored spot — hunters, traders, and adventurers. An Indian village was situated here. Along the ridge going north a great Indian trail and warpath led to the hills in what is now Scott county, and farther on to the Saline and the hunting grounds on the banks of the Missouri and tributary streams. A trail and war-path also led south to the mouth of the St. Francois and the Arkansas from here, and another west to the hills on the other side of St. Francois, crossing it at a point long known as the "Indian Ford," and thence to the Ozark highlands, as yet uncovered with timber, and where, in the high prairie grass ranged herds of buffalo, lords of the plateau.

On this New Madrid ridge, at many places, the works of the mound-builders were visible. "The site of the town" says Nuttall, who visited the place in 1818, "bears unequivocal marks of an aboriginal station, still presenting the remains of some low mounds, which as usual abound with fragments of earth-ware."¹ Numerous mounds marked the trails and war-paths. Everywhere ancient earth-works and fortifications, many of which have long since been leveled by the plow, were noted by observing and thinking early travelers. A few only, comparatively, of these, protected by the forests, have been preserved. This locality evidently was the favorite habitation of a people which had disappeared before the advent of the Indian. It is certain that on his march northward De Soto bivouacked on this ridge.²

The bend of the river where the town of New Madrid is situate became known as "L'Anse à la Graise"—cove of fat or grease. Coxe, in his "Carolana," published in 1772, speaks of the place as "a good landing just below the mouth of Chepoosa creek," the name by which St. John's bayou was then known. Pope says that the name "L'Anse à la Graise," according to the governor of Pensacola, "originated from the river forming an extensive curve, where, upon the first settlement of the place, great quantities of bear meat were stored up for the use of the garrison and the French and Spanish navigators up and down the Mississippi, which meat is of a very oleose quality, though in my opinion the greasiness of the soil, with the divexity of the river, sufficiently justify the epithet."³ And La Forge in his report, dated 1796, says that the first traders "found abundance of game, and especially bears and buffaloes, hence the name "L'Anse à la Graise."⁴

And this abundance of game and consequent certainty of trade, caused traders to congregate annually at "L'Anse à la Graise," at the mouth of the Chepoosa river, and here eventually some of of them settled. Among the first settlers were François and Joseph Le Sieur, natives of Trois Rivières of Canada. According to Godfrey Le Sieur, they were at "L'Anse à la Graise" in 1783, having been sent there by Gabriel Cerré, the principal merchant, at the time, of St. Louis. But as stated, no doubt at a much earlier period, traders

¹ Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 46.

² Nuttall's Arkansas, p. 251.

³ John Pope, His Tour, pp. 21-22.

⁴ Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 264.

annually came to this locality and it is also certain that some remained there with the Indians. But François and Joseph Le Sieur must be considered the founders of the New Madrid settlement.⁵ At the time



the Le Sieurs came to what is now New Madrid, Godfrey Le Sieur says they found a village of Delaware Indians located where the town was afterward established. But it is a matter of doubt whether these Indians were permanent residents there, because it was not until some time subsequent that the Shawnee and Delaware Indians were induced to emigrate to the Spanish possessions, by Lorimier at the instance of



the Spanish authorities. Yet in 1789 Morgan found a Delaware village on the Chepoosa or St. John bayou in what is now Mississippi county. In 1783 an Indian village was located at or on the margin of what is now known as Lewis' Prairie, and another in Big Prairie near the present Sikeston, all within a comparatively short distance from

⁵ It is worth mentioning that in the Spanish Census of 1787 both Joseph and François Le Sieur appear as members of Cerré's household and that consisted then of 48 persons. They were natives of Machiche, parish of St. Ann, Three Rivers, Canada; sons of Charles Le Sieur. Joseph Le Sieur married in Canada; had two sons; died in New Madrid in 1796; and, also his two sons, leaving no descendants. François Le Sieur, his brother, married Cecile Guibault (Guilbeaut), a native of Vincennes in 1791, and in 1794 removed from New Madrid to Little Prairie, becoming the founder of that settlement, and syndic. He was a lieutenant of the second company of militia; a merchant, owned many tracts of land, and in 1801 owned a flour-mill. He died in 1826 at or near Point Pleasant, to which place he removed after the disastrous earthquakes of 1811. He was married three times. By his first marriage he had seven children; by his second marriage with Miss Bonneau, a native of Vincennes, he had one son. In 1820 he married a third wife, Mrs. Loignon, the widow of Charles Loignon of Little Prairie. In 1798 Raphael Le Sieur, a nephew of Joseph and François Le Sieur, also came from Canada to New Madrid. He too reared a large family. Godfrey Le Sieur and François V. Le Sieur who both have given us interesting accounts of the early settlements of New Madrid, were the sons of François Le Sieur. François V. Le Sieur married a daughter of Gen. Augustus Jones, son of John Rice Jones.

"L'Anse à la Graise" and which at that time must have been the trading place of these Indians.

The Le Sieurs, having traded successfully at "L'Anse à la Graise" the first season, returned to St. Louis and reported what they had seen and the advantages that would result from building a trading house there. They consequently returned in the following year with a stock of suitable goods for the Indian trade, and this venture also proved exceedingly profitable.⁶ After this second venture, the Le Sieurs permanently established themselves at New Madrid, and a settlement sprang up. They were followed by Ambrose and François Dumay; Godin, dit Chatouiller; Pierre Saffray; François Berthiaume; the St. Marys, Hunots, Racines and the Barsaloux, all from Vincennes. Some of these settlers naturally began to cultivate the rich and fertile soil. But Captain Robert McCoy says, that in 1786, when he was on his way to New Orleans from Vincennes, he stopped where New Madrid was afterward located, and that then no one lived there, that it was a perfect "wilderness." McCoy says also that while in New Orleans Governor Miro sent for him to secure information as to the condition and situation of the place,⁷ from which it may be inferred that "L'Anse à la Graise" must then have been at least recognized or known as a favorable location for the establishment of a trading post. In 1787 on his return up the river McCoy found that a trading post had been established, and among the traders was Joseph Le Sieur.



GODFREY LE SIEUR, SON OF
FRANÇOIS LE SIEUR

Whatever the origin of the settlement at the mouth of the Chepoosa, "L'Anse à la Graise," it is certain that it existed at first without a commandant, either civil or military. No one was clothed with any authority to enforce any rule of law. The Indian traders and early settlers managed to get along without a commandant, and according to La Forge "all were masters, and would obey none of those who set themselves up as heads or commandants of the new colony." While this condition of affairs existed a murder was committed, and "then their eyes were opened, they began to feel the

⁶ See letter of Godfrey Le Sieur, dated March 1, 1872, published in the Missouri "Republican."

⁷ 2 Hunt's Minutes, p. 144, Missouri Historical Society.

necessity of laws, and some one at their head to compel their observance."⁸ No doubt this lawless state of affairs at "L'Anse à la Graise" was known to the commandants at Ste. Genevieve and at St. Louis, and may have been reported to the governor-general at New Orleans, and perhaps induced him to make inquiries from travelers who came down the river.

About this time the district in which was located "L'Anse à la Graise" was granted to Colonel George Morgan, as he at least supposed. Morgan, a native of New Jersey and a graduate of Princeton, was a remarkable man. Now very little is generally known

of him, yet in his day his exploits, his scheme, his vast projects, attracted great attention. At a time when a trip from the Atlantic states to the Mississippi valley consumed weeks, and involved great personal hardship and endurance, we find this bold and daring speculator and adventurer frequently crossing the mountains and traversing the western wilderness on horseback, and paddling his canoe up and down solitary rivers, no doubt dreaming of vast projects. In 1764 he traded with the Indians of Kaskaskia,⁹ in co-partnership with Baynton, his father-in-law, and Wharton. In

1766 he was one of the judges of the general court there, under the English government. He was with O'Reilly's fleet when he ascended the Mississippi river, and took possession of New Orleans. On the breaking out of the war between England and the colonies, he entered the Revolutionary army and acted as Indian agent for the Middle Department at Fort Pitt. He had great influence among many of the Indian tribes of the west, and understood well their characteristics. It is said that on one occasion, in 1776, while at one of the Shawnee towns on the Scioto, he received intelligence of three Six Nation warriors having passed with two boys they had taken sixteen days before from Virginia and who he afterwards ascertained were the sons of Andrew McConnell. Morgan followed them and got to their town before they



George Morgan

⁸ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 284.

⁹ He was on intimate terms with the old French families of Kaskaskia, the Janis', Datchuruts, Charlevilles, Beauvais, Picards, and others. In a letter dated Princeton, December 1, 1780, addressed to Captain Jno. Dodge, he sends his regards to Mrs. Janis, Madame Felicite, "et toutes des enfans". He knew well the country and its ancient inhabitants.

got there, prevented the usual punishment of the prisoners on their entry, and insisted that they be delivered to him unless they intended this breach of the peace as a declaration of war. The boys were surrendered to him, and he brought them to Fort Pitt and delivered them to their uncle, a resident of Westmoreland county.¹⁰ In 1777 he was in command of Fort Pitt. While in command of this important post he kept up an active correspondence with Don Bernardo de Galvez, then governor of Louisiana, and his daring and enterprising character is shown by the fact that he proposed to Galvez to surprise Mobile and Pensacola, then in British possession, if allowed to purchase or charter vessels and procure artillery on short notice at New Orleans. In his letter to Galvez he says, "Should we be able to procure transports at New Orleans, I think we could easily surprise Mobile and Pensacola, destroy their fortifications and possess ourselves of all their munitions, unless these forts are better fortified and defended than we imagine."¹¹ Subsequently Galvez himself successfully carried out this plan, thus first suggested by Morgan.

On September 14, 1779, he presented a memorial to the Continental Congress setting out that at an Indian congress held at Fort Stanwix in 1777, in consideration of the loss of some eighty-five thousand pounds of sterling sustained by certain traders, the Six Nations granted them a tract of land lying on the southern side of the Ohio, between the southern limits of Pennsylvania and the little Kanawha river, called "Indiana," that before the Revolutionary war began this tract of land was included within the bounds of a larger territory called "Vandalia," and by the King and Council separated from the dominion which Virginia claimed, that as the memorialists are advised the tract is subject to the United States and not within the jurisdiction of any particular state, and that Virginia is directing the sale of the lands in question within the territory of "Vandalia," thereby intending to defeat the interposition of Congress. And very actively Colonel Morgan pressed his claims and even applied to the state of New Jersey, some of his partners being citizens of that state, for the protection of his interests. But this claim, like many others to vast districts of land, title being derived by purchase from the Indians, finally was held invalid and ignored. The states and United States were firm in the determination to deny the power of the Indian tribes to alienate any portion of the soil to

¹⁰ Draper's Collections, vol. 16, Clark's MSS., p. 128.

¹¹ Gayarré, Spanish Dominion of Louisiana, p. 110.

private parties. So Colonel Morgan became bankrupt. He considered, however, that he had been despoiled of a fortune, that he had been wronged by Virginia and by the United States, and when the agitation arose in the country west of the Alleghanies for an outlet via the Mississippi to the sea, Colonel Morgan was quick to perceive another opportunity to secure a fortune. While at New York he entered into negotiations with Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish ambassador. In a memorial addressed to him Morgan proposed to establish a colony near the mouth of the Ohio, and in territory now within the limits of Missouri, and says, that within ten years at least one hundred thousand souls will inhabit this district if the conditions he proposed should be accepted and strictly adhered to. One of the conditions was that the settlers should have the right of self-government, and another, that the colonists should be exempt from taxation. In glowing words he depicted the advantages that would result to Spain if his scheme should be adopted, and in conclusion asks that the rank of Colonel, held by him in the Army of the United States, be secured to him in the Spanish service, that he be granted a concession of twenty square miles with a pension for life, and other advantages and privileges for himself and family. Don Gardoqui was captivated by the brilliant plans and glowing picture of a Spanish-American state at the mouth of the Ohio, and expressed his warmest approbation of the scheme of colonization and advised Colonel Morgan that he had forwarded it to be submitted to his king, but assured him that all that had been asked would be granted. In order to facilitate the establishment of the colony he transmitted a passport and letter to the Spanish authorities in New Orleans, in the words of his letter, "so that you may go at once and examine the territory in which you contemplate making your settlement."

Morgan was also assured that the Governor would aid him to carry out his plan, and advised him "in his progress through the west on his way to the capital of Louisiana to assure the inhabitants of His Majesty's desire to grant them all the favors and privileges which might secure their prosperity." The concession granted by Don Diego bordered about three hundred miles on the Mississippi from the mouth of the St. Francois, near Helena, Arkansas, north to Cape St. Cosme, within the limits of what is now Perry county, and extending westward embraced from twelve to fifteen million acres of land. Full of hope Morgan started west to take possession of his principality. Influenced by the advice of his friends,

he associated with himself a number of leading men of western Pennsylvania, and induced them to accompany him to visit and explore the country which he supposed had been granted him to colonize, expecting that upon their return they would report as to the situation, soil, climate, natural productions of the territory explored, and thus confirm his own statements. To this force he added a number of paid workmen. This whole body of explorers was well armed, under military discipline, and under his command for security against the savages. On his way down the Ohio, he sent word to the north-western Indian nations to meet him in united council at Muskingum, and at this meeting informed the Indians of his purpose, and asked them to appoint two of their "wise men" to accompany him to bear witness of his conduct and proceedings, knowing that if he established his colony without the consent and approbation of the Indians, that this would arouse their jealousy and, may be, active hostility. The Indians instead of two, sent with him ten of their leading men, two delegates from each of the principal tribes north of the Ohio, with strings and belts of wampum, for such Indian nations as they might probably meet. Although this added much to the security of the party, it also greatly increased the expense. In order to bring to the knowledge of the Germans of Pennsylvania his scheme to establish a colony west of the Mississippi, he made a circuitous route through the German settlements of that state. For "these people," he afterwards said in his letter to Don Gardoqui, "have been a valuable acquisition to America, and I find great numbers who pay high rents for land, extremely desirous to embark with me; and numbers who have small farms of their own wish in the same way to provide for their children. A greater number of these than I expected to meet with are Catholics," and of these Germans ten accompanied Morgan on his trip. On his way down the Ohio with his party, he gave notice of his grant and plans. At Louisville he was detained for some time by the severity of the season, and while there did not fail to impress upon the people the great importance of his enterprise, and that in his new colony they would enjoy "perfect freedom in religious matters," and great advantages of trade, and he thought this "would make converts of the whole country."

On the 14th of February, 1789, Morgan reached the Mississippi with his party, and landed opposite the mouth of the Ohio, where he found encamped a band of twenty Delaware Indians, and with these Indians he removed a few miles into the interior, in

what is now Mississippi county, to good hunting grounds. Morgan arranged that forty of his men should remain there, while he and the others went to the post of St. Louis, to deliver the letter of Don Gardoqui to Don Manuel Perez, then commandant of the Illinois country. He thought this trip would only occupy about twenty days, but found this journey to St. Louis one of great hardship. Snow storms, severe cold weather, rivers filled with ice, and high water, impeded his progress. Some leagues above his camp he found the river frozen over and great gangs of buffalo crossing on the ice. Finding that his tour would occupy a longer time than he anticipated he sent two messengers back, advising the remainder of the party of the circumstances, and requesting the Indian chiefs to conduct his party to their town on what was called the Chepoosa river (now St. John's bayou), and to remain there until his return. Owing to the continuance of the snow storms and cold weather, Morgan and his party journeyed through the woods as far as Kaskaskia, and from there in carriages and on horses went to St. Louis, where he was received by Don Manuel Perez with great politeness. Perez furnished Morgan and his party with horses, guides, and provisions to visit the interior of the country, and Morgan said that he found it to be "superior to any part of North America" they had seen, possessing many advantages "which even the fine lands in Kentucky are deprived of," but, owing to the fact that the lands near the rivers, are subject to inundations the "beauties and advantages of the higher grounds which are more or less distant from the bed or current of the river, according to its sinuosities" are not known to the people. After his return from St. Louis to his camp on the Chepoosa, he resolved to lay out a city near the present site of New Madrid, and make a survey of some of the land. Among the persons who accompanied Colonel Morgan were, Major McCully, Colonel Shreve, Colonel Christopher Hays, Captain Light, Captain Taylor, John Dodge, David Rankin, John Ward, John Stewart, James Rhea, Captain Hewling, and others. In a joint letter, addressed by these gentlemen to Dr. John Morgan, of Philadelphia, dated New Madrid, April 14, 1789, they give an interesting account of their discoveries west of the Mississippi, and thus we catch a glimpse of the virgin land in which these early American adventurers rode around. In this letter they say:

"The inclemency of the season and the precaution necessary for the advantage and security of our party and enterprise, rendered our

voyage down the Ohio a long, though not a disagreeable one. We have now been in the Mississippi two months, most of which time has been taken up in visiting the lands from St. Cosme on the north to this place on the south; and westward to the St. Francis river, the general course of which is parallel with the Mississippi, and from twenty to thirty miles distant. Colonel Morgan with nineteen men undertook to reconnoitre the lands above or north of the Ohio. This gave him the earliest opportunity of presenting his credentials to Don Manuel Perez, Governor of the Illinois country, who treated him and the others with the greatest politeness. Their arrival after their business was known created a general joy throughout the country among all ranks of its inhabitants,—even the neighboring Indians have expressed the greatest pleasure at our arrival and the intention of settlement. There is not a single nation or tribe of Indians who claim or pretend to claim a foot of the land granted to Colonel Morgan. This is a grand matter in favor of our settlement. The governor very cheerfully supplied our party with everything necessary demanded by Colonel Morgan, and particularly with horses and guides to reconnoitre all the lands to the western limits and from north to south in the interior country. In an undertaking of this nature it is not to be doubted but different notions prevailed amongst us as to the most advantageous situation to establish the first settlement of farmers and planters. A considerable number of reputable French families on the American side of the Illinois who propose to join us, wished to influence our judgment in favor of a very beautiful situation and country about twelve leagues above the Ohio. A number of American farmers, deputed from Post Vincent (Vincennes) and some others of our party, were delighted with the territory opposite the Ohio, one league back from the river, to which there is access by a rivulet that empties into the Mississippi about three miles above the Ohio.

We have united in the resolution to establish our new city, whence this letter is dated, about twelve leagues below the Ohio at a place formerly called L'Anse à la Grasse, or the greasy bend, below the mouth of a river marked in Capt. Hutchins' map (Sound River). Here the banks of the Mississippi for a considerable length are high, dry, and pleasant, and the soil westward to the St. Francis is of the best for corn, tobacco and indigo, and we verily believe that there is not an acre of poor land in a thousand square miles. The country rises gradually from the river into fine, dry, pleasant, and healthful grounds,

superior to any place in America. The limits of our city of New Madrid are to extend four miles south and two miles west, so as to cross a beautiful living deep lake of purest spring water, one hundred yards wide and several leagues in length, emptying itself by a constant and rapid stream through the center of the city. The banks of this lake, which is called St. Ann, are high, beautiful and pleasant, the water deep, clear and sweet; the bottom a clean sand, well stored with fish. On each side of this beautiful lake streets are to be laid out one hundred feet wide and a road to be continued round it of the



MAP OF NEW MADRID FOUND IN VOLUME ONE OF THE ARCHIVES

same breadth, and the trees are directed to be preserved forever for the health and pleasure of the citizens. A street 120 feet wide on the banks of the Mississippi is laid out and the trees are to be preserved. Twelve acres in the central part of the city are to be reserved, ornamented, etc., for public walks, and forty lots of an half acre each are to be appropriated to such public uses as the citizens wish to recommend, and one lot of twelve acres is to be reserved for the King's use. One city lot of a half an acre and one lot of five acres to be a free gift to each of the six hundred first settlers. Our surveyors are now engaged in laying out the city lots and the country into farm tracts of three hundred and twenty acres. We have built cabins and a magazine for provisions. Are making gardens, and we shall plow and plant one

hundred acres of the best prairie land in the world with Indian corn, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes. Several French gentlemen of Ste. Genevieve offered to conduct Colonel Morgan to as fine iron and lead mines as any in America in a small day's journey from the river. One thousand acres are being surveyed for the choice and settlement of families who will come here next fall. After the surveys are completed Colonel Morgan and Major McCully will proceed to New York via New Orleans and Cuba, and Colonel Shreve, Captain Light, and Captain Taylor with all others who conclude to return immediately for their families, will ascend the Ohio in time to leave Fort Pitt again for this place in October. Captain Hewling and a number of single men will plant one hundred acres of corn, and other crops, and will build a mill. Not a single person of our party, consisting of seventy men has been sick, but all are in good health and spirits on the discovery of this pleasant clime.'

A copy of this letter, which was published in Philadelphia, coming into the hands of Madison, he wrote Washington that it "contained the most authentic and precise evidence of the Spanish project that has come to my knowledge," and also wrote Jefferson that "no doubt the project had the sanction of Gardoqui," and that the Mississippi was "the bait for the defection of the western people."¹² Dawson, in a letter from New York to Governor Beverly Randolph, in 1789, gives additional information as to the origin of Morgan's enterprise, and the ultimate consequences of which he views with undisguised apprehension. He says that Colonel Morgan was in treaty with Congress for a large tract of land on the Mississippi, but being disgusted at some conditions annexed to the ordinance, which he thought illegal, entered into a plan with Gardoqui, the Spanish minister there, for settling a large tract of land, to be bound by the parallel of Cape Cinque Homme (St. Cosme) on the north, the parallel of the mouth of the St. Francois on the south, the Mississippi river on the east, and extending west two degrees of latitude, "a country as fine in soil and superior in trade to any in America." This transaction, Dawson said, he considered of the most interesting nature, and would probably produce a remarkable era in American history, as a door would be opened through which the United States would lose many thousand of her best citizens, and he adds, that he has certain information that Morgan has already entered into engagements with the most reputable characters, and most useful farmers and tradesmen, to

¹² Windsor's *Westward Movement*, p. 366.

go to New Madrid with him next year, that a number of judicious people have gone with him to enter and survey the land on a plan far superior to that of Congress, and to lay out ground for a large city as near opposite the mouth of the Ohio as they should judge expedient. Dawson thinks that added "to these circumstances the most sacred assurances in religious matters, and free navigation of the Mississippi to New Orleans, clear of all duties and taxes, besides being entitled to all the commercial privileges which the citizens of New Orleans enjoy in any of the King of Spain's rich dominions, are inducements sufficient to draw the attention of the industrious and enterprising," and that although the lands on the Ohio and its branches are very fine and productive, that nothing can be drawn from them more than a bare subsistence without a market for the producers, and consequently without commerce, and that the best inhabitants on these waters will emigrate to the equally good lands on the west side of the Mississippi, where particular privileges will induce them to oppose nations having the same advantages, and he thinks that this will cause discontent in Kentucky against the government of the United States, and that eventually separation will ensue, and commercial and other treaties will be formed between Spain and the western Anglo-Americans for their mutual advantage and security.¹³

Morgan made extensive and elaborate preparation for the settlement of large numbers of people in his new province. Sufficient land for three hundred and fifty families was ordered surveyed at once into farms of three hundred and twenty acres each, and to be divided among the persons who accompanied him, for themselves and their friends, on condition, however, that the land so divided among them should be settled on or before May 1, 1790, the settlers taking the oath of allegiance to His Most Catholic Majesty, and his successors, and paying the sum of forty-eight Mexican dollars for each three hundred and twenty acres. Under this plan Morgan thought that annually one thousand families would settle in the new colony. So well pleased was the party who accompanied Morgan, as well as the various persons employed by him for wages, that they all agreed to take land in payment of what was due them, and even the surveyors who came with Morgan agreed to take in payment of the principal part of their fees land for themselves and their friends. These surveyors were Colonel Israel Shreve, Peter Light, and Colonel Christopher

¹³ Virginia Calendar, vol. 4, pp. 554-5. 33 Draper's Collection, Clark MSS., pp. 112-13.

Hays. It is interesting now to note with what great particularity Morgan provided the manner in which the surveys should be made "on a plan far superior to Congress" says Dawson. The system of rectangular surveys applied to public lands adopted in the following year by the government of the United States in surveying the territory northwest of the Ohio, it would seem was really first devised by him, for in ordering the survey of the lands of his new colony, he directed that after the first meridional line was fixed, the east and west lines only should be run, except where a new meridional line should be necessary, and that then this new line should be run exactly five miles distant from the last line, and from which new set-offs were to be made, to run the east and west ranges, and all of which should first be extended to the river, and then west to the main branch of the river St. Francois. The first meridional line he ordered should be run at a certain distance from the bank of the Mississippi, and the second meridional line five miles west of it, and so on. All east and west ranges were to be run exactly two miles apart. In running the east and west lines, or ranges, his regulations provided that a post should be erected at the place of departure on the meridional line, and the bearings of some remarkable trees taken, measuring the distance from these trees to the post, blazing the trees opposite the post and marking same under the blaze one notch. All lines or ranges were to be strongly marked by blazes on three sides, i. e., on the east and west ranges, the east and west sides of the tree were to be blazed strongly and smoothly so as not to injure the trees, but the tree was to be only slightly blazed on the side next to the line. All trees found to be directly on the lines were to be notched five feet from the ground. The surveyors' instruments he ordered should all be compared with and rectified to a standard, and in like manner the chains were to be regulated and no allowance was to be made in measure. He particularly provided that all the surveyors should in their field books, carefully note the distances run, all mountains, hills, valleys, bottom lands, timber trees, quality of soil, fresh, mineral or salt licks, minerals of iron, copper, lead or coal, and all appearances of rock or stone, and the quality thereof; all mill-seats that should come to their knowledge, also noting all other remarkable and permanent things over which the lines or ranges should pass; and he also further required that the surveyors should make a drawing of every kind of beast, bird, fish or insect, they might kill or see in the country, and note the kind of trees, shrubs, vines, and plants, which might come under their view; and

make a drawing of all such not common in Pennsylvania. Any surveyor neglecting to perform his duty with proper exactitude, as thus defined, he ordered should instantly be dismissed from the service. The three principal surveyors, already named, were to have a choice each of a tract not exceeding forty square miles in the colony, to be settled by them and their friends. Colonel Israel Shreve was to have first choice of forty square miles for himself and associates, and the sole distribution of these forty square miles was intrusted to him; then Peter Light was authorized to make a choice of forty square miles for himself, and next Colonel Christopher Hays of a like quantity for himself and associates. These surveyors, it was provided by Morgan, should make their selection in writing, and the land so selected the surveyors were authorized to sell at such prices as they thought proper. Moreover each of the surveyors was entitled to one city lot and outlot in New Madrid for each farm they so sold, paying only one dollar for the patent. The hunters, chain-carriers, markers, horse-masters, and other attendants "on the gentlemen surveyors," were also entitled to a single tract of land in any district or range where they assisted in the work. Next, all persons "going down in my employment, either as artificers or laborers," he ordered should have one farm each on due application.

The lots and outlots of New Madrid, Morgan provided should be distributed free, to the first six hundred persons who should build on the lots and reside one year in the new city. The lots were all to be one half acre in extent, and the outlots five acres, but after the distribution of the first six hundred lots, the remainder were to be sold to future settlers, according to their value. In addition to this, forty lots of the town, of one half acre each, were reserved for such public uses as might from time to time be recommended by the citizens or chief magistrate, these lots to be distributed in different parts of the city as equally as possible, and a lot of twelve acres was ordered reserved for the King, an additional lot for public walks, to be improved by the magistrate of the city for the time being, "for the use and amusement of the citizens and strangers." With a forethought for the future seldom manifested, Morgan expressly ordered that "the timber, trees, and shrubs now growing thereon shall be religiously preserved as sacred, and no part thereof shall be violated or cut down, but by the personal direction and inspection of the chief magistrate for the time being, whose reputation must be answerable for an honorable and generous discharge of this trust, meant to promote the health and

pleasure of the citizens.'’ How much more beautiful and attractive would be the towns and cities of this country if the same generous provision for adornment had been made and wise forethought had been exercised, where new towns have been laid out. But not only for New Madrid, but throughout the country in this new colony, did Morgan make similar provisions for the preservation of forest trees. He expressly ordered there should be a reserve of one acre at each angle of every intersection of public roads or highways, according to the plan of settlement of the country laid down by him, and by which means he thought no farm house could be farther than two and one half miles from this reserve, and which he provided should be forever dedicated to the following several uses, that is to say, one acre on the northeast angle for the use of a school; one acre on the northwest angle for a church; one acre on the southwest angle for the use of the poor of the district, and the remaining southeast angle for the use of the King. No trees in any street of the city, nor in any road throughout the country, he expressly ordered, should be injured or cut down, except under the direction of the magistrate of the police or an officer thereof, and who was to be accountable in the premises, and no timber injured or cut down in any street or road, as regularly provided, was to be applied to private use under any plea whatsoever, because no doubt he had well observed that the anxiety to secure for private use the lumber in trees standing on public roads, too often led to the wanton destruction of the same. The landing at New Madrid, he also provided, should be free to all persons; the space between the river and the lots was not to be less than one hundred feet, and here, too, he ordered that religious care should be taken to preserve all timber growing thereon. In New Madrid lots were dedicated to the use of the Roman Catholic church and school, Episcopal church and school, Presbyterian church and school, German Lutheran church and school and German Calvinistic church and school.

Morgan, in order to secure farmers and tillers of the soil for his new colony, in his regulations provided that “no white person shall be admitted to reside in this territory who shall declare himself to be a hunter by profession, or who shall make a practice of killing buffalo or deer, without bringing all the flesh of their carcasses to his own family, or to New Madrid, or carrying it to some other market,” and this regulation, he said, was intended for the preservation of those animals, and for the benefit of the neighborhood Indians, whose dependence was hunting principally, and that his settlement being intended to be

wholly agricultural and commercial, no encouragement should be given to white hunters. Of course contraband trade on any account was strictly prohibited, but care was to be taken to instruct the settlers what was contraband of trade, so that they might not offend innocently. Persons who received permission to settle in the territory were allowed to bring their respective families, slaves and servants, and effects of every kind, but to export no part thereof to any other part "of his Majesty's Dominions," because being contraband. Navigable rivers in the colony were declared to be highways. No obstruction to navigation was permitted for the emolument of any person whatever. Recorders' offices were also provided to be erected in the district, mortgages were to be recorded, and an alphabetical index to be kept open for examination, and all these regulations and directions, Morgan says, "are meant as fundamental stipulations for the government, and happiness of all who shall become subjects of Spain and reside in this territory," and were dated April 6, 1789.

In his advertisement Morgan states that those who settle at New Madrid in the ensuing year shall have plough irons or other iron works and farming utensils transported from the Ohio gratis, also their clothing, bedding, kitchen furniture and certain other articles which may not be too bulky. Schoolmasters he promised should be engaged immediately for the instruction of the youth. Ministers of the gospel, he said, would meet with every encouragement and grants of land were to be made to each and every denomination immigrating with a congregation before the year 1790, besides particular grants of land to each society. And then adds, "This new city is proposed to be built on a high bank of the Mississippi river, near the mouth of the Ohio, in the richest and most healthful part of the western country, about latitude 37 degrees. Those who wish for further information will apply to me in person as aforementioned, or at the new city of New Madrid, after the first day of next December, where surveyors will attend to lay out the lands."¹⁴

But Morgan thus employed with his plans was secretly antagonized in a manner he did not suspect, nor his patron Don Diego Gardoqui. Don Estevan Miro, Governor of Louisiana, and Gen. James Wilkinson of the army of the United States, were at this time engaged in a deep plot to dismember the Union, separating the people of Kentucky and the West from the Atlantic states, and hence the establishment of a colony such as Morgan proposed did not harmonize with their

¹⁴ 53 Draper's Collection, Clark MSS., No. 79.



THE ENVIRONS OF NEW MADRID, FROM GENERAL COLLOT'S VOYAGE
DANS L'AMERIQUE

scheme. Gen. Wilkinson was then in the secret employment of Spain. When Morgan published his plans, Gen. Wilkinson actuated at once by self-interest and fear advised Governor Miro, of the dangerous tendency of the proposed colony. In a letter dated February 12, 1789, he refers to the fact that Morgan, although a man of education, is a profound speculator; that he has twice been a bankrupt; that he is in poor circumstances, and that none of the colonists he is settling in the new colony are from Kentucky. Then discussing Morgan's project he says, "In a political point of view Morgan's establishment can produce no good result, but on the contrary will have the most pernicious consequences, because the Americans who settle there will on account of their proximity to, and their constant intercourse with their countrymen of this side of the river, retain their old prejudices and feelings and continue to be Americans as if they were on the banks of the Ohio. On the other side the intention of detaining the productions of this vast country at a point so distant from their real market, whilst the Americans shall remain the carriers of that trade, cannot fail to cause discontent and embroil the two countries in difficulties. Probably it will destroy the noble fabric of which we have laid out the foundation and which we are endeavoring to complete. If it be deemed necessary to keep the Americans at a distance from Louisiana, let the Spaniards at least be the carriers of the produce they receive at their posts and of the merchandise which is acceptable to the Americans. In this way will be formed an impenetrable barrier without any cost to the King, because in less than thirty years His Catholic Majesty will have on the river at least thirty thousand boatmen and which it will be easy to keep and convert into armed bodies to assist in the defense of the province from whatever quarter it may be threatened." Concluding he says, that "it is long since Morgan has become jealous of me, and you may rest assured that in reality he is not well-affected towards our cause, but that he allows himself to be entirely ruled by motives of the vilest self-interest, and therefore he will not scruple on his return to New York to destroy me."

While Morgan was surveying his city and diligently laboring to lay the foundation of his fortune, Governor Miro was perusing Gen. Wilkinson's letter, and when Col. Morgan came to New Orleans in the following May to secure approval of the concession of Don Diego Gardoqui, he found his scheme effectually ruined. On May 20, 1789, Governor Miro addressed a dispatch to his government in

which he disapproved the policy of making a large concession to Col. Morgan, and of granting to the colonists the right of self-government, exemption from taxation, thus creating an imperium in imperio. On the 23d of May, with profound dissimulation, he wrote Morgan that he was surprised, on reading in the papers submitted to him, that the extent of territory conceded was so large, although he was fully advised by Gen. Wilkinson of its extent, and that the privileges attached to the grant were exorbitant and completely inadmissible. And then stating the terms upon which he would allow the establishment of a colony, he says with consummate deception, "Truly it is a matter of deep regret, because having been made acquainted with the fine qualities for which you are distinguished I was awaiting your arrival with impatience and with the hope of approving your plan. I am therefore much disappointed at being obliged to resist its execution, because it would be extremely prejudicial to the welfare and interest of the kingdom to permit the establishment of a Republic within its domains, for such I consider the Government which you have conceived, although retaining some shadow of submission to his Majesty." He then expressed regret that Col. Morgan should have caused it to be circulated through Ohio and Kentucky that he had received so extensive a concession, and that under the impression that it was final, he caused the plan of a city to be drawn and should have given it a name, the exercise of a power appertaining to the sovereign alone, and that in a letter addressed to certain persons at Fort Pitt (no doubt referring to the letter heretofore set out) he should have gone so far as to designate it as "our" city, although Don Diego Gardoqui only authorized a survey of the land, and concluding he says, "How wide a difference is there between what you did and what you had a right to do." All these acts, however, he was willing to attribute to imprudence and excessive zeal to serve the king, and that if he should be disposed to remain in the service of his Majesty he would authorize him to induce families to settle in the Natchez district, and that if successful, he, Miro, would reward him in a befitting manner, promising a concession of one thousand acres of land for himself and each of his sons. He also advised him that a fort would be constructed at the place where he had located New Madrid, and that a detachment of soldiers would be sent there, and that the commander would be instructed to receive all immigrants favorably.

Thus Morgan's principality vanished like the "baseless fabric of a vision." He submitted with good grace and dignity, and we cannot

withhold from him our sympathy. The next day he answered Governor Miro's letter, apologizing for his course, saying that if he had erred it was with the best intention and from ignorance, thanking the Governor for attributing what he had done to his excessive zeal to serve his Majesty. "As I have always kept up the character of a man of honor," said he, "I am sure you will remain convinced that I shall never act knowingly in violation of the laws of his Majesty." Then explaining his motives for leaving the United States he says, "Among the inducements which I had to leave my native country must be reckoned the desire of increasing my fortune, establishing my family in peace under a safe and secure government. If you have occasionally read the Acts of Congress you may have seen that my father-in-law, Baynton, myself and my partners were unjustly dispossessed by the state of Virginia of the largest territorial estate within its limits, and that it was not in the power of Congress to protect us, although that Honorable body manifested the best disposition to do so."

Miro reported to his government his course in the matter, and observed that if he had acquiesced in Morgan's plans an independent republic would have been organized within the limits of Louisiana. On the conditions set out in Morgan's plans he says he himself would undertake to depopulate the greater part of the United States and draw all their citizens to Louisiana, including the whole of Congress. He also states that Thomas Hutchins, Surveyor-General and Geographer of the United States had written to ascertain if Morgan's concession had been approved, and that if accepted, he would become a subject of His Catholic Majesty and resign the office and salary he now enjoyed, and that the proposition to allow the colonists to govern themselves, but the King to pay their magistrates, would attract a prodigious number of people.¹⁵

At first the Commandant of Ste. Genevieve, Henri Peyroux, exercised jurisdiction over the new settlement at New Madrid, the territory then being considered within the Ste. Genevieve district. Morgan when he explored the country visited Ste. Genevieve and while there told Peyroux that he intended to found his new city opposite the mouth of the Ohio, but Peyroux then advised him that the land there was low and subject to overflow, that the first high land on the west side of the river, and from which a prairie extended north was found at L' Anse à la Graine, and Peyroux says

¹⁵ Gayarrè's Spanish Dominion of Louisiana, p. 267.

that this led Morgan to establish his city there. After Morgan's failure to secure approval of the grant made by Gardoqui, Miro ordered Peyroux to New Madrid with a small police force of six soldiers to preserve order among the new settlers. While there he opened several roads for carts and wagons, made land grants, and called the settlers together to have them determine whether they desired to cultivate their land in separate fields or in a common-field, and these American settlers then decided in favor of separate fields, each farmer to fence his own land. Accordingly no common-field was established in New Madrid. The settlers also selected, as a "common" for wood and as pasture land, a large tract on the other side of Cypress bayou and requested that grants of land be made to encourage the building of a mill, distillery, tannery, and brick-yard. These several matters Peyroux submitted to Governor Miro. In an order preserved in the Spanish archives of New Madrid, dated June 27, 1789, he, however, declares that he will not grant any of the lands marked out by Colonels George Harrison and Benjamin Harrison,¹⁶ and which they gave notice they reserved for themselves and their friends, the lands so designated extending twenty miles north of New Madrid and embracing two hundred separate tracts, exclusive of lakes and marshes, all no doubt located on the high ridge north of New Madrid known as Big Prairie.¹⁷

Governor Miro, in July, 1789, dispatched Lieutenant Pierre Foucher, of the stationary regiment of Louisiana, with two sergeants, two corporals, and a detachment of thirty soldiers to New Madrid to build a fort and take civil and military command. Foucher, in 1788, was one of the ordinary *alcaldes* of New Orleans,¹⁸ and seems on the whole to have been well qualified for the position of commandant. His instructions were to govern the new colonists in such a way "as to make them feel that they had found among the Spaniards the state

¹⁶ This General Benjamin Harrison was among the most prominent men of the new settlement. He came from Kentucky where he had distinguished himself in the Border wars. He was a man of property, a slave owner, and had a large family. He fully entered into Morgan's plans and proposed to bring a large number of settlers into the country. His two sons, Lawrence and William, were also among Morgan's followers. Another son, Benjamin, Junior, was also here. With General Harrison came Benjamin Hinkston, his son-in-law, and son of the celebrated John Hinkston (or Hinkson), who himself came to New Madrid from Kentucky. In 1802 while General Harrison was absent on a trip to Kentucky, George N. Reagan forced his son to surrender a negro slave, claimed as part payment of land bought of Reagan, but afterward Harrison recovered the slave by suit.

¹⁷ Letter of Peyroux in New Madrid Archives.

¹⁸ 2 Martin's Louisiana, p. 79.

of ease and comfort for which they were in quest.”¹⁹ In 1791 Foucher reports that 219 new settlers had presented themselves between the 1st of January to the end of April and taken the oath of allegiance. Many of them were from Vincennes and Gallipolis.

Morgan subsequently wrote to Gardoqui that he owed it to his own character to say that the only partial adoption of his enterprise

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Pedro Foucher". The signature is written in dark ink and features a prominent, sweeping underline that extends across the width of the text.

by Miro, his apparent displeasure at the steps Gardoqui had taken to make a settlement of so great consequence to Spain, his extreme anxiety to be thought the first proposer and promoter of a settlement opposite the mouth of the Ohio, and his appointment of a young French officer to command and govern this infant settlement, would in a great measure defeat the expectation which had so justly been formed from the measures he, Gardoqui, had recommended. He further wrote, that he believed that the young French gentleman appointed to the command at New Madrid had real merit as a gentleman and officer, but the fact that he was a trader would certainly not "promote his Majesty's service in any respect," on the contrary he believed that this fact alone would have pernicious consequences and retard the settlement of the country, that he did not think that any officer holding the position of commandant of a post, or governor of a settlement should dishonor the King's commission by being a trader; that he could not suppose that he had either the knowledge or the experience equal to the task of the position; and, that whatever his ability might be, the fact that he did not speak the English language would greatly embarrass him; that if he had been appointed merely to build the fort, command the troops and deal with the Indians, he might have been highly useful and agreeable to him, but no further. And, in conclusion, Morgan says, "I wish to be candid, sir, but not to

¹⁹ According to Martin "a company of infantry was sent to build a garrison and fort near the intended site of the city." (2 Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 90.) Foucher built Fort Celeste "which was named thus in compliment to the wife of Estevan Miro, the governor of Louisiana," according to McCoy. (2 Hunt's Minutes, p. 154.)

give offence. The trust reposed in me, and the importance of my conduct to the King's service, however, induce me to say that I do not believe his Excellency, Governor Miro, is possessed of the necessary ideas respecting the object his Majesty has in view; and his warmth of temper and passions prevent his obtaining the knowledge and information requisite to his station. His copartnership with General Wilkinson has been exceedingly injurious to his Majesty's colony, and will, I fear, be attended with more very, very inconvenient consequences. His warmth, on the liberty we took in calling the proposed settlement New Madrid, treating it as highly criminal, instead of viewing it in the light we meant it, viz., to show our determined resolution to become subjects of the King, and our respect and attachment to the nation — and the offense he took at the mention of "our city" in the circular letter, are proofs to me that his mind does not embrace the objects which his Majesty appears to have in view. It is scarcely possible for you to conceive the warmth of resentment with which he expressed himself on your having listened to my proposition at any rate, for he really did not understand them; nor did he condescend to ask a single explanation of them nor of any part, but he has been extremely pointed in his aversion to freedom in religious matters — but he gradually cooled and softened down to the temper which produced the two commissions and instructions annexed. At parting, he gave me the letter I have had the honor to forward to you in which, he informed me, he had warmly recommended me to you. If the acquisition of eight or ten thousand industrious subjects by your or by my means is desirable to his Majesty, I cannot but think the Governor ought not to have discovered jealousy or displeasure at names or straws; as a gentleman he might have proposed an alteration to avoid giving offense to his Majesty, where only respect was intended." ²⁰

Miro especially objected to the sale that Morgan contemplated of the lands in his projected colony, but Morgan thought that giving lands away, as an encouragement to gain settlers, had a bad effect, and was only an encouragement to settle to those who were extremely poor and indigent, and he desired to make a trial in his proposed settlement of New Madrid, of making sale of land at a small price, while grants at Natchez, Illinois, etc., were made free, so that the relative merit of the the two plans might be verified by actual workings, and he says "it is an experiment worth making, for if it succeeds to my expectations the

²⁰ See letter of Morgan to Gardoqui.

immense tracts of his Majesty's waste lands in America will be a Peruvian mine to him." He supposed that there were about eight hundred million acres of land on the Mississippi and its waters, which might be sold at an average of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per acre, and that the advantages derived from such a sale would be as nothing compared "to the advantages derivable of the subjects who would populate the lands," and that the foundation for peopling this vast domain ought to be the best possible regulations, and not left "to chance or to desperate men." ²¹

Miro authorized and empowered Morgan to introduce into Louisiana and part in Natchez, any number of families, farmers, traders and laborers, and wrote him on the 29th of May, 1789, that he would himself recommend "to his Majesty the merit that you will acquire in the commission," and that he was sure he would be rewarded in proportion to the number, who by his influence and example should make a settlement, and that for his own part he would assure him of a grant of one thousand acres of land, and as many for each of his children, in any part of the province; and on June 26th he issued a commission to Morgan in case of the death of the officer he had appointed as commandant of New Madrid and in which he says "reposing special trust and confidence in your ability, fidelity, and honor, I do hereby nominate and appoint you commandant of the said territory until further orders from me, subject to the instructions I have already given you, and those which you may hereafter receive from me."

In this manner Miro set aside the plans of Gardoqui and annulled Morgan's incomplete grant, but authorizing grants of land to those who had been induced to settle in the New Madrid district. No exclusive right to trade with New Orleans²² was given the settlers at New

²¹ After this failure Morgan turned his attention to an estate bequeathed to him in Washington county, Pennsylvania, by his brother, and here he settled, naming his estate "Morganza," and here he died after a checkered and strenuous life, in 1810. It was at his residence at "Morganza", at a dinner, that it was charged that Burr made treasonable remarks against the United States. Cumming, who, in 1807, enjoyed the hospitality of General Morgan, describes his house as a long narrow frame building with two ends lower than the main body of the house, by way of wings, and says that the situation for the house was not well chosen when he had apparently the choice of better locations, and says that one is more apt to be struck by anything like false taste in any work that has been finished under the direction of a man of education and refinement, "which in addition to liberal hospitality is General Morgan's character, as well as that of his amiable and accomplished lady." Cumming's *Tour to the West* p. 217.

²² Windsor's *Westward Movement*, p. 306.

Madrid, as stated by Windsor. Morgan's project laid the foundation for the peaceful conquest by the Americans of at least upper Louisiana, for, owing to the impulse given American immigration by the wide advertisement of Morgan's plans, and the liberal land policy of the Spanish authorities, a majority of the population in upper Louisiana, when the territory was ceded, was already composed of Americans. So great was the immigration into upper Louisiana, when Morgan first published his plan, that Major Hamtramck wrote in 1789, that "all of our Americans of Post Vincennes will go to Morgan," that within twenty days "not less than 100 souls have passed daily" to his new colony.²³ After the collapse of Morgan's scheme, the Spanish officials continued to encourage settlers to come to the Spanish side, says Hamtramck "by giving them land gratis."²⁴ This immigration into the Spanish territory was greatly increased by the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and which led people to believe that the negroes northwest of the Ohio would be freed as soon as a territorial government should be established.²⁵

LaForge tells us that Foucher "was the man that was wanted for the creation of this colony; busying himself at the same time with his own interests as of those of the inhabitants, with his own amusements as well as theirs, but always after having attended first to his business, and by a singular address if he sometimes plucked the fowl, he not only did it without making it squall, but set it to dancing and laughing."²⁶ During his administration of eighteen months Foucher "divided the country into districts, laid out the town into lots, built an imposing fort, promulgated the laws of the King and made them respected, and, when he departed from the post, was lamented, regretted, and demanded again from the governor-general by the unanimous voice of all the inhabitants."²⁷ Foucher seems to have directed all the affairs of the settlement. He laid out all the public works, explored the cypress swamps of the locality, and selected timber there for the government buildings, laid out the streets and lots of the new town, compass in hand. While he was in command a large number of American immigrants, who had no doubt been attracted by the publicity Morgan gave to the country, settled in the town and adjacent country.

²³ Harmer Papers, vol. 2, p. 50.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 371.

²⁵ Harmer Papers, vol. 2, pp. 18 and 90.

²⁶ LaForge's Report in 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 266.

²⁷ LaForge's Report in 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 266.

When Pope went down the Mississippi in 1791, he breakfasted and dined with "Singior Pedro Foucher, Commandant at Nuevo Madrid." At that time the garrison was well supplied with food and raiment, and he had at his command "an excellent train of artillery, which appears to be their chief defense," but Pope thinks that "two regular companies of musqueteers with charge-bayonets could take the town." He says that Foucher was of the same opinion, and that he claimed "that he was not well supported." Foucher was, according to Pope, "a creole of French extraction, of Patagonian size, polite in manners and of a most noble presence."²⁸ Pope left New Madrid on the evening of March 12, 1791, in a boat called the "Smokehouse," bound for New Orleans, and the first night after his departure anchored on the "*Georgian*" shore, about thirty miles below New Madrid.²⁹

In the previous year, General David Forman, passing down the Mississippi says that he stopped at "L' Anse à la Graise, which place, or adjoining, bears the name of New Madrid, which is the American part of the little village settled under the auspices of Colonel George Morgan," and from which it would appear that the American settlers then lived in one part of the town and the French settlers in another part. General Forman while in the port of New Madrid with his craft called on the commandant, and thus describes his visit: "Arrived at the gate, the guard was so anxious to trade his tame raccoon with our men that he scarcely took any notice of us. We went to headquarters; there was but little ceremony. When we were shown into the commander's presence, I stepped toward him a little in advance of my friends and announced my name. I was most cordially and familiarly received. Then I introduced my friends, naming their respective places of residence. After a little conversation we arose to retire when the commandant advanced and politely asked me to dine with him an hour after 12 o'clock, and bring my accompanying friends with me. I turned to the gentlemen for their concurrence, which they gave, and we all returned to our boats. I then observed to my friends that the commandant would expect some present from us, such was the custom, and what should it be? Mr. Bayard, I believe, asked me to suggest something in our power to tender. I then remarked that as we had plenty of good hams that we

²⁸ See Pope's Tour, p. 22.

²⁹ See Pope's Tour, p. 23. Evidently he thought that Georgia extended to the Mississippi at that place.

fill a barrel and send them to our host; that they might prove as acceptable as anything. The proposition met the approval of all, and the hams were accordingly sent at once, with perhaps an accompanying note. At an hour after 12 o'clock I remember well that we found ourselves comfortably seated at the hospitable board of the Spanish commandant, who expressed much delight at receiving our fine present. He gave us a splendid dinner in the Spanish style, and plenty of good wines and coffee without cream. The commandant addressing me while we were indulging in the liquids before us; said that we must drink to the health of the ladies in our sweet liquors, "so," said he, "we will drink the health of Mrs. Forman," meaning my worthy cousin, who had preceded us in the visit to the garrison. After dinner the commandant invited us to take a walk in the fine prairies. He said he thought he could "drive a coach and four through these open woods to St. Louis."

In September, 1791, Foucher was succeeded by Thomas Portelle.


 A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Thomas Portelle". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a large, sweeping initial 'T' and a stylized 'P'. The signature ends with a small, circular flourish.

Foucher, in 1797, was a half-pay captain in New Orleans. During a number of years the settlement of his accounts for the construction of the "Fort Celeste" at New Madrid, gave him much trouble, the vouchers which he had delivered to Don Francisco Gutierrez de Arroya, "an official of the chief accountancy of the army," having been destroyed by fire. Foucher claimed that for making and planting the palisades of the fort he paid 2,500 pesos, and that having the lumber sawed and made for the roof of the barracks cost 700 pesos; for clearing the ground around the fort Pedro Lemieux and Santiago Cuturre received 700 pesos. He petitioned the King for relief, and relating his services says, that from 1778 to 1780 he served as a "volunteer carabineer," that

he then purchased a commission as lieutenant of the Louisiana regiment and participated in the campaign against "Manchak, Baton Rouge, Movila and Pensacola." After many petitions he finally secured a settlement and adjustment of his accounts.

Portelle, according to LaForge, was "a man of distinguished merit equally in the military as in the cabinet, and who was superior to his position," and who "if he failed, it was because he did not place himself on a level with the people he had to govern."³⁰ Portelle remained in command from 1791 to 1796. The population of New Madrid during this period was made up of traders, hunters, and voyageurs. Trading and hunting were the principal occupations of the inhabitants. Very little land was cultivated, and no progress was made in agricultural development. The French settlers preferred hunting to rural labor. "It was so convenient with a little powder and lead, some cloth and a few blankets, which they obtained on credit from the stores, to procure themselves the meat, grease, and suet necessary for their sustenance, and pay a part of their indebtedness with some peltries." But the game began to disappear, the Indians removed farther into the interior, and it became more difficult to gain support, and then these early inhabitants began to complain and regret the happy days "when they swam in grease, and when abundance of every description was the cause of waste and extravagance." They were a merry and social people, those early French settlers of New Madrid, just as everywhere else in America. Festivals and balls were their delight and only came to an end when their purses were empty.

In 1790 three or four American settlers began to cultivate the fertile soil, and plant for the first time large areas with Indian corn. They soon were able to sell their French and creole neighbors corn, butter, milk, cheese, eggs and chickens. When the Indians failed to come to New Madrid to trade, the French, too, began to plant corn, but before the corn was laid by, LaForge says, they all enrolled in the militia to resist the threatened invasion of 1794, abandoned their crops, and when they were paid off were again without supplies and in want. In this year five galleys came to New Madrid from New Orleans and remained during the summer, but the commandant finding no provisions or corn in New Madrid was compelled to send for subsistence to the Illinois settlements and to Kentucky. On this occasion

³⁰ Portelle was commandant at Apalachy before he came to New Madrid. The name is usually spelled "Portel" but he himself spells it "Portelle" or "Portell."

Don Portelle, Commandant, did not fail to impress on the inhabitants that they should have been in condition to furnish the necessary food and supplies.

In 1795 the establishment of Fort San Fernando des Barrancas, near the present site of Memphis drew away from New Madrid the little surplus corn. Ste. Genevieve and Kentucky again supplied corn not only to San Fernando, but even to New Madrid. The desire to farm then began once more to take root among the French habitants. Nearly all the American immigrants as soon as they arrived made ready to farm. "Then" says Laforge "the French inveighed against the Americans, and, stimulated by jealousy, determined that they too would farm." Thus it was that in 1796 farming was taken up as a serious occupation in New Madrid. But from 1794 to 1796 the population remained stationary.³¹

Yet no great material progress in the wealth of the settlement was made during the administration of Don Portelle. A large majority of the inhabitants were French and creoles, and LaForge mournfully comes to the conclusion "that the creoles will never make this a flourishing settlement. It will be the Americans, Germans and other active people who will reap the glory of it." In his report he also refers to the fact that although grants of land were made for some time to François Racine, to the Hunots, Paquins, Laderoute, Gamelin, deceased, Lalotte and others, not a single tree had been cut on the land so granted, and that the St. Maries, Meloche, and others had barely commenced work. On the other hand, he points out that when the Americans secure a grant of land they energetically begin to work on it. Of the 159 families of New Madrid 53 had no property, which La Forge thinks "is an evil to which it would be easy to apply a remedy. In a country destined to agricultural pursuits and the breeding of domestic animals, it is too much that one third of its inhabitants should stand isolated from the general interest, and that the other two thirds should be exposed to be the victims of a set of idle and lazy people, always at hand in their slightest necessities to satiate their hunger by preying on the industrious."³²

From the Spanish records of concessions the general growth and prosperity of the village may be reasonably inferred during this period. Thus between November 30, 1789, and May 1, 1799, the oath of allegiance was administered to 601 persons. In 1791 forty-seven lots for

³¹ La Forge's Letter, 1 Billon's Annals, p. 266.

³² La Forge's Letter to De Lassus, 1 Billon's Annals, p. 272.

houses were granted in the village, but during that same time an equal number of lots were abandoned. In 1792 six lots were granted, but fifteen lots abandoned. In 1793 fifty lots were granted and eight abandoned. In 1794 thirteen lots were granted. In 1795 twenty-five lots were granted and one abandoned. In 1796 forty-six concessions of lots were made.

It was while Portelle was commandant at New Madrid that the greatest activity prevailed to separate the western country from the Atlantic states. Portelle on one occasion sent \$9,640 in cash, packed in barrels to Wilkinson, from New Madrid. Thomas Power, the agent of the Spanish government, an Englishman, was then a resident of New Madrid. In 1795 Gayoso de Lemos came to New Madrid on a confidential mission to meet a Kentucky delegation, and from New Madrid, sent Power with dispatches to Wilkinson. From New Madrid Gayoso went to the mouth of the Ohio, and at what afterward became known as Bird's Point, erected a small stockade fort to amuse himself, while waiting for a reply. Here he was met by Judge Sebastian, in September, 1795, and together they went by boat to New Madrid and down the river.

Juan Barno y Ferrusola, in 1794, was greffier of New Madrid, Antoine Gamelin, in 1794, Captain of the Second Company of the militia; Louis Scipion Benoist de Marquet, Captain of another company, and Pierre de Rocher, Captain of the First Company. He was a native of Nantes, France, and a merchant of New Madrid.³³ John Shanklin, in 1796, was ensign of the troops, one of the first Anglo-American Spanish officers. It was during the administration of Portelle that the youthful Brackenridge arrived at New Madrid. "As we approached the landing," he says, "a soldier or officer made his appearance on the bank and flourished his sword with a fierce and consequential air,—all this for the purpose of indicating the place for us to land."³⁴ During his stay at New Madrid at that time, Brackenridge, then a child, records that "coarse, black bread, a kind of catfish soup, hot with pepper and seasoned with garlick, was about the only food they gave us."

³³ Son of François Alexis DeRocher and Marie Naude; married Rosalie Lafond of Kaskaskia, daughter of Dr. Jean Baptiste Lafond and Charlotte Lacourse. In 1793 had a concession on Lake St. Isidore, and on Lake St. Mary; after his death this property was granted to his wife. The name is also spelled Deroche.

³⁴ Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 18.

Portelle in 1796 was succeeded by Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus de Luziere. He was a son of Don Pierre DeHault DeLassus de Luziere, heretofore mentioned as commandant of Nouvelle Bourbon, in the Ste. Genevieve district. Don Carlos De Lassus entered the Spanish service as second lieutenant of the fifth Battalion of the Royal Guards of Waloonian infantry, participated in the campaign of the army of Rosellon as first lieutenant, was one of the first at the assault of Fort San Thelmo; by good military conduct and bravery distinguished himself and was breveted lieutenant-colonel. In order to be near his family, who were in greatly reduced circumstances, he petitioned to be transferred from the Waloonian Guard³⁵ to the



DE LASSUS

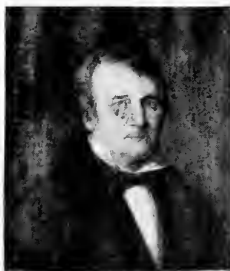
Stationary Regiment of Louisiana. In his petition, dated Madrid, July 5, 1794, he says that his father was a fugitive from France with his wife and children, that during the space of three years, after unheard of hardships "in traveling through lands, crossing seas, the American rivers, and living among all the savage tribes found on the Scioto river in North America," he reached the Spanish Illinois in the Province of Louisiana, and that there he established himself and built up a small colony in order that he might acquire the means to sustain his life, and "that of his numerous family in his advanced age." In the following August DeLassus was transferred with the rank of lieutenant-colonel to the Louisiana Regiment, but with the pay only of captain, and on August 11, at San Ildefonso, received his passports to sail from Cadiz, "with a servant, arms and baggage," in order to join his corps. It is said that DeLassus enjoyed the personal acquaintance of King Ferdinand of Spain, and that the King was interested in his welfare and the welfare of his family, but this statement may well be doubted, because subsequently when he petitioned that with the rank of lieutenant-colonel he might also get the pay of a lieutenant-colonel, so as to assist his unfortunate family and maintain himself with the honor that his rank demanded, the petition was denied repeatedly, although strongly recommended by Carondelet. The report was likely circulated to justify the large grants of land

³⁵ Cuerpo de guardias Walonas consisted in Spain of more than 4000 men, in 56 companies, who came from Flanders, then a dependency of Spain, and in service of the Spanish kings until the time of Ferdinand VII.

made to the family at different times by the Spanish officials,³⁶ with whom undoubtedly he was a great favorite.³⁷ Carondelet says that he was "a very honorable man."

At the time DeLassus was in command at New Madrid he was very busy. New Madrid was then the gate-way of commerce to the Gulf of Mexico, of all that part of the United States situated west of the Alleghany mountains, and that commerce at that time began to assume gigantic proportions, at least in the eyes of the inactive and torpid Spaniards. In June, 1797, DeLassus writes to Soulard that he was continually occupied with attending to the business of all manner of people coming down the Ohio "et a present avec le passage de

Messieurs des Americains." In fact, he was so busy that he had no time to give attention to his own individual affairs, or the grant of twenty thousand arpens of land he had received in the previous year from Don Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana. The grant was not located at any particular place,³⁸ and he expected Soulard to look after the matter for him. In his, no doubt, trying work at New Madrid he was assisted at first, as secretary, by Pierre Derbigny, who was also interpreter "los idioms estrangeras à la lengua Espangol."



M. P. LEDUC

³⁶ In 1798 petitioned for a grant of 30,000 arpens on Salt river, three leagues above its mouth, to establish two manufactories, one for making soap, and the other for a tan-yard, as of great utility to the public, since thus they could procure soap and leather much cheaper than by bringing them from Europe as they were then doing.

³⁷ Andrew Michaux, in his journal, says that one Louisiere or Delousiere was exiled from France for having been concerned in the plot to deliver Havre to the combined English and Spanish fleets. In 1793, Michaux says, that this Louisiere or Delousiere was in partnership with one Audrain at Pittsburg, but he says that Delousiere was not in Pittsburg at that time. It may be that some connection existed between the Delousiere, the French royalist, who attempted to turn over the French fleet to the English and Spanish, and the Delousiere afterward in Upper Louisiana, and the letter of Carondelet of April 26, 1793, shows that this Louisiere, or Delousiere is DeLassus DeLuziere, and that he was in partnership with Tardiveau and Audrain, and came from Gallipolis to Nouvelle Bourbon. His son St. Vrain was an officer in the Royal French navy. The Audrain Michaux mentions was no doubt the same trader, afterwards in Upper Louisiana, in partnership with Tardiveau and DeLassus. A trader named Audrain lived on the Missouri not far from Fort Osage after the cession. Audrain county so named in honor of Colonel James Audrain, a pioneer trader and merchant of Missouri, and son of Pierre Audrain.

³⁸ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 686.

Derbigny afterwards removed to New Orleans, and Marie Philip Leduc, who came to New Madrid in 1792, then acted as his secretary, and with him subsequently went to St. Louis.

DeLassus was made lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana in 1799, and removed to St. Louis. Here he was in command at the time of the transfer of Louisiana. Prior to 1800 New Madrid was in no wise attached to the Illinois country or upper Louisiana. The commandant there exercising the power of a sub-delegate, acted independent of the lieutenant-governor of Illinois country, residing at St. Louis. In the register of Spanish Illinois villages, made in 1796, neither New Madrid or Cape Girardeau are included, evidently either Cinque Hommes creek, or the Rivière des Pommes (Apple Creek) was considered the dividing line between the Spanish Illinois villages and the New Madrid district. After DeLassus was transferred to St. Louis, New Madrid, it seems, was attached to upper Louisiana.³⁹

DeLassus was succeeded in New Madrid, by Don Henri Peyroux de la Coudrenaire,⁴⁰ Captain of Infantry, as commandant. He came to New Madrid from Ste. Genevieve in August, 1799, and where he had been commandant in 1789. Peyroux remained in command at New Madrid for nearly four years, and then resigned his position, very likely in consequence of his dispute with the Spanish officials as to the northern boundary of the district. From a letter dated January 11, 1803, it appears that at that date he was still commandant of New Madrid. After his resignation he went to France where it is said he had large possessions. Being old and infirm he never returned, but made an agreement of separation with his wife, who did not accompany him, transferring and relinquishing to her all his property and possessions in America, apparently, however, with the exception of his land grant on the Saline, which he leased.

Don Juan La Vallée succeeded Peyroux as commandant of New Madrid and held the position until the country was transferred to the United States. During his administration the expedition of De Lassus to punish "the run-away Indians" then residing in the country west of New Madrid, took place. La Vallée was a very competent

³⁹ 2 Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 171.

⁴⁰ Henri Peyroux, captain of arms, civil and military commandant, vice patron of Parish St. Isidore, married Demoiselle Prudence Rodrique. In 1801 he bought of Tardiveau & Co., a saw-mill, grain-house, canal and land where mill was located at New Madrid.

man, a man of education and intelligence. He was a native of France and for a number of years a leading merchant and trader. De Lassus says of him, that he was a "zealous and skilful officer, recommended for a long time for captain," and that "every time I employed him, he gave me great satisfaction in the manner in which he acquitted himself. He speaks and writes Spanish and French and English, and is a firm and brave and prudent man."



DON JUAN LA VALLÉE

The Spanish commandants resided at Fort Celeste, which was situated on the Mississippi river, and erected in 1789, under the supervision of Don Pedro Foucher.⁴¹ A Spanish garrison was always maintained here, and the names of some of the Spanish soldiers have

been preserved in the New Madrid archives, principally as witnesses.⁴² This "Fort Celeste" was originally constructed near the river bank, altogether unmindful of the fact that the river at this point washed away the land. Gradually the intervening land between the river and the fort disappeared and in 1796 when General Collot

visited New Madrid a part of the structure had tumbled in the river. The old fort had been evacuated and a new fort constructed farther away from the river bank. This new fort was an irregular square with four blockhouses as bastions at the corners, con-

⁴¹ One of the contractors, to build the fort, a stone-mason, was Pierre Querez (or Guerez), dit La Tulipe. The carpenter work was done by Jacob Myers.

⁴² Thus we find the names of Pedro Maltruvín Besnard, a sergeant of infantry who, in 1793, was employed by Pierre DeRocher to stay on his place on Lake St. Isidore; Ramon Perez, in 1795, a sergeant; Pascal Palazois, in 1794, a corporal of infantry; Diego Dominquez, in 1794, a corporal of artillery, who afterward died at New Madrid; Juan Jose Garcia, in 1795, soldier of the fifth company of the first battalion of the stationary regiment of Louisiana; Antonio Gonzalez, soldier of the third company of second battalion of the regiment of Louisiana; Domingo (or Dominique) Rueta (or Rouette), baker and soldier of the second company of the first battalion of the fixed or stationary regiment; died in 1804; Barthélemy Rodriques, in 1792, a corporal; Jose Bernardo, sergeant of infantry in the fixed regiment; Antonio Bermet, in 1791, soldier of the garrison, and Jean Ramos also a soldier; Antonio Molina, 1794.

nected by palisades twelve feet high and the whole surrounded with a ditch twelve feet wide and three feet deep. The fort was then armed with (8) eight-pound cannon and garrisoned with 24 soldiers of the regular army—had poor barracks for 100 men and a powder magazine made of plank. Gen. Collot had a very poor opinion of this fort and country and says that the place can never be made a “une place de guerre,” nor a large population attracted to reside there.

One of the early distinguished French Canadian residents of New Madrid was Antoine Gamelin, whose name is signed to many documents in the archives, between 1791 and 1794. He came to New Madrid in 1791, from Vincennes. He was a man of some education, was a trader among the Indians in Indiana and acted as interpreter and Indian agent for General George Rogers Clark in 1778 and 1779. In 1790, he was sent by Governor St. Clair as a messenger to the Wabash Indians, and in an interesting journal, made a report of his mission.⁴³ He died in New Madrid in 1796. He was a son of Ignace Gamelin of Montreal, and his mother was a daughter of Captain de la Jesmerie—celebrated in the military annals of Canada. Another prominent citizen of old Spanish New Madrid was Pierre Antoine La Forge, exiled by the Revolution to the shores of America. Originally educated for the priesthood, he fell in love



M. PIERRE ANTOINE LA FORGE

with his cousin, Marguerite Gabriel Colombe Champagne, and married her, and after that devoted himself to the study of law. With many other French immigrants he settled at Gallipolis and shared

⁴³ Dillon's History of Indiana, p. 245. This journal was sworn to before Major Hamtramck, May 17, 1790.

in all the misfortunes of that settlement. In 1791 he abandoned Gallipolis and came to New Madrid, giving his wife power of attorney in 1794, to sell his property there. His education, intelligence, great common sense, energy, public spirit and literary ability soon secured him a prominent and leading position. Being master of several languages he acted as interpreter. He was an officer of the militia, commissioner of the police, syndic, and executed many confidential missions for the several commandants. His report of the condition of New Madrid, published in 1796, and to which we have heretofore made reference, shows his keen, observing mind, and the relentless logic with which he could condemn the lethargy and want of enterprise of his own immediate countrymen, and the Canadian-French, and the admiration he felt for American enterprise and energy. DeLassus greatly admired him and says that he performed all his various offices with "correctness and precision," that he was a man "active, earnest and useful for the public service." He owned well improved property in New Madrid, and after the acquisition of Louisiana was appointed civil commandant and judge of the court of common pleas in New Madrid. He was sick when the earthquake of 1811 occurred, and died from exposure, having been removed from his house to a tent.

Don Louis Francois de Marquet, a trader, Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, at one time a captain of cavalry in the French service, resided one league and a half north of New Madrid, and died there prior to 1794. His son Louis Scipion Benoist de Marquet, also a French officer, died in New Madrid in 1794, and judging from the inventory, for that time possessed a very large estate. Another resident was Auguste Chevalier Brèar de Breville but nothing is known of him. Anna Claude François Riche Dupin in 1790, was sub-lieutenant of militia, and sexton of the parish St. Isidore, and in 1800, captain of militia.⁴⁴ Joseph Charpentier was royal interpreter and in many instances acted as attorney. He was also a trader. Another prominent resident was Pierre Derbigny who came to Louisiana with Antonio Soulard in 1794 — and to New Madrid in about 1795 and while a resident there acted as a royal interpreter. He was a profound linguist, understood the French, Spanish and English languages and was a classical scholar. During his residence at New Madrid he was captain of a company of militia. He was also

⁴⁴ He married Jeanne Denvir and in 1804 had a daughter named Française Adelaide.

engaged in trade as a partner of LaForge. In 1800 he removed to New Orleans and after the acquisition of Louisiana came into prominence in political affairs. In 1805 he was sent by the people of Orleans Territory to Washington. He was admitted to the practice of the law. When the State government of Louisiana was organized he was appointed by Gov. Claiborne one of the Judges of the Supreme court. In the celebrated Batture controversy in 1808, Jefferson greatly relied upon his opinion to sustain the claims of the General government to the Batture. He claimed 6,000 arpens of land in the St. Charles district under a concession of DeLassus, dated 1799.

New Madrid, in 1802, had three Spanish military organizations. One of these was a company of dragoons, of which Richard Jones Waters was captain; George N. Reagan, lieutenant, and John Baptiste Barsaloux, ensign.⁴⁵ The two other companies of infantry militia were respectively commanded by Don Juan LaVallée, as captain;⁴⁶ Pierre Antoine LaForge, as lieutenant; and Joseph Charpentier, as ensign; and of the other infantry militia company, Robert McCoy was captain, appointed by Gayoso when Don Pedro Derbigny moved to New Orleans; Joseph Hunot, lieutenant;⁴⁷ and John Harte, ensign.⁴⁸ A number of Spanish galleys, or what we would now call revenue cutters, were then in commission at New Madrid. Don Francesco Langlois⁴⁹ was in command of the "Phillipa" in 1795.

⁴⁵ A resident of New Madrid in 1795, owned ten slaves, and in 1800 he, Dr. Samuel Dorsey, and Joseph Lafrenays (perhaps should be spelled Lafresniere) make request for grants on the St. François river, the first two for ten thousand, and the last for five thousand acres.

⁴⁶ A merchant in New Madrid, sub-lieutenant of militia of the post, store-keeper of the magazine of the king, and just before the cession, commandant of New Madrid. His wife was Jeanne Chauvin, and a son Edward Octave was baptized in 1804 at New Madrid; he owned a negro named Joseph, who acted as interpreter of the French language for the negroes.

⁴⁷ Native of Detroit; married Marie Josephe Robert, who seems to have owned property in Detroit. Owned property on portage Mingo, in Little Prairie, and portage of river St. François; died in 1804; after his death his wife in a petition to the commander regarding the estate says, it was on account of being cruelly deceived in business transactions he decided to come to the Louisiana territory. His son, Joseph Hunot, Junior, in 1800, married Elizabeth Millette, daughter of Jean Baptiste Millette and Angelique Paradot, natives of Ste. Genevieve. In 1804, this son was accused of being an accomplice in theft committed by Thomas, negro slave of R. J. Waters, but was vindicated. Another son, Ignace was in New Madrid in 1791, and afterward on small Bay Portage river St. François.

⁴⁸ John E. Harte was a resident of Bayou St. Thomas in 1795.

⁴⁹ "Creole de los Illinois," native of Detroit; in 1792 with Didier Marchand, Vincent Barras, Jean Camus, Jean Nicholas Toussainte and Jean Baptiste Louis Collin, hired to James Turcotte as wood cutters, etc., for fifteen piastres a month. This Collin may be the same who was "held in irons" at Cahokia

The "LaFleche," and the "Vigilanta" were also stationed at New Madrid in that year. Don Bernardo Moline was captain of the "Victoria" in 1797. Another galliotte was named "L'Activa" in command of McCoy, and Don Pedro Rousseau was commandant of the "Fuerzai." Rousseau in 1795 was in command of the Spanish squadron on the Mississippi, when Fort San Fernando was established at what was then known as Écore des Margot, commanding His Majesty's galley "La Venganza" before "Campo de Esperanza." By order of Gayoso he cleared the woods for the fort, clearing six or seven arpens in one day. The Chickasaw Indians seeing that he did this work with his men all unarmed were greatly pleased and asked Gayoso through their chief, Ligulayacabe, the privilege to give him a name, and named him "Payemingo," meaning "without fear." He was so charmed with the place he cleared for the fort that he says that "it would be a grief for such important lands to fall into the hands of the Americans."⁵⁰

The names of the settlers who came to New Madrid, induced by Morgan's splendid scheme, cannot all be ascertained, but the number was larger than now generally supposed. Free land and no taxation were undoubtedly great inducements. So also the knowledge of the fact that no vexatious obstructions existed as to the shipment of the agricultural produce of the Spanish country to New Orleans. Among those who were attracted by Morgan to New Madrid were David Gray⁵¹ and Joseph Story, both of Massachusetts. Gray, prior to his immigration to New Madrid, lived at Kaskaskia. In New Madrid he was a merchant, and held the position of interpreter, being master of the Spanish and French languages. Little else is known about him. He, however, as well as his wife, were possessed of a degree of culture and education unusual at that time in the district. He owned prop-

in 1788. His son, François Langlois, Junior, in 1802 married Barby St. Aubin, daughter of Jean Baptiste St. Aubin and Marie Louise Dennir, deceased, natives of Vincennes.

⁵⁰ Received the special thanks of the king for meritorious service while under command of General Don Bernardo de Galvez in East and West Florida; was commandant of the brigantine "Galveztown;" also served at the fort of Natchitoches; aided in capturing William Bowles, and took him to Havanna; took artillery to New Madrid in 1793 when threatened by the French-American filibusteros; captured a number of small English vessels loaded with artillery and flour. An active man. His son, Pedro Andre Rousseau, a cadet in the Louisiana regiment.

⁵¹ Native of Dunbar, son of Alexander Gray and Margaret Melville, in 1800 married Dinah Martin, widow of Azor Rees and daughter of Matthias Martin and Eleanor Griffen, of Pennsylvania. On account of cruel treatment his wife secured a separation from him.

erty both in the village and in Big Prairie. Joseph Story, the deputy Spanish surveyor of the district, was a son of William Story and Jane Appleton of Boston, Massachusetts, and came to New Madrid with Morgan to assist in laying out the city. He married Catherine Seek, daughter of Jacob Seek and Margarite Keser, of Pennsylvania, at New Madrid in 1794.

Captain Robert McCoy and Captain Richard Jones Waters, already mentioned, were perhaps the most prominent American residents of New Madrid at this period. McCoy originally resided in Vincennes, but settled in New Madrid in 1787 and engaged in the Indian trade. For a number of years he was an active citizen in Spanish New Madrid, an officer and adjutant general of militia, and in command of a Spanish galley, no unimportant position at that time at New Madrid, when all vessels navigating the Mississippi river, under the Spanish rules and regulations, were compelled to land there, and all the cargoes destined for New Orleans, or points in the Spanish possessions, were subject to inspection. McCoy remained in the Spanish naval service until the arrival of Don Henri Peyroux. Before the arrival of Peyroux, and from June to August, 1799, he acted as commandant of New Madrid. In 1800 he was commandant in the Tywappity Bottom. This Tywappity Bottom is situated opposite the mouth of the Ohio, and at that time many Americans coming down the river sought the privilege of settling in this rich and fertile district, and McCoy's services were very valuable to the Spanish government as well as to the new immigrants. He died and was buried at New Madrid in 1840.⁵²



Richard Jones Waters⁵³ was a physician by profession. He was induced by Morgan's glowing scheme to settle at New

⁵² 2 Hunt's Minutes, pp. 144-5, Missouri Historical Society Archives. Years afterward, when the old cemetery of New Madrid was gradually washing into the river, an old negro one morning came to the old graveyard with his wagon and dug up the bones of his old master, carried them to another place, and re-interred them. McCoy married Marie Lafond, daughter of Dr. Lafond.

⁵³ Native of Maryland, son of William Waters and Rachel Jonce (Jones); in 1800 married Françoise Godfroy (widow of Louis Vandenbenden, engineer of Upper Louisiana) daughter of Rene Godfroy and Françoise Randu, natives of Contance in Normandy, province of France. He died in 1806, leaving an estate of \$60,000 in cash, a very large sum at that time. Had no children, but adopted two sons of Mrs. Jacob Myers. These boys were respectively named John and Richard Jones Waters. John left the country when a youth, disap-

Madrid. He possessed energy and enterprise; built the first water-mill in New Madrid at the mouth of the bayou St. John; was a merchant, and extensively engaged in the Indian trade; was a speculator in land, and became a very large land owner. After the acquisition of Louisiana he was a leading and active member of the first convention assembled west of the Mississippi river, and his name appears on the remonstrance addressed by that convention to the Congress of the United States. According to DeLassus, "he was a very zealous officer, of extensive knowledge, but of somewhat extravagant disposition and very quarrelsome," evidently referring to the litigation in which he was involved with almost every one.

Among other prominent traders in New Madrid, in addition to those already enumerated, were Barthélemi Tardiveau & Co.⁵⁴ Barthélemi Tardiveau was no doubt the most distinguished settler attracted to New Madrid by Morgan. Roosevelt remarks that he has found several disconnected notes about him that prove his importance in the development of the west. He was a native of France, but had lived in Holland, a man of education and culture. In 1780 he was a merchant in Louisville and furnished supplies to General George Rogers Clark. While there he addressed a letter to General Clark, recommending that a certain Shawnee squaw be sent as a messenger with peace proposal to the tribes in Ohio, which suggestion was adopted with good results. After peace was established between the colonies and Great Britain he removed to Kaskaskia. During the turbulent and lawless period that prevailed in the country after the conquest Tardiveau labored earnestly to protect the rights of the old French habitants. When Gen. Harmar came to Kaskaskia he was greatly impressed with Tardiveau's ability, relied on him in his relations with the French residents and made him his interpreter. As attorney he represented the French settlers before the old Continental Congress in New York, endeavoring to secure a confirmation of the old French titles, to land that had been in the possession of these habitants for almost a century. He was bitterly assailed, principally

peared and never was heard of, but Richard remained with his adopted mother and finally inherited all the property.

⁵⁴ The members of this firm were, Tardiveau, Pierre Menard and Pierre Audrain. Menard was a merchant at Kaskaskia, a large slave owner, and in 1800 sold property to Edward Robertson, including horse-mill and distillery, with all machinery and stock, taking in part payment slaves. In 1804 this firm owed Jean Baptiste Sarpy of New Orleans 11,991 piastres for merchandise.

because these French settlers agreed to pay him for his services with a part of the land, title to which was thus to be perfected, and the only means the settlers had to pay him for his trouble. Morgan, too, interested in securing for his new colony a large immigration, sought to discourage Tardiveau and intrigued to defeat Congressional action. Although thus opposed in his work, principally through his efforts, Congress between 1788 and 1791 passed several acts securing the French settlers their land claims, and in addition made grants to all who had served in the militia and to the American settlers who had made improvements on land granted by the American officials. To the French settlers these grants were of little benefit. Their lands and claims soon fell into the hands of speculators. Tardiveau, too, seems to have realized that these simple French were in no wise a match in the grasp for land and wealth with their American compeers. At any rate, in 1792 he wrote a letter to Count Aranda outlining a plan to attract the French population on the east side of the Mississippi to the Louisianas, and finally himself removed to New Madrid in 1793. Tardiveau was a man of literary ability, an accomplished linguist, spoke and wrote French, English and Spanish and also was familiar with some Indian languages. He was Spanish interpreter at New Madrid at the time of his death.⁵⁵

Two German traders, Steinbeck & Reinecke,⁵⁶ who had estab-

⁵⁵ His library was inventoried as follows: a Greek and Latin dictionary, ten volumes of Greek and Latin books, an English-Spanish dictionary, a French dictionary of two volumes, Johnson's English dictionary, a treatise on agriculture, a Dictionary of Commerce, the works of Montesquieu in six volumes, Necker's works on Finances in three volumes, three volumes of the American Agriculturist, Restant's Grammar, and nine French volumes. From a letter to St. James Beauvais, dated New York, 1788, it appears that Barthélemi Tardiveau was there to secure a grant from Congress of 500 acres to each of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia. After much delay he finally secured a report favoring a grant of 400 acres, but hopes that the full 500 acres will be finally granted. Here he met Colonel Morgan, and writes that Morgan much discouraged him in his work, assuring him that Congress would grant nothing, that he (Morgan) was about to purchase 2,000,000 acres with some 200 persons of means, and he ought to join him in this enterprise. It was also charged that he favored a land-grant by Congress because he intended to buy out the French settlers anyway who were going across the river into Spanish territory, and finally some asserted that the French had lost nothing by Clark's troops, all of which greatly harassed Tardiveau, but finally the act was passed. The St. Louis archives show that in 1786 Madame Chouteau sold Tardiveau a farm in Grand Prairie 6 arpens by 80 for 10,000 pounds of flour, a house built of posts 80 feet long and divided into several apartments was located on this land. Evidently Tardiveau at this time had some idea of settling in St. Louis.

⁵⁶ Frederick Reinecke (Reinecke) merchant, native of "Brunswick en Allemagne," son of deceased Jean Frederick Reinecke and Margaret Karley; in 1804 married Rebecca Butler, native of Montgomery county, Maryland; daughter

lishments at Cape Girardeau and at Little Prairie also did business at New Madrid. Other traders were Derbigny, LaForge & Co.,⁵⁷ and Etienne Bogliolo, who afterward entered into partnership with McCoy. Bogliolo originally came from the island of Guadalupe with considerable property.⁵⁸

Dr. Samuel Dorsey, a native of Maryland, during the Spanish government, was surgeon of the post, receiving a monthly salary of thirty dollars. He came to New Madrid in 1793 from Vincennes, and in 1795 married a Miss Jose Bonneau, daughter of Charles Bonneau, at New Madrid, where she died in 1799.⁵⁹ Dr. Hugh McDonald Chisholm was another physician of New Madrid. He settled in the town in 1791, and came to New Madrid from Kaskaskia. He had rendered military service there. He was a land speculator and merchant. In 1795 he had a grant on the forks of the bayou St. Martin and St. Mary, but in 1808 the Mississippi had washed this land away. Dr. Henry Masters was also an early physician in New Madrid. In 1804 he was appointed justice of the peace of the district. But perhaps the earliest physician who located in the New Madrid district was Dr. Elisha Jackson, who came to the country in 1790. He was a man of property and a slave owner. Dr. Jean B. Lafond, who was a resident of Kaskaskia when General Clark took possession of that place lived and died here. With Father Gibault, Dr. Lafond piloted the combined American and French forces to Vincennes, and greatly assisted in the capture of that place, by inducing the French habitants of the Illinois country to espouse the American cause. Subsequently Dr. Lafond removed to Ste. Genevieve, and from Ste. Genevieve to New Madrid.⁶⁰

of Jean Butler and Anne Chene. Christopher Frederick She(i)ver performed the ceremony, Charles Gross, Robert Mitchell and Reuben L. Bockett, being witnesses.

⁵⁷ In 1799 bought property of R. J. Waters, including mill.

⁵⁸ Bogliolo and his son Matteo were engaged in much early land litigation. A granddaughter of Etienne Bogliolo married Honorable T. J. O. Morrison for many years senator from New Madrid district.

⁵⁹ Son of Nathan Dorsey and Sophie Owen. Dr. Dorsey was a large land owner, and from New Madrid removed to the Cape Girardeau district, where he married his second wife, a daughter of Jeremiah Thompson; he resided in the Cape Girardeau district until 1812, and then removed to Claiborne county, Mississippi.

⁶⁰ Among the settlers of the village of New Madrid during the Spanish government were: Pierre Archambeau (1791); Charles Bonneau (1791); Louis Brouillet, Senior (1791) native of Canada, son of Joseph Brouillet and Elizabeth Dulud; married Marianne Thibault of Vincennes, daughter of Nicolas

Among those who were led to settle west of the river, by Morgan, was Andrew Wilson, a native of Scotland, and it is said that he was a Presbyterian minister. Of course he did not exercise his Thibault and Josephe St. Aubin. Their son, Louis Brouillet, Junior, also a resident here; Antoine Gamelin (1790), came from Vincennes where he was a resident in 1770; in 1791 he inherited property from the estate of Ignace Gamelin, his father, of Montreal, Canada, who died in 1789; his wife was Lisette de La Jesmerais, probably a daughter of Captain de La Jesmerais, who Randot reported left "a wife and six children to beggary" upon his death in 1708; Jean Baptiste Bissette (1791); François Berthiaume (1790); Charles Nicolas Bolot (or Blot) (1791); Thomas Chambers (1791) apprenticed his son Bradshaw Chambers, in 1791, aged six years, to John Hemphill, master carpenter, for a term of fifteen years; and in 1800 the same boy was bound out to R. J. Waters for five years; Jean Baptiste Chandellier, Chandillon (or Chatillon) (1791) also owned a tract on the river St. François; Jacque Coutu, or Cottu, or Coutue, dit Chatoyer (1791), a trader, son of deceased Etienne Coutue and Theresa Briant, natives of Canada, parish of St. Antoine, Montreal, married Charlotte Maisonville, daughter of Joseph Maisonville. Coutue seems also to have been a carpenter, says he turned over the buildings he had put up under contract to Ignace Chatigny; François Champagne, or Compagnony (1791) master carpenter; Renez Couder; (or Codere); Jean Baptiste, Toussaint and Santos Coder or Coudert (1791) Hypolite Campeaux (1791); Antoine Cerré Senior, (1791); also at Ste. Genevieve and New Bourbon, Ignace Chatigny (1791), in 1792 sold property including tanyard, and afterward near Hill or Pine Tree. Probably the same Chatigny who in 1780 was arrested for speaking disrespectfully of the court of Cahokia. Louis Toussaint Denoyon (1791); in 1801 on Big Lake and Grand Marais; Samuel Davis (1791); François Dumais (1791), son of Ambrose; Jean Denys (or Dennis) (1791); Joseph Deganne (1791); Benjamin Davis (1791); Aaron Day (1791); Joseph Dutailler (or DuTallie) (1791), also on river St. François; Jean Derland (1791), Fort Celeste; François Deroussier (Desrousses), dit St. Pierre (1791) from Vincennes, married Veronique Metayer, in 1800 owned land on Big Prairie, on bayou St. Henry and St. Mary; Jean Easten (1791); John Fulham (or Fulhorn) (1791), corporal of a company of militia under Richard Jones Waters; Joseph Fernandez (1791); Louis Gaultier (1791) appointed Antoine Gamelin to receive a stock of goods for him at New Madrid, among Joseph L'Amoureux' papers is an account from one Gaultier dated in 1769, evidently a resident of Vincennes; John Hemphill (or Hanyshill) (1791) master carpenter, from Vincennes, parish St. François, was a slave owner; James Hemphill (1791) owned land on lake St. Ann; Gabriel Hunot, pere, (1791), merchant in the town, had a grant on Lake St. Ann, also at Carondelet in St. Louis district; Edouard (Edward) Huettner (1791), a German, merchant and solicitor for Pierre Deroche and Pierre Audrain; Jeremiah Kendall (1791); Pierre Latour (1791), also on Big Bay Portage, river St. François; François Lacoste (1791), dit Languedoc; Joseph Lafleur, a resident of Vincennes in 1770, came to New Madrid in 1791; Joseph LaGrande (1791), merchant, "creole de los Illinois," in 1799 received a grant on Big Bay portage, river St. François, from DeLassus for services rendered the government with the Indians; Madame Lagrand (Veuve) (1791), a Charlotte Legrand, daughter of deceased Gabriel Legrand, native of Detroit, parish Assumption, was also here in 1791, a sister of Jean Marie Legrand. This Charlotte Legrand seems also to have been in Ste. Genevieve. The La Grande came originally from Detroit. Louis Laffelier, dit Jasmin (1791), a man by name of Jasmin was at Vincennes in 1786, a trader; François Lavoix (1791), may be Lacroix of Ste. Genevieve; Josiah Whittredge (1791); Antoine Bordeleau (1791); Arthur Mellon (1791) owned several tracts on the lakes near New Madrid; Joseph Millette (1791) also on river St. François; Jean Baptiste Millette (1791), native of Canada, formerly a resident of Vincennes, married Angelique Lafleur who seems to have

ministry after settling in the Spanish possessions, nor is it known that he ever preached a sermon in New Madrid even after the country was acquired by the United States, but he taught school there for a time.

been widow of Joseph Peradeau (Paradot), in 1792 had two grants in Ste. Genevieve district for himself and son, but abandoned them, regranted to Guibourd, in 1802 was on the St. François; Joseph Maisonville, Senior and Junior (1791), from Detroit, Canada, parish of St. Ann, lived in 1783 for a time at Vincennes; Hibernois (Ibernois), dit Meloche (1791) (evidently an Irishman), afterwards in Little Prairie; Antoine Mallet (Millette) (1791), of Vincennes, married Catherine Bordeleaux in 1775 at Vincennes, died 1793, had two children, Catherine and Antoine, Junior, Catherine married Michel Clermont (1794), and is evidently the Catherine Millette widow Barsaloux in 1791, who afterwards lived at Ste. Genevieve and died there in 1804; Joseph Montmirel or Monmirel, dit Durant, or Duren (1791), near Ste. Genevieve in 1795; Jean Baptiste Morelle (1791) merchant, died in Vincennes in 1793; Kiete or Quiete Naeleman or Naheliman (1791); Marie Ouarllia (1791); Amable Perron (1791); François Paquin, Pasquin or Pequán (1791) near the village, in 1802 asks for a grant of land for his sons François, Noël, Antoine and Pierre, which had been abandoned by Charles Bonneau; Pierre Porior, dit Desloge (1791), furnished material to Joseph Michel for his house, also material for the public work of Fort Celeste; Samuel Power (1791); Eustache Peltier (1791), married Angelique Languedoc, but signs her name Angelique Lacoste, he was in Little Prairie in 1803; Jean Presset (or Gresset) (1791); Pierre Gurez (or Querez), dit LaTulipe (1791), one of the contractors to build Fort Celeste, married Marie Josephe Peltier, sold his house to Pierre Deroche, including all fruit and plants in 1791; Jacob Hans Stillman (1791) German, married Marie Presle, died in 1792 at Little Prairie; Joseph Reindeau (or Reguindeau) dit Joachim (1791), of Vincennes, married Theresa Raphiante, he owned tracts of land on lakes St. John and St. Thomas, and in 1801 at Little Prairie. A widow of Pierre Peron also seems to have married a Joseph Riendeau, possibly the same. James Ryan, (1791), boarded for a time with Conrad Carpenter, in 1794 sold property on bayou St. Thomas to Tardiveau, Audrain & Co.; François Racine (1791) on lakes St. Marie and St. Isidore, his sons François, Junior, and Andrew also lived there; Jean Baptiste Richard (1791); Azor Rees (1791), slave holder, married Dinah Martin who afterwards married David Gray; Veronique Reaume (Veuve Legrand) (1791), and in the same year we find Veronique Legrand Babinge or Babing; Charles Boyer dit Laffond or Laffont (1791); John Reburn (1791); Joseph Sansfaçon (1791); Alexander Sampson (1791), afterwards in Little Prairie and river Gayoso; Louis St. Aubin, senior (1791), his son Louis, junior, in 1800 was on Big Lake, also lived at Little Prairie; Jean Baptiste St. Aubin (1791); Pedro Saffray (1791), merchant and trader, owned property on Lake Ricardo, in 1804 he arranged to leave the post to spend the winter and trade among the Indians, but was detained by a suit on accounts, in 1800 engaged himself to Gabriel Cerré for two years as clerk and book-keeper, but Cerré says on account of drunkenness, etc., was compelled to dismiss him in 1801, Saffray remained at the post, however, subject to his command till the end of the engagement, and claimed his salary; Pierre Sabourin (1791) merchant, native of Parish of Point Claire, Montreal, Canada, married Marie Anne (Marianne) Dubez, native of Vincennes; Sanschagrín (1791); Louis Tonnelier (1791), a witness at the marriage of Joseph Laplante; Louis Violet (1790), had a son named Emanuel Violet he left in care of Jean Dennir, who it seems raised him; François Vachette dit St. Antoine (1791); Samuel Black (1792), a native of Flanders; Henry Bagley (or Bacley), a trader, died in New Madrid in 1792, seems to have been a man of means as he had a large inventory; a Henry Badley was here in 1791, and a firm called Bacley, Hewet & Co.; Don Juan Bartelet (1792), a dealer in New Madrid, slave owner; Joseph Theodore Baillet (1792); William Bartelet (1792); Philip Briscot (1792); Joseph Blacborn (Blackburn) (1792); Noël Berthiaume (1792); Hypolite Canyseau (Campeau) (1792); Ephraim Connor (1792), a native

His son George Wilson was the first sheriff of New Madrid after the cession of the country. He was a merchant, and in 1802 sexton of the parish.

of New Hampshire, son of Benjamin Connor and Marie Fogne in 1793 married Lucy Morris, a native of Maryland, Prince George county, daughter of John Morris and Nancy Mason; Philippe Chifler (Schiffler) (1792); François Cockrel (1792); William Cohen (Cowen), also spelled Culhoon and Caouenne, a native of Carlisle, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania (1792) laborer, married Marie Block, daughter of Henry Block and Marie Hamer of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania; Joseph Cerezo or Ceres (1792) was in service of Antoine Gamelin and Pedro Saffray as book-keeper and manager of their distillery, was also at Portage of river St. François; Julia Campeau (1792) widow of Jean Baptiste Charetier (Chartier) their son Jean Baptiste, junior, native of Vincennes also lived in New Madrid, in 1803 married Françoise Latremonille, daughter of Jacques Latremonille and Marie Lafleur, natives of Vincennes; Toussaint Coder (or Godair) (1792); John Davis (1792) married Nancy Pritchett and who survived him living in New Madrid in 1796; Thomas or David Davis dit David Johnson (1792) on lake St. Marie; Moses Decker (1792); Baptiste Foucher (1792) married Anne Gabriel Besnard; Bonaventure Foucher, a resident of Vincennes in 1770, came to New Madrid in 1792; Charles Guilbeaut, Guilboud, Guilbault (or Guilbert) (1791), from Vincennes, parish St. François, slave owner, in 1801 at Little Prairie and lake Isidore; Joseph Gonet (1792), in 1802 on river Gayoso; Claude Joseph Gonet (1793) native of parish of St. Julien in, France, son of deceased Claude Joseph Gonet and Barby Juliet; Richard Gras (or Grace); Russell Huitt (Hewitt) (1792) carpenter, employed by McCoy, was one of the heirs of Henry Bagley, also owned property on lake St. Thomas; John James (1792); Francisco Jourdin (1792); Jacob Myers (1792) dit Roberson Pearson, official carpenter, in this year built probably a temporary church, for which he received from Portelle \$400, and in 1793 another church, was sergeant of a company of militia, and in 1795 conducted a public tavern for one year, obligating himself not to sell liquor or strong drink to any Indians or colored slaves under penalty of thirty piastres and the confiscation of his liquor. This Jacob Myers was a native of Lancaster, Pennsylvania; in 1801 married Cheriatt Lee, a native of Maryland. Moses Lansford (1791) lived at or near Fort Celeste, also owned property on the Mississippi in St. Louis district at Petite Rocks, in 1800, which he bought of Jacques Clamorgan, who had acquired it of Jean Dodge (Dodge) of Ste. Genevieve; George Lansford also lived in New Madrid; Paul Portneuf dit Laderoute (1786) native of Illinois, son of Paul Portneuf dit Laderoute and Louise (or Lisette) Debois, in 1793 married Marie Ann Derosier, (widow of deceased Joseph Dubez) native of village St. Pierre of Illinois, daughter of Bonaventure Derosier and Judith Larivier. Two of the witnesses to this marriage were, François Leonas and Bonar Arizabel. Juan Christianero (1792) (a German whose real name was Johann Christian Gerold) soldier of infantry at Fort Celeste; John François Laloue or Laluz (1792) at Fort Celeste; Pedro Languedoc (1792); François Languedoc (1792); Jean Moise (Moses) Malboeuf (1791); William Mack (or Mock) (1792), native of Virginia, son of Rudite (Randolph) Mock and Catherine Trombeau, married Ruth Morris, daughter of John Morris and Nancy Mason, natives of Prince George county, Maryland, was on lakes St. Ann and St. François; Marie Morgan (1792) in the village on the Mississippi; James McCulloch (1792) also on lake St. Thomas; Frederick Ostman (1792), his property at his death sold to J. B. McCourtney; Pierre Philberry (1791), sold in this year to Don Thomas Portelle five thousand shingles at six pesos per hundred; Pedro Padget (1792); Thomas Pardon (or Purdon) (1792); Antoine Petit (1792) contracted with Joseph Michel to do carpenter work; Ebenezer L. Platte (1792); Etienne St. Marie (1792), on lake St. Mary and Bay of Portage of river St. François, his children were Thereza, Ursula, Etienne, Joseph, Louis and François; William Spann (or Spahn) a German, (1792) married Ann Catarina, daughter of Andrew Toucanbroud; Andrew

Not long after the establishment of the post of New Madrid in 1789, the public road,—*el camino real*,—the King's Highway,—was marked out, following the old Indian trail running from New Madrid

Toucanbroud, a German (Trockenbrot) (1792), in 1794 on lake Eulalie; John Toucanbroud was here in 1793; Jean Baptiste Tailtreau (1792) engages himself to Joseph Turcotte for one month as *bucheur* (wood-chopper) at 16 piastres; Isaac Thomson (1792), in 1802 on Mill Prairie, slave owner; Conel Boyle (1794); Jacob Bogard (or Beaugard) (1794), in 1800 on road to Illinois adjacent to John Friend; Noel Berthiaume (1792), his wife Marie Louise Berthiaume, still lived in New Madrid in 1802; François Boudean (Bandeau) corporal 2d company militia of New Madrid, died 1793; Joseph Barbier (1793); Pierre Brouillet, son of Louis Brouillet and Louise Denoyer, died in New Madrid in 1793; Charles Curott (or Curote) (1793) merchant, twenty-eight years of age, afterwards on lake St. Mary, his son Charles baptised in 1804; Pedro Champagne (1793); François Michel Chilard (1793); Clodio (Glot) Antoine Gabriel Coupin (1793); William Chambers (1793) engages himself to Philip Ducomb as carpenter for four months; Benjamin Clermont (1793); Jean Baptiste Fovret died 1793, was buried at New Madrid, was native of Masquas———of Three Rivers, Canada; Philip Ducomb married Mary Gilbert (or Guilbert); Jean Baptiste Droulliez (1793); Juan Dunn (1793); Jacob Alcorez (1793) soldier; Carlos Depaw (Depauw) (1793); Eloy Frere (1793); Thomas Fardome (or Vardome) (1793) employed by McCoy to cultivate and build on his land at lake St. Isidore; Juan Simon Guerin (1793) mason and brick layer in 1799; François Hamelin (or Amelin) (1793) Joachim (1793), probably corrupted to Joseph Swashon a resident in 1800; François Grand; Jean Jeram (Germain) (1793) John Klein (1793) German; Nicholas Lesieur (1793); Joseph Amoureux (1793), native of Boucheville, Canada, married Marie Louise Dapron at Vincennes in 1780, daughter of Guillaume Dapron and Louise Clermont, and they had one son, Joseph, junior. Joseph, senior, was a blacksmith as early as 1769, and after his removal to New Madrid was in partnership as lock and blacksmith with Pierre Payant; owned a number of slaves; a Creole slave of his bought his liberty for \$100; Miquel Emile Joseph Lefebvre (1793); François Leonard (1793) witness at wedding of Paul Portneuf; Jean Adrian Langlois (1793) native of Paris, France, parish of St. Germain, merchant living formerly at Kaskaskia, also owned property in Gallipolis, slave owner, his son Jean Adrain in 1802 married Theresa Bouillette, daughter of Guillaume Bouillette and Mary Madalaine Gosse, native of Brienne, France; Cirile Leduc (1793) and on lake St. Mary; Didier Marchant (or Marchand) (1793) soldier of the militia; Robert McMahan (1793); John Pritchard (1793) (or Pritchett); Juan Nicolas Pierre (1793) stone mason; François Juan Pierre Glot (1793); François Patier (1793); Jacob Pain (1793); Joseph and Pierre Perodot (or Paradot) (1793) also Elizabeth, widow of Jean Baptiste Berton dit St. Martin, daughter of Joseph Perodot and Angelique Lafleur; Ramona Pamar (or Romain Damar or Ramar) (1793), or may be Ramos; François Picard (1793); Susana Preston (1793) Irish descent; Antoine Perra (1793) soldier of artillery; Pinto (1793) soldier; one Pritchett (1793) engages Philip Ducomb to teach his son Thomas Pritchett, aged 12 years, to read and write French; George Robock (or Roebuck) (1793) and on lakes St. François and Isidore; Antoine Jose Rouby (1793) also on lake St. Isidore; Jose Rindo (1793); Thomas Rivière dit Ricard (1793) died at the home of Joseph Michel; Carlos Leonardo Soudry (1793); Juan Baptiste Sallier (1793) a slave owner; Carlina Seek (widow) (1793), German; François St. Aubin (1793); Baptiste Tonnelier (1793) Andre Tardiveau (1793) at Fort Celeste; Pierre Tardiveau (1793); Marie Warlia (1793); Philberry Wilson (1792) secured a divorce from his wife; Thomas Yous (1793); Jean Baroes (1794); Joseph Collins (1794) possibly Captain Joseph Collins who, in 1799, went to the West Indies, and was the son of Mrs. Nancy Gill, wife likely of James Gill; James Adams (1794); Laurent Amelin (Hamelin) (1794); Michel Clermont (1794), his wife Catherine Mallet died in 1804; Jacques Cottee (or Cotte) (1794), merchant, on lake

north to St. Louis. This road passed through what is now known as Big Prairie and the Rich Woods, to Scott county; thence across the hills to Cape Girardeau, to Ste. Genevieve, and from there to St.

St. Marie in 1800, his wife Suzanne Legrand, secured loan with property, including billiard table near bayou St. John along the Butte de Lesieur; Jean Baptiste Chodion (1794); Jacob Cross (or Croise) of Pennsylvania in 1794 sold a slave in New Madrid; Pierre Riche Dumay (1794) owned two slaves, in 1799 on lake St. Mary, on Hubble creek, in 1804 at Tywappity and in 1800 at the old Cape in Cape Girardeau district; Thomas Diez (1794); Jean Baptiste Duchassin (1794) Dr. Domingo Fleitar (1794) (a German) doctor of medicine at New Madrid; Jean Marie Hanimer (1794); John Handley (1794) from Kentucky; Jean Jourdin (1794) employed by Nicolas Jean Pierre; François La Rivière (1794); Joseph Michel (1794), merchant and trader, son of deceased Jean Baptiste Michel and Madeline Vital, natives of Longeville, dependence of Gener, married in 1804 Elizabeth Lafond, a native of Ste. Genevieve, daughter of deceased Dr. Jean Baptiste Lafond and Charlotte Lacourse, a sister of Elizabeth married Robert McCoy. Michel also owned property on the Pémiscon, was a slave owner, and had a horse-mill on lake St. Mary; Louis Augustin Tarteron de Lebeaume (1792) a Frenchman, and speculator, his wife Adelle Du temple; François Morel (1794); Paul Porier (1793); Parisien (1794); Antoine Peine (1794); Pierre Servan (or Servant) (1794); Nicolas Tessier (1794); Gregoire Reso (1794) Hyacinth Berthiaume (1795) merchant, also on river St. François; Hypolite Bolon or Boulon (1795) interpreter of the Indian languages for the king was also a resident here for a time; Cologne (1795); Portell Coutre (1795); Charles Campbell (1795) son of Thomas and Lucretia Grant Campbell, of Culpepper county, Virginia, married Catherine Brown, of Washington county, Pennsylvania, daughter of John Brown and Marie ———— Lordenberg, married by the commandant of the post in this year; Jean Comb, died in New Madrid in 1794 at the home of Madame Marquet; Antoine Denoyon (1795); Girard Derlac (1795), native of Bordeaux, France, son of Bernard Derlac and Jeanne Lagune, married Marie Constance Guibault, daughter of Charles Guibault and Cecelia Thriot, native of Vincennes, in 1802, at Little Prairie and Grand rue Gayoso; Manuel Diaz (1795) soldier; Michael Fortier (1795) trader at New Orleans, but not in New Madrid; Andrew Godare (Goder or Godaire or Godair dit Tagarouche) (1795), native of Vincennes, son of Pierre Goder (or Godair) and Susan Boulan, married Barbe Hunot, daughter of Joseph Hunot and Marie Josephine Robert, natives of Vincennes, afterwards in 1803 Godare married Française Bonneau, native of Vincennes, present at wedding Andre Goder, Jeune; Carlos Grimar (1795); Jean Baptiste Grimar (or Grimard) (1795) son of deceased Pierre Grimar and Genevieve Colon, natives of Vincennes, and in 1804 married Française DesRousse, native of Vincennes, widow of deceased François Paquette (daughter of François DesRousse and Veronique Mittaye), Tirtart was brother-in-law of Française, Grimar also owned property on lake Gayoso; Augustine Grande (or Grandes) (1795), sergeant at New Madrid, but afterwards commandant of the post near the present Memphis named "Campo Esperanza"; Madeline Hunot (1795); Jacob McCluny, of Washington, Pa., asks payment of cargo of flour wrecked near New Madrid in 1795, through his agent David Cook; Fernando Munos, a sailor, died in New Madrid in 1795; Joseph McCourtney (1795) native of Ireland, son of William McCourtney and Margarita M. Kalchender, married Prudentia Pritchett, native of Virginia, daughter of John Pritchett, Michel Raille (or Riley) a witness; Burwell Overby (1795) a merchant, in 1799 purchased property in St. Louis; François Paquette (or Pacquette) (1794), native of Montreal, Canada, parish St. Vincent, son of Pierre Paquette and Marie Agnes Charisson, married Française DesRousse, native of Vincennes, daughter of François DesRousse (or Deroussier) and Veronique Mittaye, (she afterwards married J. B. Grimar); Manuel Perez, sergeant of troops; Ambroise Seraphine (1795); Manuel Sanchez (1795) sailor; John Barry (1796); Francisco Couteley (Coutley) dit Marcheàterre (1796), a Canadian, in

Louis. The road is still a great traveled highway on substantially the original line from New Madrid north to Ste. Genevieve. It was also known by the early American pioneers as the "Illinois" road because

1799 on bayou St. Thomas; Joseph Charpentier (1796); Anna Collins Gill, (1796); Rosalie and Louisa Gamelin (1796); William Goudin (1796); Jacob Gool (1796); Juan Halley (1796); Alexander Laforge (1796); Pierre Sabourin (1791) a native of Montreal, married Marianna Dubé, her mother Marianna De Rozier, came to New Madrid from Vincennes; John Russell (1796); Luis and Hypolite St. Jean (1796); Antoine Vachette dit St. Aubin (1796), (probably instead of "Vahette" should be "Casse", and Antoine Vachard dit Mimi L' Ardoise was also here in 1796, and in St. Louis district prior to 1790. He was a Canadian, and in 1806 married Margaret Saborough (or Laborough). Jean Vian (or Viot) dit Gascon (1796), afterwards at bayou St. John, Grand Marais and Big Lake, was brother-in-law to Jean Baptiste Chartier, junior; Jean Baptiste Bonneau (1797); Rouette Boulanger (1797) at Fort Celeste; John King (1797); Florencio Millan (1797) first sergeant of the Fixed regiment of Louisiana; Ansilme McColum (1797); Joachim Riendeau (1797) a teamster at New Madrid; Daniel Wagner (1797), seems to have been in New Madrid; Walling Fitch (1797) carpenter; Barthélemi Corvaisier (1798); Samuel Hill (1798) boarded with Burwell Overby; Joseph Laferny (Lafresniere) (1799), merchant in New Madrid, creole de las Illinois, slave owner, owned property in Big Prairie on lake St. John near where Sikeston now is, and in 1802 owned property on lake St. Mary including horse-mill and buildings; Jean Baptiste St. Marie, junior, (1799), son of François St. Marie and Marie Ann Boyer, had property near New Madrid on lakes; Claude Thiriet (or Thiriôt) (1796) merchant, in 1800 on bayou St. Henry in Big Prairie; John Whelan (1797); Elie (or Elias) Carter (1800) on lake St. John; Jesse Claywel (1800) his wife was Catherine Cooper; Charles Crabbin (1800); Charles Castruget, Chasturget (or Castonget) (1800), orphan who seems to have lived with Antoine Vachard, was on lake St. Mary and twenty-seven miles north of New Madrid; François and Jean Baptiste Dupine (or Dupin) (1800); Peter Garreau (1800), married a Miss Perrodeau (or Paradot), in 1802 in Little Prairie on the Mississippi and also owned property on lake St. Mary; James Rogers lived near the village; Sarah Hansberg in 1799 was a resident of New Madrid, having lived there for several years; George Johnson (1799), was in business in New Madrid and owned property on lake Ricardo; Charles Logan (1800) also on the St. François in the St. Genevieve district; François Lacombe (1880) did business in New Madrid as a merchant, probably the same who was in St. Louis district; Gabriel Parquer (or Parks) (1800), merchant from Kentucky, slave owner; John Robb (1800) American merchant; Nicholas Savage (1800); Jonathan Shelby (1800) son of David; Jean ————Thiriôt (1800), son of Julia Campeau, native of Vincennes; Nicolas Tirart (or Tirard), lived at New Madrid prior to 1800, native of Vincennes, also lived at Little Prairie, his son Louis, a Creole, in 1800 married Marie Reine DesRousse (daughter of François DesRousse) of Vincennes, their daughter Marie was baptised in 1804, in 1802 this Louis lived on river Gayoso; Jean Butter (or Butler) (1800), evidently John Butler, who brought suit against Jesse Demint and Andre Simpson (1801), a farmer from Pennsylvania, was imprisoned at one time; François D' Hibercourt (or D'Hèbécourt), a French interpreter; William McKem (1801) near the village; Pierre Matry (1801); François McCoy (1801); Louis Pelard, a witness at New Madrid; Ambroise Bissonnet (1802), his wife Julia Harpin (it seems she also married George Germain); Joseph Belan (Bellan or Bolon) dit Laviolette (1802) in village fronting the Mississippi, married Louise Prudhomme, native of Montreal, Canada, his son Ignace Belan in 1804 married Rosalie Millette (daughter of deceased Jean Baptiste Millette,) Joseph Belon in 1804 engaged himself to Etienne St. Marie to go to the river St. François to trade with the Indians; Adam Boyne (1802); William Daperon (1802) and on portage of river St. François; Carlos Chartres (1802); Joseph Etre (1802); Joseph Eastus (1802) six miles south of New Madrid, on lake St. François; Benjamin Fooy (1802) seems to have been a

it led to what was then known as the "Illinois country" north of Apple creek and to St. Louis as far as the Missouri river. This road passed through Cape Girardeau and Ste. Genevieve, but paths led from it to the chain of rocks above Commerce, and to the mouth of Apple creek, and connected with old traces and paths on the east side of the river. Captain Charles Friend, from Monongahela (Monongalia) county, Virginia, in 1799 was one of the earliest settlers on this road, near the present town of Benton, at the foot of what is now known as the Scott county hills. Captain Friend was an officer in the Revolutionary war, and with nine sons and two daughters came to upper Louisiana in the year named.⁶¹ The

surveyor here in 1804 but afterwards at Esperanza encampment; James Ferres (or Ferrer), junior, Jean and Humphrey Ferres (1802); Jean Baptiste Hernault (1802) near the village; Fanny Hard (1802), a white woman, a captive among the Shawanoes; Guillaume Hinkson (1802) (1803) sergeant of the garrison; Jonathan Stoker (1802); Mathias Belsome (1803), carpenter; Marie Block (1803) presented a bill to estate of Thomas Powers for nursing in last sickness; Chénne dit Stephen Dumas; Isidore Dupin, native of Montreal, Canada, son of Xavier Dupin, married Marie DeRousse, and their son François was baptized in 1804; Elizabeth Gamelin (1803); Christopher G. Houts; Samuel Houston; John Henthow (Henthorn in Cape Girardeau militia company) Abraham Kiner (1803); Michel Amoureux (1803) recorder of district of New Madrid, bought property on lake St. Ann, seems also to have been interpreter, in 1806 was deputy surveyor, and in 1808 judge of probate; Jean Baptiste Aime prior to 1803 owned property on the Mississippi one mile from New Madrid, and was probably Jean Baptiste Aime, junior, son of Charles Aime, deceased, native of Ste. Genevieve, who in 1802 married Marie Louis Belon, daughter of Joseph Belon (or Belan—Beland) dit Laviolette; David Allein (1802), locksmith by profession; Jean Baptiste LaTremouille, a cooper; Antoine Lafond, owned property on lake St. Isidore; Major J. B. McCourtney; François Martinez, corporal; Peggy Curtis Snaling (Snelling), lived at home of François Barthélemy Corvaisier, was a cousin of his wife, and of Elisha and Philip Craig, who came to New Madrid in 1804; Pierre Antoine Tabeaux (Thibault) merchant from Cahokia; Louis Vachard, married Marie Ann Thibault, their daughter Julia baptised in 1804; Elisha Winters (1801); Ephraim Dunbar (1804) sergeant of the garrison of the post of New Madrid; Joseph Gravier (1802) merchant making frequent trips up the Mississippi, also in Little Prairie and Mill Prairie, his wife was Louise Chauvin whom he divorced in 1804, she was a sister-in-law of LaVallée; William Swan (1804); William Scott (1804), merchant. Louis Baby was another early resident of New Madrid. He was a member of the distinguished French-Canadian family, a name grouped by Sulte "avec la noblesse authentique formait la classe supérieure du Canada." Appointed Jacques Baby, negociant at Detroit, as attorney to receive for him his succession of the estate of Louise de Conagne, his mother, of Montreal, Canada, widow of Colonel Louis Baby, his father, he being the only child. Was on Lake St. Mary in 1800, and owned property on river Gayosa that year.

⁶¹ The sons were named respectively, Aaron, Israel, Teene, Charles, Jacob, John, Alexander, David and Jonas. Jonas, John, Jacob and Charles each secured a grant of land under the Spanish government in Tywappity. Schoolcraft mentions an Augustine Friend as a settler on White river, five miles below the shoals, in 1819, and where he was treated with much hospitality. Doubtless a member of the same family of pioneers.—Tour of the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas, p. 71 (London Ed. 1820).

principal settlement in what was then and ever since known as Big Prairie, in the New Madrid district was located on or near this old highway.

The precise territorial jurisdiction of the commandants at New Madrid and Cape Girardeau were for a time a matter of dispute. This New Madrid jurisdiction appears to have at one time extended at least as far north as the so-called Big Swamp, a bottom about three miles wide, located immediately south of Cape Girardeau city, and called by the French *Grand Marais*. The New Madrid district always embraced the Tywappity bottom, situated opposite the mouth of the Ohio, as well as all the country as far west as White river.⁶² Before the establishment of the civil and military post of Cape Girardeau, the jurisdiction of the commandant of New Madrid extended as far north as Cinque Homme creek, this creek being named as the northern limit of the claim of Morgan. On the south, the jurisdiction of the Arkansas post seems to have extended as far north as the mouth of the St. Francois and west to White river, this being the limit of the New Madrid district in that direction, thus apparently making the limits of the district co-extensive with Morgan's claim.

The principal settlement near New Madrid was located on Lake St. Ann, and among the first settlers on this lake was Joseph Story, already mentioned. Story for a time lived in the town of New Madrid, but in 1799 had a farm on lake St. Henry. Along bayou St. John, emptying its waters into the Mississippi at New Madrid, there was another settlement, extending north and along this bayou.⁶³ On lake St.

⁶² The Indian name of White river was "Niska."

⁶³ The settlers here were, Thomas Young Horsley (1792); John Harvey, a resident of the village in 1792, had a tract fronting on the Mississippi and this lake; Jean Biggs (1793), native of London, England, son of Samuel Biggs and Elizabeth Massendow, married Martha Ann Smith (widow of deceased Miller) native of England "en une partie de Irlande", daughter of John and Rachel Smith. This wife died, it seems, in about three weeks, and he afterwards married Elizabeth Robertson (widow of Aaron Henry Thompson) in the same year, native of Dunfrees, north of Brittany, daughter of Daniel Robertson, David Dabbyan one of the witnesses. He sold a slave he had acquired from his first wife, Martha Ann, to Elisha Jackson for \$200. Solomon and Charles Thorn, brothers, were witnesses; Juan Frederick (1793); James Gill (1794), born 1736 at Drogheda, Ireland, was sawyer and bombardier in Captain John Bryce's company, received his discharge in 1781, at Philadelphia, and in 1784 was at Cape May sawing for Edmonston & Living, and in 1793 was master of a grain boat sent from Pittsburg to Fort Washington to John Ballie, deputy quartermaster; in 1798 in New Madrid; John Horner (or Nomer) (1796); Thomas Johnson (1795), in 1800 left New Madrid on a voyage, making LaVallée his attorney; John Summers (1794) sold in 1800 to John Lovel; Francois Fordney, (Fordoney or Fordonic) (1796); Thomas Brucks (1798) also a resident of the village, in 1803 property was sold by his widow, Ann Brucks,

Marys, Stephen and Joseph St. Marie, though residents of New Madrid, in 1791, had their plantations, so also François St. Marie dit Bourbon.⁶⁴ They all came from Vincennes, and were ancient inhabitants of that place. François married Marie Ann Boyer. In addition Louis Vandenbenden, who lived at New Madrid in 1795, had property on this lake and lake St. Isidore. He was a native of Flanders and a civil engineer, came to New Madrid from Gallipolis, and by Baron Carondelet was appointed to erect the fortifications of St. Louis in 1797. He also enjoyed the friendship of Gayoso. His brother Joseph with Audrain, Tardiveau & Company, was interested in a flour contract with the Spanish government. To supply the flour under this contract the firm built a mill on bayou St. Thomas, which in 1796 was much admired by General Collot. He says that the mill was erected on pilework and that the work was done with

whose first husband was James Gill; a DeBrucks seems to have been here prior to 1803; or maybe the same as Thomas Brooks; Daniel and William Frazier (1799), in 1801 at Tywappity and 1802 on lake St. Mary, were sons of John; Jenkins Harris (1798) presented a bill for service in sickness of Thomas Brucks, his daughter Elizabeth married Antoine Lafond; David Devore (1802) son of Luke, two miles from mill of R. J. Waters; Alexander Frazier (1802); John Elliott; Henry Block, sold his property in 1806 and moved to lake Ricardo.

⁶⁴ The first plantations were opened by David Shelby (1796), of Pennsylvania, relative of Isaac, married first Elizabeth Bolon, they had two children, James living in the state of Pennsylvania, and Elizabeth the wife of James Burns of Bois Brule; his second wife was the widow of James Farris, Catherine Belle, they had three children, Reese, Elie and Marie, all minors in 1802; he also had a son, Jonathan, in 1800 his widow sold land at a place called New Hampshire, on lake St. Mary, she died in 1802; Jacob Crow (1795) also on lake Thomas; Nicolas Daperon (or Dapron) (1797), and in 1802 in the town, his wife was Marie Louise Racine, their son Nicolas, junior, was baptised in 1804; Peter Daperon (1797) William Cox (1800) and in 1802 at Tywappity; Peter LaBombard (1800); Pierre Sans Quartier (1800); Antoine Trudell (1800); Jean Baptiste Langlois (1800); Daniel Ritchel (1801); William Dunkin (Duncan) (1801), a Madame Dunkins presented a bill against the estate of Thomas Brucks for nursing him in last sickness; Daniel Hazel (1801); William Harris Glass (1801), in 1803 was implicated in an affair which caused him to be fined, and he left the post; Charles Nelson (1802); Jacob Self (1803), on this lake and in Big Prairie; Patrick Connor (1803); Martin Coons (1803), and lake St. Mary; Francois Collell (1802), sells at public sale the property of Bonaventure Collell on lake St. John; Jesse Demint (1800) carpenter; Etienne Dumay (1803) a miller by profession, brother of Joseph Etienne, junior, also here; Luke Devore (1801) also at lake Ricardo; Jones (1803); Hugh Burnett (1803); Amos Rawls (1801), son of Hardy Rawls, at Cypress swamp on this lake, cowhided Jacob Myers, who sued him for damages, getting \$150; Baptiste (or Jean Baptiste) Lafleur (1796); Elie Pettibone (1802); Daniel Wentzell (1804) was a saddler by profession, and in 1801 kept a tavern at Louisville, as he came up the Mississippi in a barge his wife, Marie Duffie died, and was buried at a place called Clover creek, they had one child named David who lived with his father and followed his profession; William Hunter and son Harris came with them; James McKinley; Joseph Westbrook, farmer. Christopher Bryant (1796) described as "haviendo una grande familia y tres hijos hombres."

much "solidite et d'intelligence" by M. Vandenbenden, an "ingenieur Hollandais." Louis Vandenbenden married Franaise Godfrey, in New Madrid in 1797.⁶⁵

Five miles north of New Madrid, on the highest point of lake St. Marys, Benjamin Myers,⁶⁶ a carpenter, leased a plantation, and probably lived there, though he was a resident of the village in 1793. Six miles north of the village Hardy Rawls had a clearing; he was a native of Kentucky and a slave owner. Seven and one half miles

⁶⁵ Residents of New Madrid and others who settled on this lake were: Thomas Ward Caulk (1792) slave owner, and in 1804, owned property at Bon Homme settlement, his son Thomas, junior, also here in the same year; Ambroise Dumas (1792) native of Canada, came from Vincennes to this district, his son Ambroise, junior, came in 1791; Francisco Falconer (1794) died in 1797; George Yuros (Unos or Norris) (1796) near this lake and lake St. Eulalie; William Bouillette (or Brouillette) (1797), native of Brienne, France; Joseph Brant (1795) on this lake northeast of Dry Run, in 1801, was a shoemaker in New Madrid; Patrick Cassidy (1797); John Crow (1796); Alexander Auguste Fallin (or Follin) (1797); Franois Foisy (1798) and on lake Le Sieur; John Lamb (1798) a carpenter, and in 1801 on lake St. John. James M. and Daniel McMillan (1798); John McClelland (1796); Samuel Parker (1798), on this lake in Mill Prairie; Andrew Scott (1798) and in 1799 on Big Prairie; Isadore Skerett (Skerritt) (1796), married Sarah Miller, and in 1804 at Wappenok bayou near Hope Field, (Esperanza) as assignee of Adam Boynton; Leonard Rope (Roper or Raper) English (1797); Robert Rogers (1796) slave owner; John Tucker (1797), in 1802 at Tywappity; Robert White (1798) in 1800 on lake Ricardo, and others; Christopher Windsor (1796), in 1799 exchanged property with David Shelby, was in business in New Madrid in 1801; Richard Westbrook; David Johnson (1799) from Kaskaskia, native of Fort Pitt, son of David and Pallee Johnson, in 1804 married Elizabeth Skerritt, native of "State of Cumberland" (Tennessee), daughter of Isadore Skerritt-Jean Chosier; Modeste Bouillette and Margaret Raper were witnesses; Madame Leduc (1799); James Smith (1799) a blacksmith and local smith on this lake in Mill Prairie, sold out in 1802; Robert Caldwell (1800) farmer from Kaskaskia, where in 1804 four hundred acres were confirmed to his heirs, four or five miles from the headwaters of Richland creek in St. Clair county; Conrad Carpenter (1798) bought property here and on lake St. Thomas, the latter he sold in 1803 including a cotton-mill; he died about 1803, was twice married, his first wife being Catherine Law—four children, Barbe, Margarite, Benjamin and Silas; his second wife, Marie Karn, (widow of one Custeau) had two children, Catherine and James. Carpenter and Armstrong worked at Lafernay's mill; Franois Dupah (or Dupit) (1800); Antoine Dumay (1800); John Frazier (1800) in Big Prairie on lake St. Mary; James Farris (1800) married Catherine Belle (who afterwards married David Shelby, who also left her a widow), their three sons were Jean, Humphrey and James, lived at New Madrid; Peter Kline (1800); James Ferry (1801); James Dunkin (1802) John Lathan (1801); Richard Masters (1801); William Zanes (1801); James Scott (1802) in New Madrid in the previous year; John McQuilkin (or McKouilkin) (1802); Auguste Delarebondiere (1803); Alain Burgsuebb (a German) (1803); Allen Bird Grob (or Grubb) (1803) slave owner; Jonas Carl, laborer, also on lake St. Ann; Peter Newkirk (1803) John Wiley (or Whyley) (1803); John Link (1803); Germain Ouillet (or Ouillette) (1800); LeRoy Pope, from Georgia, bought property on this lake.

⁶⁶ German, native of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, son of Jacob Myers and Helen Ventricle; in 1804 married Rebecca Patterson, native of New Brunswick, daughter of Benjamin Patterson and Betsy Safford.

north, Augustine Trudell lived in 1794, but afterwards sold his place to Jean Baptiste Barsaloux (1796) and removed to the Arkansas district, where he secured a concession from Francisco Casso y Lueño, commandant of the Arkansas post in 1802. Sojourner bought from Barsaloux and lived on this place in 1804. In 1802 Richard and Daniel Hazel lived ten miles north of New Madrid, and Robert Quimby, a blacksmith of Tywappity in 1801, opened a farm at the foot of the hills, now in Scott county, in 1803. His nearest neighbors were John, Charles, and Jacob Friend.

Three miles northwest of New Madrid, and west of this lake St. Marys, Jean Baptiste Racine, dit L'Empeigne,⁶⁷ lived on lake St. Isidore in 1793. He was a native of France. Benjamin Patterson settled on a grant on lake St. Isidore in 1797. Jean Baptiste Gobeau, an interpreter, in 1797, was on this lake; he married Rosalie Lafond, daughter of Dr. Jean Baptiste Lafond.⁶⁸ Edward Robertson, a trader and a merchant, removed from the Cape Girardeau district to Big Prairie in 1798, and was made syndic of this settlement; owned slaves, and was also authorized "to sell and put off liquor at his place." He had served in the Revolutionary war, and came to the Spanish possessions in 1795, settling first in the Cape Girardeau district, adjoining Andrew Ramsay, but sold out his claim there to him. In 1800 he sold his property in Big Prairie to John McCoulkin, including orchard, horse-mill, and distillery.⁶⁹ It is not known where he died. Peter Egains or Higgens, native of Pennsylvania, county of York, in 1798, was a resident of this prairie; for a time he made his home with Benjamin Demint on bayou St. Thomas, and seems to have been a man of considerable property. Daniel Barton in 1799 bought property in this prairie where he had a mill and other buildings.⁷⁰

On bayou St. Thomas, a stream west of the waters of bayou St.

⁶⁷ Probably the same L'Empeigne who was courier and spy in the employ of the Spanish authorities in 1793-1794, when Genet's filibustering enterprise threatened upper Louisiana. See Lorimier's Journal, p. 8 et seq.

⁶⁸ Also lived in the village of New Madrid. His children were, Marie, Louise, François, Celeste, Pierre and Auguste Samuel.

⁶⁹ Joel Bennett was another resident on this lake as early as 1796; Joseph Lewis (1796) Robert McCoy going with him to the commandant as interpreter; Benjamin Douglas (1802) lived with this Joseph Lewis, or on his land; James Macee (or Massey) (1796).

⁷⁰ Married Catherine Medard, and his daughter married Moses Hurley. In 1802 he boarded with Andrew Scott, paying \$10 per month, including sewing and washing; he made a trip to South Carolina; on his return did work in connection with cotton-mill of Christopher Winsor, who was to pay him in ginned cotton packed and inspected, at 25 piastres per hundred, agreeable to the rules of the district.

John and about six miles north of New Madrid, one of the oldest settlements in the country was made. Here Joseph La Plante, dit Thitant, Thisant or Thifault, a merchant of New Madrid in 1791, opened a farm in 1792. La Plante came from Kaskaskia where he had rendered military service, having emigrated to Kaskaskia from Vincennes.⁷¹ The first farm in Brushy Prairie, about eight miles north of New Madrid, was opened by Louis Sojourner in 1802, who bought property from Elisha Jackson on Big Prairie for a horse and rifle. Andrew Burns, in 1803, had a farm here; and George Hacker opened a plantation about the same year. Jean Baptiste Peltier, from Kaskaskia, where in 1790 he served in the militia, was on bayou Carondelet in 1801. Pierre⁷² and Jean Baptiste Perron, brothers, and both residents of New Madrid for a time, also cultivated land on this bayou.⁷³ On what was known as lake Eulalie, John Garton

⁷¹ Son of Jacques Laplante, of parish St. Magaline, Quebec; married Genevieve Thibault, a sister of Nicolas Thibault; their son Isidore was baptised in 1804 at New Madrid. Other settlers were John Baptiste Thibault (1795) was a resident on Big Prairie, and on Prairie des Peches; he was a son of Nicolas; François Hudson (1799) from Richmond, Virginia, was an iron worker and locksmith, married a daughter of General Benjamin Harrison, native of New Hampshire or New York, was also a resident of New Madrid; Peter Cline (1799); Antoine and Bernardo Lafond (1799) "creole des los Illinois", also found on lake St. John and Isidore; John Lovell (1799); Peter Lovell (1799); Andrew Ramsay (1799); Nathaniel Shaver (1799) probably the same who was in the St. Louis district; Elizabeth McCardele (1799); Zachariah Thorpe (1799); Thomas and Elisha Windsor (1799) also on bayou St. Henry, Elisha seems to have done considerable work on the plantation of Pierre Higgins, and in 1804 was justice of the peace; Jacob and Conrad Wheat (1799); Solomon Armstrong (1800); Upton C. Butler; David Heaton (or Hatten) (1801); Peter Neal (or Oneal) (1802) in this prairie on lake St. Mary; John Brooks (1802) on the big road; Andrew Robertson (1802), his daughter Elizabeth in 1805 married John Friend; Andrew Robertson, junior, also here; James Riley (1802); Moses Vanses (or Vance); James Douglas, and on lake St. John; John Hawthorn (1802); Jonathan Hurley, on bayou St. Thomas; Francois Millette.

⁷² Native of Vincennes, Pierre Riche Perron married Therese Laviolette, (who afterwards married Joseph Riendeau) their son, Pierre, junior, in 1804 married Marie Ann St. Marie (daughter of Francois Xavier St. Marie and Marie Ann Boyer) natives of Vincennes.

⁷³ Others who were on this bayou and in the neighborhood were: Benjamin Green (1795) and on lake St. Henry; James or Joseph Demint (1796); Sampson Archer (1797), married Catalina McDowell, and both died prior to 1799, the children mentioned in the inventory were, William, born 1787, Dorcas (1789), Singleton (1796), Thomson (1792), in 1800, property at a place called New Hampshire was sold as belonging to this estate, fronting on lake St. Thomas; John Moore (1797) from Ireland; Mathew McCormick (1795); James Bingson (1798) in 1804 sold to his son Holman, and in 1800 transferred property to his son Henry fronting on lake Antoine, another son Daniel owned property here in 1799, and adjacent; Thomas Twentyman (spelled "Tuintiman" in the census of 1796) who afterwards moved to what is now Cooper county, was a member of the first grand jury there after the county was organized in 1820; François Stockley (1792), in 1795 sold out by Portelle for debt; Thomas Neely, from

lived in 1792. Another small settlement existed on lake Le Sieur.⁷⁴ John Wall, a carpenter, was the first settler on lake Ricardo⁷⁵ in 1793, but removed to the Red River country in 1796; married Nancy Archer, a daughter of Capt. Sampson Archer.⁷⁶

South of New Madrid, in what is now Pemiscot county, near where the city of Caruthersville stands, François Le Sieur established a trading post, known as Little Prairie in 1794. He was a lieutenant of the militia, and as such exercised control over the post as civil and military commandant until 1797, although not regularly appointed.⁷⁷ He was the leading and controlling spirit of the settlement. DeLassus says, that he could not write, but his signature to some documents shows that he could at least write his name. The village of Little Prairie was regularly laid out by Joseph Story, surveyor of the New Madrid district, according to plans suggested by Pierre Antoine La Forge, representing the commandant of New Madrid, sometime after Le Sieur made a settlement. The lots each contained one arpen. A fort called San Fernando was constructed on the Mississippi, but both this fort and the site of the original village have long since been carried away by the abrasions of the river. In 1800, Le Sieur erected a horse-mill here, the first industrial establishment of the town. A number of old residents of New Madrid moved to Little Prairie⁷⁸ from time to time after the village was established. It was a prosperous settlement until the earthquakes of 1811.

Tennessee, a relative of William Neely (1797), son-in-law of Anthony Bledsoe; Louis Coignard (1798) of St. Louis, officer of militia, in 1800 bought property in New Madrid where he engaged in business as a merchant, married Julia Benito, their son Charles Napoleon was baptised in 1804; (Is this not the Coignard that gave Carondelet anxiety as a leader of the St. Louis sans-culotte?); Pierre Chevalier; Jesse Pendergrast (1801); Adestine Rogers (1800) on Dry Run near this lake; Robert Trotter (1802); Abraham Keeny (1803), also on bayou St. John; Joseph McAlpine (1798).

⁷⁴ Here resided George Lail, probably George Lail, junior, who in 1800 inherited property from his father George Lail, residing in Bourbon county, Kentucky, prior to 1797; John Hodgins (1802); Dennis Laverture in the militia. As early as 1796 Jean Baptiste Dupuys resided on this lake, but removed to Iberville parish, Louisiana, where he lived in 1803; John Watkins (1802) may be Dr. John Watkins, also found at St. Louis a year later and in 1805 at New Orleans.

⁷⁵ Others on this lake were: Patrick McDuff (1801); John Masters (1802), his sons were Richard, Samuel, Henry, Robert, and Lemuel, Henry afterwards was justice of the peace; William Wiley (or Whylee) (1801); Jennie Pendegrass (1801).

⁷⁶ From Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, in 1792, Captain of the 2d Company of the 2d Battalion of the Westmoreland Regiment.

⁷⁷ See letter of DeLassus to Stoddard, in Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 370.

⁷⁸ Among the early inhabitants of Little Prairie we find: John Gallaher (1801), habitant of Washington county, Pennsylvania, on river Pemiscot near the

North of Little Prairie on Pemiscot (then called Pemiscon) bayou, Hypolite Tirard or Tirart was an early settler.⁷⁹ Ranson (Ransom) Thacker in 1801 had a grant to establish a flour-mill, and Captain George Ruddle, an inhabitant of Little Prairie, who served in the militia as lieutenant and captain, both before and after the purchase of Louisiana, in 1796 opened a farm on this bayou. His family, when he settled in the Spanish possessions, consisted of a wife and six children. He was a slave owner, and a man of substance. Carondelet made a grant of land directly to him. Abraham Ruddle also settled on Pemiscot bayou. They were both sons of Isaac Ruddle, of Ruddle's Station, Kentucky. When Ruddle's Station was captured by the Indians and the English under Colonel Bird, the family of Isaac Ruddle was taken to Ohio and divided among the Indians. Thus Abraham and Stephen, then young boys, came to be assigned to the Shawnees and were taken to Piqua where they were adopted and raised by the Indians. As boys they were playmates of Tecumseh.

village; Hyacinth Gayon (1801); Jean Derlac (1801) in the prairie near the village; Peter Nobless (1801) at Grand Côte; François Ouelette (1791) native of L'Islet parish of Notre Dame, Quebec, Canada, son of François Ouelette and Marie Reine Caron, and either he or his son François married Archange Peltier of Vincennes, daughter of Andrew Peltier; Charles L. Onion (or L'Onion) (1801); Joseph Peigne, (1801) English, also spelled Peignal (or Payne); John Ruddell (or Ruddle or Rudole) (1801) in the prairie on river Pemiscot, his daughter Fanny married François Jervais in 1805; Andrew Summers (1801), also in Cape Girardeau district, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, married Elizabeth, a daughter of George Ruddle; James Simpson (1801), also at Big Prairie, married Pegne (or Peggy) Lovel; Robert Simpson (1794) a resident at one time of Redbanks, Kentucky; Madame Michel-Lacourse (1801); Ebenezer Folsom (or Folsom) (1802); Joseph Genereux (1802), probably same who in 1796 was in St. Charles district; Jean Baptiste Hebert dit Fournier (1802), also owned property on rivers Gayoso and St. François; Richard Jicaye (1802); Firman LeSieur (1802); James Martain, in the prairie on river St. Francois; John Oqueny (1802) near the village; Abraham Smith (1802); Jesse Taylor (1802) on Mississippi near the village; John Watkins (1802) in the prairie near the mill of Mr. Ruddle; Richard Lecoy (or Leroy) (1802); Noel Burke (1803) in prairie on river St. Francois; Eloy Déjarlais; Baptiste Ernard near the village; Amable Gayon (or Guion) slave owner; Thomas Harris, in the prairie; Richard Sicay; Pierre Grimard on the Mississippi in Little Prairie, resident of Big Lake and New Madrid.

⁷⁹ James Clemens (1801), slave owner, had a plantation on this Pemiscot bayou; Benjamin Chaviron (1800); Peter Louis (1801); Absalom Hicklin (1801); Alexander Roy (1802); William Thacker (1802); Abraham Ruddle (1802); Wilson Cummins (or Cummings) (1802); also John and Robert Cummins, on fork of the Pemiscon; Jean Culberson (1802) on this stream near Little Prairie, also lake Gayoso and lake Lesieur; James Canaway (1802), on the south fork of this river; Joseph Jacobs (1802) on north and south fork of Pemiscon; Francois Michel (1802) slave owner, seems to have been in territory in 1793; Alexander Sommerville, on the north fork of Pemiscon; Benjamin Lewis VanAmburg, slave owner, also resident of town; William and Jeremiah Canaway (or Conway); Hezekiah Day of north fork of Pemiscon, and Mississippi.

Abraham Ruddle was six feet one inch high, spare and bony, and in his conversation betrayed that he had been raised by the Indians.⁸⁰ He died in about 1830, on Lake Gayoso. Only a short distance from Little Prairie a number of settlers also received concessions.⁸¹

The most important settlement, south of New Madrid, was at the big Portage of the St. François, as it was designated at that time, near what is now Portageville in New Madrid county. At this point, from a very early period in the history of the country, a portage had been established between the waters of the St. François and the Mississippi. Here canoes and pirogues, came up the St. François and Little rivers through Portage Bay, and cargoes, were carried across the land to waters connecting with the Mississippi. Among the French-Canadian voyageurs who lived here and secured grants, we note Joseph Hunot, who was lieutenant in the militia, and an early resident of New Madrid. His name is signed as witness to many documents from 1791 to 1799. Toussaint Godair or Goder, who at one time resided in the Cape Girardeau district, and afterward in New Madrid, had a concession here.⁸²

On Open Lake near Portage Bay, and connecting with it, Major Jean Baptiste Olive made a settlement in 1797. He was a native of France, and one of the few emigrants residing in upper Louisiana who directly immigrated to the country from France. He first settled at New Madrid, where he was sub-lieutenant of militia, and baker in the army; was also a merchant, and in 1805 a justice of the peace;

⁸⁰ Draper's Notes, vol. 22, No. 45. Isaac Ruddle married Elizabeth Bowman, in Kentucky, in 1779, daughter of Colonel Bowman of the Illinois Regiment. He settled at Ruddle's Station with several families, in 1780, where they were captured. Captain Isaac Ruddle and wife were released through influence of Major Lenoult of the English army who found Captain Ruddle was a fellow-Mason; but the two boys who had been given to the Shawnee Indians could not be found. After they escaped they were much engaged in the Indian wars of the time, and at one time Abraham was again captured by the Indians and in great danger of being killed.

⁸¹ Among others farming on lake Gayoso were: Antoine Poriere (1801); François Trenchard (1802) and John Montmenia (or Monmirel), the last two named at one time resided at New Madrid; François DeLisle (1802), in 1806 married Cesell Gilbeaugh; Charles Loignon (1802); Pierre Robert (1802), son of deceased Pierre Robert and Therese St. Aubin, natives of Detroit, married Jeanne Riendeau, daughter of Joseph Riendeau and Therese Raphiante, or Monmirel, Vincennes; A. P. D. Robert also here; Alexander Jackson (1802); Steward Cummings (1802); Joseph Coupneau (or Coussineau) (1803); Joseph Ferland (1803).

⁸² He married Elizabeth Chapart, and lived for a time at Vincennes; their son Toussaint, junior, in 1800 married Marie Victoire Hunot, native of Vincennes, daughter of Joseph Hunot, senior. A cousin-german Andrew Goder, was present at this wedding.

his wife, Anne Victoire Auguste, owned a number of tracts of land in this section.⁸³ Benoni Patterson opened the first farm on the road between Little Prairie and New Madrid. John Patterson, from Kaskaskia, in 1802, and Hiram Patterson lived in the neighborhood at the same time.

The extensive bottom on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Ohio, from the Scott county hills on the north, to St. James bayou (then called St. Jacobs bayou) on the south, and extending westward to Little river, was then and is still known as Tywappity bottom, the word being variously spelled, "Theouapita," "Tiwap-paty." It was in this bottom of the river that Major Hamtramck wrote that in 1788 a village by the name of "Ze-wa-pe-ta" was formed, thirty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, likely not far from the present town of Commerce, which he says in the summer of that year consisted of 30 to 50 families,⁸⁴ the settlers all being Americans and induced by the Spanish officials to come over the river by liberal land grants.⁸⁵ The soil of this Tywappity bottom is of

⁸³ Probably the first residents on this lake and river were: Jean Baptiste and François Dubois, residents in 1791; Louis Dubois was another early resident, native of Montreal, Canada, in 1797 married Madalaine Hunot (widow of Antoine Gamelin) whose parents were also natives of Canada; Robert Upham (1796); Daniel T. Vaughn (1797); Michel Lacourse (1797), married Joseph Desjarlais, sold property on this lake to Joseph Tremblay, a native seemingly of Canada; Thompson Crawford (1802); Philip Lady (1802); Jean Baptiste Maisenville (1800), also François Maisenville, the same who for a time lived among the Shawnee Indians on Apple creek, and there married a sister of Tecumseh; Etienne St. Marie, junior, son of Etienne residing in the village of New Madrid as early as 1792; Louis Legrand (1803) also at Ste. Genevieve; Henry Goder (Godair) (1795) of Vincennes, brother of Andrew; John Benoist, (or Benoit) (1803); Jean Baptiste Chatillon (1803), also seems to be spelled Chandillon; John Dany (1803), between Big and Small Bay of Portage; Thomas Graves (1803); Pierre Lausson; Labruissier (Labuxiere); Joseph Perez, formerly a soldier; Antoine and Michel Bonneau; Etienne Boveau; Ignace Belon; Joseph Badeau; William Crafford (or Crawford) may be the same also found on the St. François in New Madrid district; Joseph Dumay, laborer, west of this river; Eustache De Lisle, on small Bay of portage; William Doyle, on this river and Cypress creek; Joseph Lapointe.

⁸⁴ See Harmer Papers, vol. 2, pp. 50 *et seq.*

⁸⁵ Probably the earliest settler in this bottom was William Smith, who came, from Kentucky and settled on the Mississippi in 1797, and built an establishment for the convenience of strangers opposite Wolf island, evidently a sort of tavern, in 1800 sold to John Johnson; John Bannister (1800); Lemon China (1800); Frankie (or Franklin) and James Bradburn (1801); Moses Burnet (1801) who married Elsie Bowie; Jesse Blanks (1801) and in prairie on Brushy pond; John Clemings (or Clemons) (1801), afterward moved to New Madrid; John Clement (1801); Jesse Clauck (or Clark) (1801); Isaac Devore (1801); Charles Demos (1801); William Doss (1801), sold in 1802 to John Tucker; Daniel Freiseu (or Frazer); Elisha Friend (1801); Richard Green (1801); William Gibson (1801), also in New Madrid; Thomas Hoff (or Hoss), senior and junior (1801) owned slaves; Etienne and Stephen Jones (1801) slave owners;

wonderful fertility. It was then covered with great forests, interspersed with small prairies, numerous lakes, (the remnants of former beds of the Ohio and Mississippi), and many sluggish streams called bayous flowed through it. Part of this bottom produced rushes eight feet high, so large and thick that it was difficult for a man to make his way among them. On one of the lakes, Marais des Peches (Fish Lake), Reazon Bowie of Georgia, and famous as the inventor of the bowie-knife, settled prior to 1800. He was appointed syndic of the Tywappity settlement. With him came his son David Reazon, Junior, and his brother John. Reazon Bowie was a brother of James Bowie, who died with Crockett and others in the defense of the Alamo, and whose name has thus been apotheosized. The Bowies were slave owners; their sister, Elsie, who came with them, married Moses Burnet, of whom mention has already been made. About 1802 Reazon Bowie and his family moved to Bushley's bayou in what was then known as Rapides parish, lower Louisiana, settling near the Catahoula prairie, and here the name became famous in the annals of western Louisiana and Texas.⁸⁶ On the Marais des Peches also settled John Robertson, with his son John Robertson, Junior, who

Phoebe Jones (1801) widow, owned three slaves; Emsley Jones (1801) in this bottom on the Mississippi, expelled from the Cape Girardeau district and afterwards hung at Kaskaskia, (Reynolds' History of Illinois, page 254); Mirab Jones (1801); Caleb Malachi and Richard Jones (1802) all owned slaves; Robert Lane (1801) on the Mississippi; Benjamin Laugherty (1801); Josiah Quimby (1801); Stephen Quinly (or Quimby) (1801); Nicholas Revely (or Revillee) (1801) of Cape Girardeau district; Nicholas Rabley (1801); John Smith (1801); John Wilburn (or Welborn) (1801); James Currins (or Curry) (1802), on the Mississippi, owned nine slaves; Thomas Bruce (or Cruce) (1802), slave owner; Henry Canon (1802); Henry Cockerham (1800) on the Mississippi; Thomas Clark (1802); Jesse Bouding (1802) from Kentucky, one slave; François Beardin (1802) leased to Daniel Stringer for three years; Silas Fletcher (1802) had a grant with David Hatton, but abandoned by them; Louis Miller Fullwood (1802); William Hacker (1802); Samuel Kenyon (1802); Agnew Massey (1802); Charles Lucas (1802) in Cape Girardeau militia company in 1802; John Lloyd at Cypress swamp; Alexander Milegin (or Millikin) (1802); John L. Norrisses (or Norris) (1802) at head of this bottom; James Norris (1802); George Stringer; Daniel Sexton, on Mississippi and Brushy pond, Reese Shelby, farmer, son of David; Mary Smith (1802) widow; Joshua Sexton (1802); Daniel Stringer (1802) married Eliza McCollack; Daniel Stringer, junior, in 1802 on Big Prairie; widow Tash (1803); Josiah Vicery (1802), on the Mississippi; Broussaille (1803) fronting on Lake Broussaille; Peter Laflin; John Nicholas Shrum (1803) at a place ten and one half miles above the mouth of the Ohio, called "Shrum's Point".

⁸⁶ In 1831 Reazon Bowie and eight others on the San Saba resisted successfully an attack of one hundred and sixty Commanche Indians, killing twenty-one of them, among whom was the chief. This exploit at the time attracted great attention, and was fully reported by Colonel James Bowie, his brother. (Brown's History of Texas, vol. 1, p. 170.) By mistake usually the invention of the Bowie-knife was attributed to James Bowie, when in reality Reazon Bowie first made this knife out of an old iron wheel-tire.

married Polly Friend, in 1805, daughter of Charles Friend.⁸⁷ North of Fish Lake was Bayou de Bœuf,⁸⁸ and a few miles west of the lake, the prairie where the city of Charleston, in Mississippi county, is now situated. This prairie was known during the Spanish occupancy as "Prairie Carlos," but afterwards among the American settlers became known as "Mathew's Prairie." It was a favorite pasture of buffalo, and in 1781, when Fort Jefferson was besieged by the Indians Jospeh Hunter crossing the river, hunted and killed buffalo here, and carrying the meat to the river thus supplied the starving garrison. The first pioneer settler was Charles Finley, in 1800. He sold his claim to Abram Bird, Senior. Edward Mathews came to this prairie in the same year; so also Edward, Junior, Joseph and Charles Mathews.⁸⁹ Abraham Bird in 1798 received a grant from De Lassus on the Mississippi—opposite the north of the Ohio and which thus became known as "Bird's Point". He and his brother Thompson were related to the "Byrds" of the Cape Girardeau district, although spelling their names differently. The original grant has long since been carried away by the Mississippi and much other land belonging to the family. It would lead us too far to mention here the numerous other settlers,⁹⁰ but in a sub-

⁸⁷ Others found on this lake were: James and David Trotter (1801). David in 1802 seems to have been murdered by the Mascoux Indians; Jean Tanhill prior to 1802 settled on this lake; Charles Hogens (1802); James Jameson (1802), near Prairie des Peches, and in 1804 at Lake St. Mary; boarded five months with William Deakins, and after his death in 1804 his property sold to pay board; Spencer Adams.

⁸⁸ The first settlers on bayou Boeuf were: Charles and Joseph Mathews (1800); Louis L'Ardoise (1800) likely a relative of Antoine Vachard dit Mimi L'Ardoise, and perhaps of Charles L'Ardoise of Illinois, who came into the Spanish country in 1799; Eli (or Elijah) Fords (1800); John Johnson (1800) from Kentucky, and large slave owner; who afterwards removed to bayou Tesson in lower Louisiana; Abraham Bird, senior (1802), bought property two miles from mouth of the Ohio, had five sons, one of whom, Abraham, junior, was in the military service under Solomon Thorn.

⁸⁹ Residents of Prairie Charles (Carlos) were: Alexander Bailey (1801); William Talbot (or Talbert) (1801); Jesse and William Masters (1802); Jesse was appointed justice of the peace; Joseph Smith, senior and junior (1801; Abner Masters cut hay here in 1802.

⁹⁰ These settlers were Jean Berton dit St. Martin (1791) bought mill property of Pierre Latour, who were both in New Madrid and on the St. François; Michael Byrne (1791), adjacent to James Williams; Charles Bergand dit Jean Lours (1791); John Becket (1789) on St. Georges river, came with Colonel Morgan; Nicholas and James Cuny (1789) on St. Georges river, and came with Morgan; James Dunn (1789) St. Georges river, and one of those who came with Morgan; John Gregg (1789) St. Georges river, came with Morgan; François Reneaud dit Delorier, a resident of Vincennes in 1780, seems to have been in this district; Louis Valois (1791), a resident on the river Zenon (Hubble creek) and in 1792 at New Madrid; Antoine Vermet (1791) possible Bermet; François

joined note we give the names of some who settled in different sections of this district, cultivating land or engaged in business.

Boyer (1792); Pierre Christien (1792); François Charleville (1792); Joseph Dubee (or Dubez), from Vincennes, died prior to 1791, his wife Marianne DeRozier; Etienne Drouin (1791); Elizabeth Dachurut (1792); Guillaume Ispain (1792) on Lake St. Martin; Joseph Janis (1792) son of William Janis, from Kentucky, slave owner, sold a pirogue to John Harvey for \$40; Carlos St. Marie (1792) on Lake St. Martin; Walter Bealle (1793); Catherine Campagnot (1793); Baptiste Collet (1793) Pierre Etier (1793); John Gilkinson (1793); Andrew Giroux (1791); Pierre Guittar (1793); Absalom Hooper (1792); John Hunot (1792); Bele (Billy) Jones (1792) mulatto, hires himself to Joseph Berthiaume for two years, the first year he was to receive only food and clothing, the second year sixty piastres in money, peltries or merchandise, but during the two years to be furnished in tobacco and shoes; Charles Law (1793); Bazil Lachapelle (1793) from Kaskaskia; Thomas McKibbin (1791); John and James McCormick (1791); Samuel Morris (may be Norris) (1792); Patrick McGloughlin (1793); George Onrow (Unruh) (1793) German, on lake St. Eulalie, also St. Isidore and St. Mary, and seems also to have been at St. Charles; James Norflet (1792); François Portine (1793); Manuel Serrano (1793); Antoine Bolsi (1794); Jean Baptiste Louis Chemin (1794); Anthony Drybread (1794) spelled also "Tumbroad"; Alexander Douglass (1793); Michael Keely (1794); Auguste Roch (1794); Rouette (1794); Racio (1794); William Toulay, junior (1794); M. Ventura (1794); Mathew Cormeck (1795); Frederick Hoffmann (1795); Michael Laccaigne (or Lacassaigne) (1795), a trader; Isiah Packard (1795) may be related to the Isaac Packard of the Ste. Genevieve district; Juan Somors (John Summers) (1795); Pierre Loissiere dit Deloge (179-); James Mack (1796); Daniel Mulline (or Molene) (1796); Marianne Romagon (1796) widow of Jean Baptiste Cardinal; George Ridley (1796); John Shanklin (1796), ensign; Jean Baptiste Carron (1797), laborer; Daniel Brant (1798) also in the Cape Girardeau district on White Water in 1802; George Costero (1799); James Carothers (or Caruthers) (1799); William Marche (1799); Joseph Saxton (1798); Juan and Mathew Villars (1796); John McCoy (1800), twelve miles from New Madrid on the Mississippi, has a man by name of James Hill arrested for stealing property from him and boat crew; John Neely (1800); Thomas Ortes (Ortiz) (1800) sailor on the galere l'Activa; William Patterson (1800) on the Mississippi; Pivolen (1800), an Indian of the Shawnee tribe, sold a negro slave to Jacques Cotter, named Chakolekoy, he was accompanied by Hiacynth Berthiaume, interpreter of the Indian language; Jonathan Stotler (or Stoker) (1800); Peter Van Iderstine (1800) on the Mississippi; Etienne Bouilleau (1801), trader making a trip into the country with peltries; Jean Byred (John Byrd) (1802); Nancy Ferguson (1802); McHindgey (or Hudgens) Harris (1802) on Big Lake; Petten Holsen (1802); Jean Haas (Hoos), commonly called Jean Roberts (1802) from Kentucky, settled at Brushwood Prairie, married Molly Jarret, also Jean, junior; François Jacob (1802); John Lewis Lefevre (1812) on the Mississippi; Pedro Lefevre of the post of Arkansas bought property here in 1793; Joseph Mantauvert (1801); Sarah Williamson (1802) on the Mississippi; William Winkson (may be Hinkston) (1800); J. B. Brant (1803); John Custeau (1803) step-son of Conrad Carpenter; William Jackson (1802) claimed grant for services rendered; John Block, six miles northwest of New Madrid, in 1806 married Mary Woodruff; Holmon Bankson; Thomas Crispin, of Grand Bayou, native of Berks county, Pennsylvania, a wheel-wright; in 1800 sold to James Binkston; Martin Coontz, twelve miles northwest New Madrid; Joseph Doiron (Dorion) one and one half miles south of Little Prairie, here in 1802; Jacob Devore, on the Mississippi; John Ward Gurley; James Kerkindall, on Big Lake and the Mississippi; Nicholas Kely; Jacques Maxwell; Jean Moise Malboeuf (or Malberry); McCologue; Antoino Molina; Sieur Mejagat (1802), German; Norris Mundy, of New Jersey, was arrested in 1804 on complaint of Jean Byrd, for theft in connection with contract

Many of these settlers became Spanish subjects and took the oath of allegiance.⁹¹

between them; Samuel Masson; Abuces Marten (1802); Jean Montmirel, married Margarite Ravallee, their son Jean Baptiste was baptised in 1804; M. J. Peigny (Payne) (1802), on the Mississippi, probably same as Joseph Peigny; James Novins (1802), Willow Swamp; John Neil, laborer, eleven miles south New Madrid, a John Neely here in 1800, and Thomas Neely; N. O'Farrell; James O'Carroll, on the Mississippi two miles north of Little Prairie; Joseph Payne, on Mississippi six miles south of New Madrid; Joseph Perrillot (may be Peridot) (1802) merchant of New Orleans, bought slaves in New Madrid; Jacob Prie (or Prue); Elisha Patterson, sergeant of garrison, married Jane Myers, daughter of Jacob Myers; Marie Joseph Robert; Philip Shackler, twenty-two miles north of New Madrid; Eli Shelby, fifteen miles north New Madrid, son of David; Thomas Thomson, eight miles southwest New Madrid; one Demint took up his residence on bayou St. Anthony in 1799. In a settlement known as Cypress swamp, Robert Wiley (1801) was probably the first resident; John Hortes (1802); John and James Shorter (or Shooter) (1802); Amos Cox (1803); Louis Roy lived in this swamp on small bay Portage. West of New Madrid on what was known as Black Water, fork of White Water, near what is now known as Como, we find located in the primeval woods James Vincent, surgeon and major in the Spanish service; Antoine Nicolas, François and J. B. Janis, not certain whether related to the Janis family of Ste. Genevieve and Joseph Guinotely (or Guignotely), all bear hunters of unenviable reputation, if we can believe the accounts of François V. LeSieur. Still further west of New Madrid, on the Big island of the St. François, in what is now Dunklin county, Pierre Saffray a trader of New Madrid lived in 1795, perhaps the earliest trader in that county; Peter Power and James François Chattingney also resided there in 1801. These early inhabitants of Dunklin county likely were all hunters and trappers; we also find the name of Choachican (1804) a Shawnee Indian; Baptiste Dietramble (1798); Beaugard Canonier (1798); François St. Pierre (1798); Wingsay (1798).

⁹¹ The oath of allegiance (names spelled as found in the Spanish archives) was taken in 1793 by Christoval Roque Marco, Pierre Duncan, Francisco Cayole, Nicholas Esdien, Jean Baptiste Moyso, Benjamin Miller, Jose Casa Grande, Enoch Bodwell, George Myer, Juan Masedt, Peter Drouillard, Joseph Thompson, Stephen Burk, Patrick McLaughlin, Philip Boyle, John Gill, Bartholomew McLaughlin, George Junnex, Lucas Desperentrejoux, Philip Ducomb, Noel Antoine Prieur, Jose Barbier, Johann Klein, Baptiste Monix, Lorenzo Abeemo, Barthèlemi Tardiveau, Pere Gibault, George Wilson, Jacob Bogan, Juan Collins, James Congwell, John Ward, Cornelius Tecon, James M. Miller, Joseph Bogard. In 1794 Sam Hill, François Caperon, Alexis Thipet, Michael Ryard, James O'Bryan, Charles Tela, William Pillsnoeth, John Elliott, Demaiseuire, A. Breard Briand de Breville. In 1795 Samuel Lloyd, junior, Joseph McCourtney, Charles Campbell, F. Birin, Cornelius Seeley, Sam Frisor, I. Buzenet & Gidou, George Ruddall, Robert O'Hara, Isadore Dupuy, Louis Gerard, Pascal.

CHAPTER XV.

District of Cape Girardeau—Boundary of—Probable origin of name—Location of the Post of Cape Girardeau—Louis Lorimier established there in 1793 by the order of Carondelet—Biography of Lorimier—His first wife Charlotte Pemanpieh Bougainville, a Shawnee half-blood—Traded in Ohio in 1782 at Laramie's Station—The Miami Company—Lorimier in Ste. Genevieve in 1787—Moved to where is now Cape Girardeau in 1792—Letter of Trudeau—As Spanish Agent Lorimier visits Ohio and Indiana—His grant made in 1795 by Carondelet—After death of his first wife marries Marie Berthiaume—Lorimier dies in 1811—Barthélemi Cousin his Secretary, Deputy Surveyor and Interpreter—Prosperity of the Cape Girardeau District during Spanish government—First residents of the Post of Cape Girardeau—Water mills—American immigration dates from 1795—Andrew Ramsay and others settled near Cape Girardeau in that year—The Byrd settlement—Settlement on Hubble Creek—German settlement on White-water—Settlements on Castor River and various other points—Lorimier grants three hundred arpens to each member of Cape Girardeau Militia Company.

The Cape Girardeau District during the period of the Spanish government was bounded on the north by Apple creek; and on the south until 1802 the Tywappity Bottom was vaguely considered the boundary between this district and the New Madrid District.¹ To settle the southern boundary definitely, Casa Calvo in that year made an order fixing the limits of the District on the south five leagues below the post and running thence west, and Don Antonio Soulard, the Surveyor of Upper Louisiana, was directed to make a survey of the line. This boundary line ran east and west four or five miles south of the present town of Commerce, Scott county.² The western boundary of the district was also uncertain and this led to a controversy between Lorimier and Peyroux, the latter objecting to grants made by the former west of his post on the St. François, claiming that all this river was within the New Madrid District, also charging that Lorimier made unauthorized grants of land of a league square in that locality. To this DeLassus replied that

¹ According to Stoddard the Cape Girardeau district extended from "Tywappaty bottom on the Mississippi to Apple creek, a distance on the Mississippi of about thirty miles, and without any definite boundary to the westward." Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 214.

² General Archives of the Indies, Letter of Don Carlos DeLassus to Soulard, dated Nov. 25, 1801; letter to Don Carlos DeLassus, dated Jan. 30, 1802; letter of DeLassus, dated May 20, 1803; letter of Soulard, dated Oct. 1 1802; letter of Peyroux, dated Jan. 11, 1803.

Lorimier had no right to make grants of land of a league square to any one, but that the St. François river could not be located in any one district on account of the course of its branches which extended as far as the neighborhood of New Bourbon.³ Subsequently DeLassus ordered Peyroux not to interfere with Lorimier's German grantees on the forks of the St. François west of Cape Girardeau. The New Madrid District seems to have been bounded on the southwest by White river, but since the right to trade with the Indians was granted to Lorimier, and he was made Spanish agent for the Indians as far as the Arkansas river, it is also probable that his jurisdiction as Cape Girardeau Commandant was recognized as far south as that river. According to Stoddard the jurisdiction of the Commandant of the post of Cape Girardeau extended "without any definite boundary to the westward."

Before a settlement was established on the Mississippi within the limits of the present county of Cape Girardeau, this stretch of the river was designated on the old maps as "Cap Girardot," and so known to the voyageurs passing up and down the river. On the map of Lieutenant Ross, published in 1765, we find the bend of the river above the site of the present city named "Cape Girardot," and yet no settlement existed at that time in this region. How this locality received the name of "Cape Girardot" cannot now be definitely known. It is conjectured by Mason⁴ that the name is derived from that of an ensign of the French troops named "Girardot," who as early as 1704 was stationed at Kaskaskia. The supposition is that a person named "Girardot" removed from Kaskaskia to the west side of the river and took up his residence in the charming woodlands extending to the water's edge on the promontory above the present town, trading and trafficking there with the Indians, and that thus the name was bestowed on this river promontory by the early voyageurs. No authentic information is now available as to this point. The church records of Ste. Genevieve give the name of one "Girardot" as an ancient inhabitant of the country, residing in 1765 at Fort de Chartres.⁵ It should also be observed that the name is spelled on

³ See letter dated March 8, 1800, in New Madrid Archives, Vol. 2.

⁴ Kaskaskia and its Parish Records, p. 11, (Chicago 1881).

⁵ From the Church records of the Parish St. Anne of Fort de Chartres it appears that one Sieur Jean B. Girardot, October 14, 1721, was an ensign of the "troupes de Marine" and married Therese Nepveu, had son who was baptised July 30, 1726, and named Pierre, God-father was Mons. de Liette, commandant of the province of the Illinois, God-mother, Marie M. Quenal.

the ancient maps "Girardot" and "Girardeau," and also "Girardo." Perrin du Lac in 1802 spells the name "Girardot." In 1797 the settlement which had grown up around Lorimier's residence was also referred to as "Lorimont" by some of the petitioners for land,⁶ but this name did not supersede the traditional name.⁷

Evidently the beauty of this location and landscape attracted early attention. In 1789 when Colonel George Morgan with his party of adventurers traveled through this territory, many persons urged him to establish the capital of his supposed principality on the western shore of the Mississippi about twelve leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, as near as can now be ascertained, at the present site of Cape Girardeau. Hills gradually sloping upward from the river bank to undulating high lands, extending for many miles northward, made this place a natural trading station. From this point the St. François basin stretches south 300 miles along the Mississippi river, and west 60 miles to the St. François and Black rivers. Isolated hills rising like islands in a sea, the remnants of a once continuous chain of highlands, which by the constant erosions of centuries had been washed away, leaving only these detached hills as evidence of its former existence, arise here and there in this alluvial district, and arrest the attention of the careful observer. Through this basin also run, generally north and south, numerous low, black and sandy alluvial ridges of marvelous fertility. Where the last out-runners of the Ozarks gently slope in a southeastern direction to the river and the low lands of the St. François basin, a region, at the time of which we speak, full of game and fur-bearing animals of every variety, Louis Lorimier established his trading post in 1793. The uplands extending north and northwest from his settlement were then covered with a growth of towering oaks. Here only on the west side of the Mississippi in an isolated belt extending about twenty-five miles from his trading post, and sweeping in a southwest circle to the St. François and Black rivers the *leridendron tulifera* — the tulip

Pierre de Girardeau, "ensign d'infanterie, fils de feu Mons. Jean Pierre de Girardeau, officier des troupes détachées de la Marine," married Madaline Loisel, widow of "Mons. Andre Chevalier, garde magasin pour le Roy au Fort de Chartres." In 1782 her son Jos. Chevalier, by her first husband, married Marie de Guire, daughter of Andre de Guire at Ste. Genevieve, her second husband, Pierre de Girardeau, then also deceased.

⁶ See Requête of John Giboney in 1797 for land; also that of John Randall in 1798.

⁷ In Stoddard the name is spelled "Cape Gerardeau".—Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 214.

tree — the magnolia of the north — grew to immense proportions, — from five to eight feet in diameter, and one hundred feet to the first limb. Beneath these forest giants grew the ash, the hickory, the hackberry, the elm, the sassafras, the mulberry, the pawpaw, the hazel, and the beech on the edge of the low lands spread its wide extending branches over the fertile soil. Blue-grass was the natural growth of the country. The creek bottoms were filled with cane. Numerous springs broke from the hill-side and meandered their way through the woods to these creeks running the whole year through with clear and cold water.

In this favored spot Louis Lorimier established himself in 1793 under authority of Baron de Carondelet, as follows:

“Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Religious Order of St. John, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor, Intendant General, Vice Regent of the Province of Louisiana and western Florida, Inspector of the Army, etc.

Know all men by these presents, that in consideration of the true and faithful services which Louis Lorimier has rendered to the State since he became a subject of his Catholic Majesty, we permit him to establish himself with the Delawares and Shawnees, who are under his care, in such places as he may think proper in the province of Louisiana on the west bank of the Mississippi, from the Missouri to the river Arkansas, which may be unoccupied, with the right to hunt, and cultivate for the maintenance of their families, nor shall any commandant, officer, or other subject of the King hinder them, nor occupy of the land for him and the said Indians, sown, planted or laid out, so much as is judged necessary for their maintenance; and be it further understood that in case they should remove elsewhere, the said lands shall become vacant, and as for the house, which the said Sir Louis Lorimier has built at Girardeau, it will remain in his possession, nor can he be removed for any causes, except those of illicit trade, or correspondence with the enemies of the State.

In testimony of which we have given these presents, signed with our hand and the countersign of the secretary of the Government, and caused to be affixed our official seal at New Orleans, the 4th of January, 1793.

The Baron de Carondelet.

By order of the Governor: Andres Lopez Armesto.”

Under this broad and extensive grant Lorimier exercised control over these Indians in the territory between the Missouri and Arkansas until the change of government.

These Shawnees and Delawares first began to migrate in considerable numbers, to the west side of the Mississippi in about 1788⁸ and principally it is thought through Lorimier's efforts were induced to leave the United States. He was connected by marriage with the Shawnees, his first wife, Charlotte Pemanpieh Bougainville, being a half-blood Shawnee.⁹ This marital relation gave him great

⁸ Harmar Papers, Vol. 1, p. 478.

⁹ As shown by the inscription on her tomb in the old Cape Girardeau graveyard. From the name Bougainville, it would appear not improbable if we are allowed to speculate, that she may have been a natural relative of Louis de Bougainville, Chief of staff of Montcalm

influence with these Indians, and those allied with them. He understood their customs, knew their prejudices, was a perfect master of their language and possessed their unbounded confidence. One Lorimier, likely the ancestor of this Louis Lorimier, under the celebrated St. Luc de la Corne, General of the Indians, had command of the Shawnee and Delaware contingent at the siege and capitulation of Fort William Henry.

Lorimier was born in 1748 at Lachienne on the Island of Montreal. A Lorimier family resided there at an early period in the history of the colony. These Lorimiers were undoubtedly descendants of Captain Guillaume de Lorimier, a son of Guillaume and Jeanne Guibault de Lorimier, natives of Paris, and who came to Canada in 1695.¹⁰ Louis Lorimier and his father before him traded with the Indians at the Portage of the Miami and Maumee rivers at a place called Pickawillany, in 1769. In the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the exact place where Lorimier's store stood is described as follows: "thence westerly to a fork of the branch of the Great Miami river running into the Ohio at or near which fork stood Laramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miamis and the Ohio and the St. Mary's river which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie."¹¹ The name is often spelled "Laramie" because "Lorimier" is thus pronounced by the French. The Lorimier trading place in Ohio in 1782 was known as "Laramie's Station," and also as "The Frenchman's store." During the Revolution Lorimier was a violent Tory. His place was the center of Indian and British intrigues, and many Indian foraging expeditions were equipped

¹⁰ Guillaume de Lorimier came to Canada in 1695. He was born at St. Leu and St. Gilles diocese of Paris, son of Guillaume and Jeanne Guibault; on his arrival in Canada he was appointed Commandant at Fort Rolland, in 1705 married Marguerite Chotel, born 1666, a name well known in Canadian annals — and died at Montreal July 27, 1709; Madame Lorimier seems to have been in good circumstances. In the Jesuit Relations it is said that she loaned money on personal property, thus to a man on his shirt. 67 Jes. Rel., Burrough's Ed., p. 69. She died March 28th, 1736. One of his daughters Marie Jeanne, married Joachim Le Sacquespée; one of his sons, Claude, born 1705, married Louise Le Pailleur, January 7, 1730; his other sons were named Nicolas and Guillaume. The children of Claude and Louise Le Pailleur were named respectively Marie Marguerite, born 1730, at Lachienne; Catherine Elizabeth, Marie Louise, Marie Hypolite, married Benjamin Mathieu D'Amours, Jos. Ant. Guillaume married Madaline D'Amours, and Francois Thomas married Marguerite De Sabrevois. His son Jos. Ant. Guillaume also lived at Lachienne and had several children. Francois Thomas de Lorimier was sieur de Verneuil. That Louis Lorimier was related to this family may be inferred from the fact that he named one of his sons "Verneuil," and who was generally known as "Verney."

¹¹ Harvey's History of the Shawnee Indians, p. 121.

there. On one occasion, in 1778 accompanied by forty Shawnees then living on the Miami, and hence misnamed Miamis, Lorimier and D'Aubin made a raid into Kentucky, attacked Boonesborough and captured Boone and took him to Chillicothe, the principal Shawnee village on the Little Miami. "Laramie's Station" was known on both continents. General Clark and his Kentuckians, in 1782, surprised, captured and plundered the store, and Lorimier barely escaped with his life. He never re-established himself in Ohio. For a time seems to have lived at Vincennes—and from there removed west of the Mississippi. General Wayne afterward in 1798, built a fort on the main fork of Auglaize at a carrying place which was known as "Laramies Encampment," likely at the place where he had his store before driven away.

A letter on file in Ste. Genevieve in a suit instituted against Lorimier there, by the Miami Company, in 1787, makes it clear that the Lorimier of "Laramie's Station" is the veritable Louis Lorimier who established the Spanish post of Cape Girardeau. This Miami Company was a fur trading concern with considerable capital. George Sharp and Thomas Sheperd managed its affairs at Post St. Vincent, by which name Vincennes was then known. Both these worthies have long since faded into perfect oblivion. A letter, however, gives us a glimpse of long forgotten matters,—the reasons that seemed "pretty good" to Mr. Sharp why Lorimier left the country, why they advanced him "a few things" and also definitely advises us that Lorimier went to the country of "the Spaniards" with the Shawnees and Delawares. Hugh Heward, too, who had his habitation at the "Mouth Illinois," and evidently a man in authority in the Miami Company, has vanished completely, even as the Miami Company. But here is the letter:

MIAMIS, 4th May, 1787.

Dear Sir:—We learn from common report that you had left Port St. Vincents, with an intention to seize Mr. Louis Lorimier's goods. We have received from him about eight packs, and on our arrival here Mr. Sharp went to see him, on purpose to know his reasons for leaving this country. His reasons appeared to him pretty good, and as he had no property along with him, on purpose to get his peltry and gain his good will, we were induced to advance a few things, as he says, to assist him. A few days after Mr. Sharp left him, he got intelligence of your going to seize his goods, and he wrote a letter expressing his surprise at our duplicity.

What we have to say on the subject is neither more nor less than this, that the Spaniards have invited the Delawares and Shawnees to their side of the Mississippi. With a tribe of the latter Mr. Lorimier goes, and expects the Spaniards will allow him to follow them. If this is the case and he well inclined, we think he may do better than was expected, and as the company means to have some-

body there to do this business, it might in some measure atone for the loss of the Port Vincent's (Vincennes) trade, which will never be renewed.

We wrote you yesterday at some length. You will be the best judge how to act in regard to Lorimier, but we think his intentions are honest.

Sir, your very humble servant,

GEORGE SHARP,
THOMAS SHEPARD.

To Hugh Heward, Mouth Illinois.¹²

In 1787 Lorimier resided in the Ste. Genevieve district, engaged in the Indian trade apparently in partnership with Peyroux and Menard. He then lived on the Saline about five or six miles from the present town of St. Mary's, not far from what is now New Bremen, probably at or near a place still called the Big Shawnee spring. After settling with the Miami company, under authority of Baron Carondelet already mentioned, he removed to where the city of Cape Girardeau now stands, and became founder and commander of the post. As showing the extent of his business, and former trade relations at Vincennes it is worth mentioning, that while living on the Saline, in July 1791, he made a note for 2062 livres, payable "in shaved deer skins" to adjust a debt due François Vigo and Antoine Gamelin both then residents of Vincennes, and that this note was duly recorded in New Madrid, being witnessed by Louis Largeau. This note was also given probably in settlement of an old account.

In 1792 the threatened invasion of Louisiana by French-American filibusters greatly excited the Spanish authorities. Much reliance was placed, to secure correct information, upon the Shawnee and Delaware Indians, and which were under the control of Lorimier, and consequently his services were in great demand. But in his trading operations, he had come into conflict with the Spanish commandant Portelle, of New Madrid, consequently some friction existed between them, and he was induced with some difficulty, fearing arrest, to visit Portelle at New Madrid, then supposed to be greatly in danger of attack. Being assured as to this matter, he visited New Madrid, and on the suggestion of Portelle, he then employed Louis François Largeau as his secretary and he kept a daily journal of his operations during that exciting period. Largeau had been secretary of Portelle before that time, and it is not at all unlikely that he was sent as secretary with Lorimier to observe his conduct, and that thus the Lorimier Journal originated. This journal, however, found preserved in the Spanish archives, gives a vivid picture of the daily occurrences during

¹² Heward seized the goods and Lorimier sued him for damages in the Cahokia court in 1787, but the court held that the matter should be settled by arbitrators to be selected "from either side of the river." Illinois Hist. Collection, vol. 2, p. 299 (Alvord).

1793-4, near the mouth of the Ohio. Lorimier's services during this period led to the establishment of Cape Girardeau as an independent post in May, 1793.

In 1796 Gen. Collot was at Cape Girardeau, and, in his opinion, it was the most favorable location for a military establishment above the Ohio, dominating the mouth of that river and protecting upper Louisiana from an hostile attack, and he says, that the importance of this location did not escape the attention of "M. Laurimier, Francais, au service d'Espagne, dont les talens militaires et la grande influence indiennes sont tres-utiles a cette puissance," and that the Shawnees and Loups were under his control and command. He thought a naval station ought to be established at this point.¹³ When Lorimier received his concession from Carondelet to establish himself, and Indians, and trade from the Mississippi to the Arkansas rivers, Lieutenant Governor Trudeau wrote him as follows:

"ST. LOUIS, May 1, 1793.

The within is a permit which the Governor General gives you to make your trade with the Delawares and the Shawnees, so extended that there may be nothing more to desire, without fear that you will be troubled by any officer of the king as long as you do as you have heretofore done. He recommends you to maintain order among the savages, and to concentrate them, so that he may be sure that they will take position more on the frontier of our settlements in order to lend us help in case of a war with the whites, and they will thus also be opposite the Osages, against whom I shall declare war forthwith, a thing I have not yet done, because I have to take some precautions before that shall reach them. Inform the Delawares, Shawnees, Peorias, Pottowatomies and the other nations which presented a memorial last September, that it is on account of the bad treatment that they have suffered, that the Governor General has determined upon the war, in order to procure quiet for our land. The Osages are at present deprived of aid, and harassed by us and by them, they will surely be open to reason; that consequently all the red nations must agree to lend a hand; it is their good which the government seeks; and it is of that you must convince them, so that the offended nations will take some steps toward the others to secure their aid, and particularly that the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes shall not consent to let the Osages come so far as to trade on the river Des Moines, and that still less shall they allow the English to introduce themselves by that river, which is a possibility.

Protected by the Government, you owe it your services in closely watching over all that tends to its prosperity, and averting everything which is to its detriment. At this moment we fear nothing from Congress, but from the ill-disposed which depend upon it. Posted in an advantageous place to give advice of the least assemblage, I am confident that as soon as you are cognizant of it you will make it known to the Commandants with whom you are connected, as much for our safety as for your defence.

The Governor has approved of the distribution of the twenty thousand beads, which I have given the Delawares, and to which you have contributed. It has been my intention to reimburse you, and to-day I can do it with greater facility, because they have offered me the means without looking for them elsewhere, so

¹³ Dans L'Amerique, vol. 1, p. 300.

you may draw on me at the rate of six per thousand, which the king has agreed for me to pay.

I am told that you are coming to St. Louis with your savages. Because I am deprived of all merchandise, their visit will be a little embarrassing. Therefore I ask you to come by yourself (when your presence here is necessary) and attend to it, that when the boats arrive you are here to make a suitable present to the savages.

May God take you in His holy keeping.

Zenon Trudeau.

P. S.—I keep your permit for an occasion to which I can intrust it. It states that you shall not be troubled from the Missouri to the Arkansas in your trade, also in the settlements or encampments which you have formed with the savages, the Shawnees and Delawares, etc., and that you shall be protected at Cape Girardeau.

Mr. Louis Lorimier." ¹⁴

After the threatened invasion had collapsed, principally through the energetic action of the new Federal Government, Lorimier seems to have been much employed by the Spanish officials. In 1796 he traveled through the wilderness of Indiana and Ohio as Spanish agent to induce the subdued and dejected Indians to emigrate to upper Louisiana. That, as an emissary he visited the various Indian tribes on such a mission, appears from a letter of Winthrop Sargent, addressed to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, in which this scheme of the Spanish authorities to induce the Indians to emigrate into upper Louisiana is set forth. He says that "for this purpose Mr. Lorrómie (Lorimier), an officer in the pay of the crown, made a tour over all the country last fall (1796), since which time several Indians have been seen on the same errand, and generally furnished with plenty of cash to defray their expenses. A large party of Delawares passed down White Water, about the 6th of May, on their way to the Spanish side, bearing the national flag of Spain, some of them from St. Louis. They have, above the mouth of the Ohio on the Mississippi, several row galleys with cannons." ¹⁵

No doubt Lorimier, after he settled in upper Louisiana, with his Shawnee and Delaware "savages", proved to be a very active and valuable man to the Spanish authorities, in inducing these Indians and others to take up their residence in the colony. When he crossed the Mississippi and settled in upper Louisiana he became a Spanish subject by taking the oath of allegiance. Nor is there any reason to suppose that he was very friendly disposed to the United States. He, as well as the Shawnee and Delaware Indians who came with him, had suffered great loss and defeat in the Northwest

¹⁴ This letter copied as translated in the History of Southeast Missouri, p. 261.

¹⁵ Dillon's History of Indiana, p. 374.

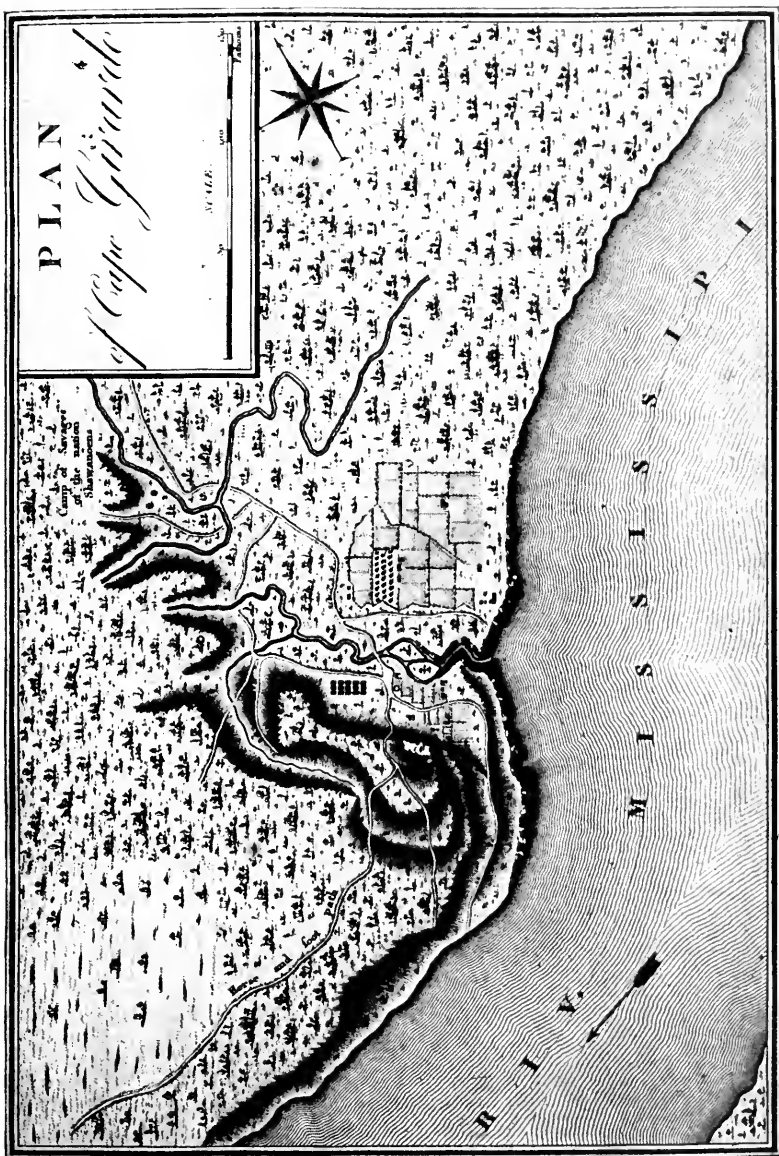
territory. His store had been sacked and plundered, and station burned. The villages and corn-fields of these Indians had been destroyed and set on fire. Of these Indian corn-fields, General Wayne said in 1794, "the very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margin of these beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the lakes (Maumee) and Auglaise, appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below the place; nor have I ever beheld such fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."¹⁶ And it was from this country, so well cultivated and advanced, so rich and fertile, that many of these Indians and Lorimier had been expelled a few years before, and from which the remainder were virtually expelled by the Americans after Wayne's campaign.

In 1795 through Juan Barno y Ferrusola, as his agent or attorney, Lorimier first petitioned Governor-General Carondelet for a grant of land where Cape Girardeau is now situated. This petition was indorsed with a favorable recommendation of Don Thomas Portelle, Commandant of New Madrid, and dated September 1st, 1795. Carondelet, on October 26th, 1795, made the land grant as requested and instructed Soulard to "put the interested party in possession of forty arpens in front by eighty in depth, in the place mentioned in the foregoing memorial," on the express condition, however, that the concession should be null and void if within the precise time of three years the land "is not settled."¹⁷ On October 27th, 1797, Soulard certifies, that he has placed Lorimier in possession, and that his grant is located at "the same place as the village of Cape Girardeau," and also states, that he delivered him a "figurative plat on which was noted the dimensions and natural and artificial boundaries of said land." In addition to this grant on October 26th, 1795, Carondelet granted Lorimier other land on condition that within one year he "make a road and regular improvements."¹⁸ It should be noted that this concession of land was made to Lorimier several years after the exclusive trade privilege with the Shawnees and Delawares between the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers had been granted him. His grants aggregated about 8,000 arpens, and since, for some time prior to

¹⁶ Letter of General Wayne, August 14, 1794, to the Secretary of War.

¹⁷ Carondelet calls the place where Lorimier established himself in 1793 simply "Girardeau."

¹⁸ On the map of Cape Girardeau and its environs, made by Warin, Adjutant General of Collot, these roads are laid down as well as other improvements then existing in that locality.



the concession, Lorimier had established himself on this land, the conditions imposed by Carondelet were certainly not onerous. In 1799, Lorimier, according to Leduc, had in course of erection a large building as a residence on his land. This building, known as the "Red House," was located on the lot at present occupied by the St. Vincent Catholic church. Says Collot "une tres-belle ferme, ou il fait sa residence." At that time a large level space intervened between this house and the river, now called "Aquamsi Front." Not far from his house was the big spring, on the corner of Williams and Fountain streets, and from there a spring branch then ran in a northeastward direction to the river. The sloping hillsides around the spring were covered with a fine growth of timber, and here Lorimier's Indian relatives and friends often encamped when they visited him, or were called to his post on business or to receive presents. An Indian village was located near the present Fair grounds, not far from the road which now leads to Jackson. The land grants made to Lorimier by Carondelet undoubtedly were connected with his journey into the Indiana and Ohio wilderness in 1796, to induce the Shawnee and Delaware Indians to cross the river and settle among the Spaniards.¹⁹

In 1798 Gabriel Cerré made a claim to the land inhabited and cultivated by Lorimier, and a controversy arose between them about the matter. Lorimier appealed to the Governor General, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, who decided the case in his favor, but ordered land to be given to Cerré elsewhere to the same amount, saying Lorimier had rendered services which entitled him to the land. He remained undisturbed on his grant thereafter, maintaining order in his settlement, and among the Indians, and enjoyed the confidence of the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. Incidentally we learn that during this period, General Ben Logan, of Kentucky, returning from New Orleans by land, visited Lorimier at Cape Girardeau in order to secure a negro woman whom the Shawnee Indians had captured from him on one of their raids into Kentucky, and who was in the hands of Lorimier. He did not find him at home at this time, but made another trip afterward for the same purpose and says he found him in bad health, that he then told him that this woman was his only help, and so Logan took a few ponies in settlement of his claim.²⁰

¹⁹ So completely was he identified with the Indians and as responsible for their misconduct in the minds of the early American settlers, that after his death in 1812, Garah Davis, a blacksmith made a claim against his estate of \$1.50 "to one hog killed by an Indian," in 1808.

²⁰ Draper's Notes, Vol. 18, p. 166.

After the death of his first wife²¹ in March 23, 1808, Lorimier married Marie Berthiaume, daughter of François Berthiaume,²² a gun-smith for the Shawnees who at the time resided about five miles above the mouth of Apple creek, and not far from the Shawnee villages and where afterward was established Ingram's mill. The wife of Berthiaume was also either a half or whole-blood Shawnee woman. Menard says that Lorimier's second wife was "a natural daughter of Beauvais St. Gem, who commanded the Shawnees on Grant's Hill" when General Braddock was killed. He claims that this Beauvais was a brother of his great grandfather, who was also present at that rout, but says that his grandfather Pierre Menard was not present, as Governor Reynolds would have it.

Lorimier was commander of the post when the first settlers from the United States crossed the river and settled in the immediate vicinity of Cape Girardeau, in 1795. He was engaged in the Indian trade up to the time of his death in 1812, and then had on hand a large stock of goods. His purchases for the trade he made from Bryan and Morrison, of Kaskaskia. He built the first water-mill which was known as the "lower mill," in the district on Cape LaCruz, about where the bridge of the Scott County road south of Cape Girardeau is now located. Afterward he built another mill on Hubble creek, the stone work being done by the Butchers and Bloom, of Ste. Genevieve. Isaac Ogden was the mill-wright. The mill-stones for these mills were brought from the Ohio. Abner Hathaway was the miller for both mills. All the horses and ponies ranging in the woods were claimed by Lorimier, and after his death, his claim to the same was assigned to John Logan²³ who had married his widow.

²¹ This is the inscription upon her tomb in the old Cape Girardeau graveyard:

"To the memory of Charlotte P. B. Lorimier, consort of Maj. L. Lorimier, who departed this life on the 23d day of March, 1808, aged 50 years and two months, leaving four sons and two daughters.

Vixit, Chaoniae praeses dignissima gentis;
Et decus indigenum quam laps iste tegit;
Illa bonum didicit natura —* magistra.
Et, duce natura, sponte secuta bonum est.
Talis honos memorum, nulla cultore, quotannis
Maturat fructus nitis oliva suao.

And translated is as follows:

She lived the noblest matron of the Shawanoe race,
And native dignity covered her as does this slab.
She chose nature as her guide to virtue,
And with nature as her leader spontaneously followed good,
As the olive, the pride of the grove, without the planter's care,
Yearly brings its fruit to perfection.

* This word by time obliterated on the slab.

²² dit Barume — dit Bethune.

²³ This John Logan was the father of General John A. Logan. After the death of his first wife, the widow of Lorimier, he removed to Jackson county,

Barthélemi Cousin, acted as secretary for Lorimier, and was deputy surveyor of the district, and interpreter. He was a man of education, of linguistic attainments, master of the German, French and Spanish languages and many Indian tongues, and, says Menard, "a man of great talents" who had "rendered important services to the Government" and accordingly was "held in great consideration." Nearly all the immigrants who came from the east side of the river to Cape Girardeau district applied to him to write their



petitions for permission to settle and *requêtes* for land. He seems to have greatly favored this American emigration. Lorimier too no doubt appreciated the increased value of his great landed concession and the importance

his post must attain by a large population. Lorimier himself was not an educated man; he could not read, but could write his name. He was a man of keen intellect and great executive ability. He did nothing without thoroughly understanding the subject, never signed a document without having it fully explained. That he knew how to promote the public welfare is evidenced by the fact that in ten years, from 1793 to 1803, he made the Cape Girardeau district the richest and most prosperous community of upper Louisiana, not excepting St. Louis. Stoddard, speaking of the various settlements of upper Louisiana, says of the Cape Girardeau district, "Certain it is, that the richest and most industrious farmers in this part of the world are proprietors of the lands in this district, not more than four French men living in it, and the rest being English-Americans."²⁴ DeLassus, in a letter dated January 13, 1803, to Don Manuel de Salcedo says that he "must further recommend him (Lorimier) as a man of the highest utility for any military service, especially in what concerns the Indians," and suggested that he be promoted to some military post with pay. Salcedo said of him, "The merit of Don Louis Lorimier is of the most distinguished character, and is worthy of the greatest notice of the Government, which at all times has shown it to him, soliciting for him the favor of the sovereign in order to obtain the grade of captain which your lordship asks in his favor."

Cape Girardeau was not regularly laid out as a village or town by

Illinois, nearly opposite Cape Girardeau county, where he married the mother of Gen. Logan.

²⁴ Stoddard's Louisiana, page 214.

Lorimier while he was Spanish commandant of the post. The fact that he claimed all the land upon which the village of Cape Girardeau was located, as well as all the land in the immediate vicinity, and that after the cession this great claim was rejected by the Commissioners, was ruinous to Cape Girardeau at a critical time in the history of the place. Yet even with this draw-back, the population of Cape Girardeau county in 1820 was 7,800, and of St. Louis county 8,200; the greatest part of the population in St. Louis county residing the town, and the population of Cape Girardeau residing on farms.

Cousin, the most conspicuous resident of the post, resided not far from Lorimier near the corner of the present Main and Themis streets, in a small log house. The road along the river was then called "Rue de Charette." Above Cousin's residence in 1799 there were located near the river, according to tradition, the trading houses of Steinback and Reinecke, Michael Quinn and perhaps others, all American traders doing business here. Solomon Thorn, a gun-smith, also resided in the village. Thorn, who came to Illinois with the George Rogers Clark regiment, was a soldier in Captain Dillard's company. After the conquest he lived at Vincennes, then resided at Kaskaskia, and thence moved across the river to the Spanish country. He bought the lot he lived on from Samuel Bradley, who seems to have resided at the post for a time. This Solomon Thorn was a brother of Daniel Thorn, who appeared in many cases as a witness before the Board of Land Commissioners for the district of Kaskaskia, and made a bad record. Solomon although not as greatly discredited as Daniel, also left a doubtful record there.²⁵ After he settled in the Spanish country he was employed by Lorimier to work for the Indians living on Apple creek in 1798 and 1799, and in different parts of the district, repairing guns, and in other public service, and received a land donation from him. He never lived long in one place. At one time he owned Cypress Island, situated opposite Cape Girardeau; but sold his interest there in 1824. Where he finally died is not known. One John Risher was the blacksmith of the place, and received as a present, or purchased from Lorimier the piece of ground upon which St. Vincent's college is now located, and where after the cession he laid out a town and named it "Decatur." Other blacksmiths were John Patterson and Charles Seavers, who both lived at this post in 1802. David Wade was the carpenter, and also sold lumber — of course, hand-sawed.

The small water-mill on Cape La Cruz, originally built by Lori-

²⁵ American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 125.

mier was afterward operated by Steinback who married Lorimier's daughter Agatha, in 1808. Another small water-mill, belonging to Rodney, was in operation on Hubble creek near the present village of Dutchtown. Farther up Hubble creek Ithamar Hubbell ran a mill, and on Byrd's creek the Byrds also had a mill. The largest mill of the district was situated on White Water and belonged to George Frederick Bollinger. This mill was celebrated far and wide, and is operated as a water-mill to this day. Pioneer settlers on the St. François, Black and even White rivers, 75 or 100 miles away, came to this mill to have corn and wheat ground into meal or flour. The mill-dam was at first built out of logs, but Bollinger in after years erected a stone mill-dam.

No regular Catholic church was erected at Cape Girardeau during Spanish rule, and no church of any other denomination was permitted. Tradition says that a small Catholic chapel existed near what is now the corner of Lorimier and Independence streets. Rev. James Maxwell, Vicar General of upper Louisiana, certainly occasionally held service at the post. Likely after the cession the chapel fell into decay and ruin. The lot on which it stood was subsequently acquired by James McFerron.

The American emigrants settled in this district, early established schools, and the names of several of the early school-teachers have been preserved. Thus it is known that William Russell and Dennis Sullivan, (otherwise also a blacksmith) taught school in the Byrd settlement and that Frederick Limbaugh (Limbach) was a German teacher in the German settlement. The teacher at Mt. Tabor school in the Ramsay settlement is not now known, although it is a well established fact that at Mt. Tabor was established the first English school west of the Mississippi river. It is supposed that McFerron was the teacher there.

The Cape Girardeau district was almost exclusively settled by Americans. Only four French names are found among the Spanish grantees of this district, Godair, Largeau, Mariot and Berthiaume, and even these it seems did not live long, if at all, in the district. The first American settlement in the Cape Girardeau district was formed just outside of Lorimier's grant, three miles southwest of the post of Cape Girardeau, and the first settler here was Andrew Ramsay, who opened his plantation in 1795. For subsequent American emigrants his plantation became for several years an objective point. From his place all the new immigrants who

came to Spanish country to settle were directed to desirable locations, accompanied often by Ramsay personally, who, of course, was deeply interested in securing American neighbors. Many of these settlers established their homes not far from where he had located. Ramsay came to the Spanish country from the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, at mature age, accompanied by a large and well grown-up family. It is said that he was among the Virginia troops at Braddock's defeat. It is certain that his brother, John Ramsay, who subsequently settled in what is now Scott county, was in a Virginia regiment. After Ramsay had established himself near the post of Cape Girardeau, he was followed by several of his family connections.²⁶ Thus it was that Alexander Giboney, Nicholas Seavers (Saviour,) Jeremiah Simpson, and Dr. Belemus Hayden, with their families and servants, and his sons-in-law, William Dougherty and Samuel Tipton came to this district. All these settled in his immediate neighborhood on the waters of Ramsay and Giboney creeks, except William Dougherty who established his plantation on Hubble creek near the present city of Jackson. Ramsay was a man of some property, a slave owner and exercised a decided influence in the settlement during the Spanish government, as well as after the cession of the country to the United States. In 1804 he was one of the largest land owners of the district. He removed to White River near where the city of Batesville, Arkansas, is now situated, in about 1815, and died there. In 1802 De Lassus was greatly impressed

²⁶ History of Southeast Missouri, p. 272. It is said that the Ramsays were related to Daniel Morgan, and no doubt participated in the Revolutionary war. Andrew Ramsay had three daughters, Margaret, who married Stephen Jones, and afterwards removed to Arkansas; Mary, married to Captain Peter Craig, (who was killed at the battle of the Sink-hole in the year 1814, in St. Charles county) and Rachel, who became the wife of John Rodney. In addition he was accompanied to the Cape Girardeau district by five sons, Andrew Ramsay, Jr., and James, who married respectively Pattie and Rebecca Worthington, John, who married ——— Hannah, William, who married Elizabeth Dunn, and Allen Ramsay. Andrew settled on Ramsay creek near his father's plantation, but subsequently he, John and James removed to what is now Mississippi county. Alexander Giboney was a brother-in-law of Andrew Ramsay, having married his sister Rebecca, and he was also accompanied by his family in 1797 when he emigrated to the Cape Girardeau district and settled on Giboney creek, one mile west of Ramsay's plantation. Alexander Giboney died in 1804. His family consisted of four sons, John, Robert, Alexander and Andrew, and three daughters, Aurelia, wife of Jacob Jacobs, Isabel, married to Dr. Ezekiel Fenwick and Margaret, married to Lindsay D'Lashmutt. Alexander Giboney, junior, was killed at the battle of the Sink-hole at the same time Peter Craig was killed. The whole Ramsay connection was accompanied by a number of slaves. Among other settlers on Ramsay creek we find William Bonner (Boner) (1797); Jonathan Ditch (1798), who seems to have emigrated from what is now the District of Columbia; John Weaver and Peter Weaver (1797); Joseph Thompson,

with the Cape Girardeau company of Americans which met him on his march to New Madrid about five miles north of Lorimier's post, and in his report says, "I must remark that this company is composed of the best young fellows one can see," all well mounted and armed; and Lorimier, he says, "took the precaution to make them a standard bearing the arms of the King." There being then no fort or village in the Cape Girardeau district, the Cape Girardeau company took the militiamen who came with DeLassus to their homes scattered throughout the country. DeLassus, Vallé, and the guard with the standard were entertained at the home of Lorimier, who, DeLassus reports, treated them "with the greatest generosity." We can well imagine how the enterprise and independence of this new American element in the Spanish dominions must have impressed DeLassus.

The Byrd settlement was located on the waters of Byrd's creek and tributaries, about sixteen miles northwest from the post of Cape Girardeau. Amos Byrd, senior, the founder of the settlement, was born in North Carolina, or rather in the disputed territory between North Carolina and Virginia, in 1737.²⁷ He was reared in the Watauga Valley; afterwards he removed to the Holston river southwest of Knoxville, where he located Byrd's "Station" or "fort." In 1783 when Green county was organized he was a member of the first County Court. In 1799 accompanied by his family and connections he removed to the Spanish country and became the pioneer settler on the creek that bears his name. The liberal land policy of the Spanish no doubt induced him and his family to emigrate. The entire Byrd family and connections who thus emigrated, settled on Byrd, Little Byrd and Cane creeks. The waters of these creeks flow over gravelly beds and lime-stone rocks in a southwest direction to White Water, through a gently undulating country, covered at the time of this settlement with native blue-grass. The sloping hills and creek valleys resembled an open park in which grew every variety of oak, elm, hickory and the majestic poplar (tulip tree). Byrd "Fort" in Tennessee, was not far removed from Gillespie "Fort," and thus it came that three of his sons married daughters of the Gillespie family. With Amos

senior, (1797); Enoch Evans of Virginia (1801); Charles Bradley (1802); Joseph Worthington (1803); Joseph Harris (1803); Baptiste Godair (1803); Nicholas Revielle, who in 1801 describes his farm as being on Ramsay creek, about 100 yards on the west side of the creek, at a place known as Big Lick; was a mechanic and white-washer by trade; Peter Godair in 1799 also had a settlement right on this creek, and which he sold to Enoch Evans in 1807.

²⁷ Amos Byrd is noted a delinquent on 1800 acres on Hinkston's Run, Kentucky, entered by J. Ruddle, 1796.

Byrd ²⁸ came his sons, Abraham, John, Stephen, Amos, junior, and Moses, and his daughters Polly, married to William Russell, Clarissa, who afterward married James Russell, and Sallie, who married George Hayes. In this Byrd settlement John Byrd built the first mill and distillery on Byrd creek, and also established a blacksmith shop. He died in 1816. Abraham and Stephen Byrd both became conspicuous members of this new settlement after the cession of Louisiana, as we shall note hereafter. William Russell was a native of Scotland, he first settled in Virginia and afterwards removed to East Tennessee, where he married Polly Byrd.

In 1797 Ithamar Hubbell, a soldier of the Revolution in the New York State troops, settled on the creek which has since been known by his name, but was then known as the "Rivière Zenon," so named in honor of Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor of upper Louisiana at that time. Hubbell located where the town of Gordonville is now situated, and at this point established a water-mill which was until a few years ago in operation, and subsequently he also established a saw-mill at the same place. John Summers, and John, junior, several miles north of Hubbell made a location a year before Hubbell

²⁸ Abraham, Stephen and John respectively married Elizabeth, Mary and Ann Gillespie. Abraham Byrd had three sons and six daughters. His sons were Amos, William Gillespie and Stephen, his daughters were Ingabo, married to John Bird of Bird's point, Mary, married to W. W. Horrell, Nancy, married to Edward Kelso, Sabina, married to John Allen, Clarissa, married to Thomas Horrell, and Emily, married to John F. Martin. Stephen Byrd had a family of four sons, William, James, John and Amos, and four daughters, Eliza (Mrs. Thompson Bird), Mary, Serena (Mrs. John Campbell) and Sallie. Amos Byrd, junior, had three children, Sallie (Mrs. John Wilson), Elizabeth (Mrs. George Cockran), and John. Moses Byrd had a family of five sons, William, Amos, John, Abraham and Adolphus, and four daughters, Polly (Mrs. John McLain), Sallie (Mrs. Joseph Brown), Patsy (Mrs. John Minton) and Edith (Mrs. Foster). (History of Southeast Missouri, p. 277.)

Among other settlers on Byrd creek were Josiah Lee, senior, who came from Kentucky in 1797 and first settled on Randall creek, then known as Rivière Charles, and subsequently on Hubbell creek then known as Rivière Zenon. Josiah Lee, junior, his son, who had a grant for service also lived on this creek adjacent to his father. Another settler was Alexander Andrews, senior, who came from Kentucky in 1797. David Andrews resided on Cane creek in 1799, but in 1797 on Randall's creek. Joseph Young (1799); John Boyd, who came from Kaskaskia and settled here in 1799; John McCarty, a blacksmith, who we are told was a Roman Catholic and owned one slave, also lived on this creek in 1799; Joseph Crutchlow settled in the country in 1797, but on this creek in 1800. Elijah Everitt resided near the forks of Big and Little Bird Byrd creeks, and seems, prior to his emigration, to have resided in the Spanish country, as he claimed to be a subject of His Catholic Majesty and a Roman Catholic. William Hill on Cane creek in 1799. Jacob Kelley on the forks of the two Byrd creeks (1800) made a settlement; he was the owner of five slaves. James Cooper (1802) settled adjacent to Stephen Byrd, so also John May. Other settlers were, Patrick May (1802); David Patterson (1803); Philip Young, near the headwaters of one prong of Byrd creek known as "Young's creek" (1803); John

settled on this creek. Also Andrew Summers near the head-waters of the creek. About eight miles north of Hubbell's place, Colonel Christopher Hays, under a direct concession of Governor Caso Calvo, in 1800 made a settlement. Several miles south of Hubbell's mill Martin Rodney opened a plantation, and at the bend where the creek leaves the hills and enters the bottom near the present village of Dutchtown, John Logan took up his residence and erected a water-mill. Adjacent to Logan's place Jeremiah Simpson, Jacob Jacobs, James Hannah, the Randalls, James Caruthers and Thomas Foster established themselves. At the junction of Randall creek and Hubbell creek, John Shields received a concession, and immediately north of his place Abraham Byrd, senior, had a farm.²⁹

McGee (Magee) (1803); Hugh Connelly (1799); Michael Quinn (1803); John Dougherty (1800), a carpenter and worked for Lorimier; neglected to work his grant and afterwards gave as an excuse that Lorimier told him that he wanted him to work for him, and that mechanics did not have to work or cultivate the land ceded to them, William Jackson (1803); Jephtha Cornelius (1803); Austin Young (1803); John Smith had a sugar camp on this tract placed there by him or by Abraham Byrd, assignee; George Cavender, son-in-law of McCarty (1803); Dennis Sullivan (1803), both a blacksmith and a school teacher. James Boyd settled adjacent to Stephen Byrd in 1799; Michael O'Hogan located adjacent to Amos Byrd, senior, in 1803; Robert Patterson had a farm adjacent to Hugh Connelly and David Patterson on Cane creek. In addition we find Edward F. Bond; John Hays, assignee (of) Crutchlow; Andrew Patterson (1805); Morris Young (1805); James Russell (1806); Peter Krytz, as legatee of Duwalt Krytz; Henry Howard (1804).

²⁹ On the west bank of the creek in the order named were settled, John Drybread (1797), a German; Joseph Fite (Fight) likely also a German; John Losila (1797), a German; Renna Brummit (1799); John Latham (1801) also in New Madrid; James Dowty (1798); Henry Sharadin; Elijah (Elisha) Dougherty (1803); Robert Green (1799); William Dougherty, heretofore named, (1798); and Jesse Cain (1799) who afterwards lived on the Maramec in St. Charles district. William Dickens (1798); James Mills (1799), located where the city of Jackson is now situated, and Charles Fallenash (1799) — this Charles Fallenash was one of the first settlers near Springfield, Ohio, near the mouth of the Scioto; was a great Indian fighter and at one time was a fur-trader among the Indians. In 1793 he married and lived at Massie's Station for about one year. Then he resided in the Chillicothe region, where he abandoned his wife, a reputable woman, to go on scouting expeditions. He was renowned as a scout in Ohio — (Draper's Notes, Vol. 19, p. 169). In 1810 he was at St. Charles, and is supposed to have accompanied Astor's expedition, — (Draper's Notes, Vol. 6, p. 312). He is described as a large stout man, "a kind of Indian-Frenchman," — (Draper's Notes, Vol. 16, Trip of 1860). It is not certain at what time Fallenash moved away from the Cape Girardeau district. He sold his Spanish grant to Edward Hall in 1804. He probably lived in what is now Northwest Arkansas early in the 19th century. A small creek emptying its waters into White river just above Crooked creek is called "Fallenash" creek, and it is more than likely that this creek derived its name from this old hunter and Indian fighter who there may have hunted, trapped beaver and died. George Hays (1803) located several miles above the present town of Jackson. On the east bank of the creek were settled in the order named, John Strong (1798) just south and north of Ithamer Hubbell's place; Waters Burrows (1798); Zachariah Doroty (1800); Lewis Latan; David Patterson (1803); John Patterson, from Kaskaskia;

Germans were among the very first white men that traversed the immense region between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains. One of the followers of La Salle's ill-fated expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi which landed on the coast of Texas, was one Heins (Heinz) according to Father Anasthasius Douay "a Witenberger." Hiens accompanied La Salle from the coast of Texas northeast across the plains. Together with another white man, living among the wild Indians of the plain, named Ruter (Ritter) evidently also a German, he assassinated Litote, La Salle's surgeon. This Ruter was a chief among the Indians and stood in high honor, because he had taught them how to sail their boats. These Germans evidently were sailors, likely ex-pirates who may have been followers of the greatest of all pirates of the Spanish Main, the German Mansfeldt. But Tonty, in his Memoirs, in speaking of Heins, says "he was an English buccaneer." For expeditions such as La Salle commanded, doubtful characters of all nations were picked up and enlisted. When we consider this it is hardly to be wondered that he was murdered by his own followers. The celebrated John Law, however, was the first who induced German colonists to settle in the colony of Louisiana. On the Arkansas river he had a grant of a large domain — a dukedom — and this he proposed to settle with German farmers. To this promised land he sent a colony of Germans, but before all these colonists arrived the Mississippi Bubble collapsed, and they

Medad Randall (1798); Thomas Bull (1803) from Kentucky—on his place Bethel church was built in 1806. Jacob Foster, senior and junior, came to the country in 1799, and resided near the Rodney place on Foster creek. Martin Rodney arrived in 1798. John Ferrell lived on this creek in 1803; James Campbell on St. Francois (1801); Elisha Whittaker (1802); James Caruthers (1799). David and John Ferrell had a grant at Cedar Cliffs about a half a mile below where Hubbell creek enters the bottom, and they settled there in 1803. Andrew Franks settled near them on the edge of the bottom; so also in 1802 Elijah Welsh, Peter Ballew, James Murphy and William Murphy, all on the edge of the hills leading from the present station of Whitewater to Cape Girardeau. Louis Tache, dit Eustache, had a grant adjacent Thomas Bull and Peter Ballew already named, — must have moved from the edge of the bottom to where the present town of Jackson is situated, because he received a grant at that point. Jonathan Foreman came to the country in 1798 and erected a flour mill on his land in 1800, his grant being located about a mile west of Jackson. Other settlers in the neighborhood of Jackson were Samuel Pew (1802); Henry Hand (1799); Charles Demos (1803); John Hand (1803); Lewis, Drusilla and Hezekiah Dickson (1803); William Hand (1802), and also Lavina Mills. Near Ithamer Hubbell's place Mathew Hubbell settled, so also Allen McKenzie, and immediately north of his place Andrew Franks, heretofore mentioned as having a place on the edge of the bottom, also lived. Moses Hurley, in 1798, in Big Prairie was on Hubbell creek during the Spanish occupancy of the country, so also Edward Robertson; William Harper; Joshua Goza; Walter Burrows (1797) from Kentucky.

were left lost and stranded in an immense wilderness. Those who had reached the shores of the Arkansas river abandoned the possessions of Law and went back to New Orleans and, together with those who were at New Orleans, secured concessions above the city fronting on the Mississippi river, and to this day known as the "German Coast." There by their industry and perseverance they established a flourishing settlement. We know of no other German settlement in the province of Louisiana until about 1799, when was laid the foundation of a solid and compact German settlement on White Water river in the district of Cape Girardeau. In that year, Joseph Neyswanger settled on this stream between White Water river and Caney fork. He came from North Carolina. Near him John Freeman (Freimann) also settled in the same year. Thus the settlement began, and within a few years a number of other Germans from North Carolina and Swiss Germans established themselves in this locality, i. e., Michael Snell (Schnell) (1804); Daniel (Kreutz) Krytz (1800); Valentine Lorr; John Probst (1800). On the main river, however, Major George Frederick Bollinger in 1800 was the most conspicuous settler and pioneer. He was a man of great energy and enterprise, and both before and after the cession of Louisiana one of the leading characters of the territory. He secured a grant of 640 acres at what is now known as Burfordsville, for many years known as Bollinger's Mill. Major Bollinger came from Lincoln county, North Carolina, and on a trip he made subsequently to his settlement in the Spanish domains induced one of the first Protestant preachers, and no doubt the first German Protestant preacher, to come to this district in the latter part of 1803. The Bollinger family were Swiss Germans or of Swiss German descent, and the connection emigrating into the Spanish country was numerous. They all settled up and down White Water, and thus formed the farthest western settlement of the country at the time. These German settlers were greatly favored by Lorimier and Cousin, his secretary. Cousin located a large tract of land immediately adjacent to Bollinger's Mill, undoubtedly influenced by the idea that this settlement would become the most important in the district, and thus the value of his land greatly enhanced. About two miles north of Bollinger's Mill White Water forks, the main stream running almost due north and the other prong running northwest and known as Little White Water,³⁰ and

³⁰ Immediately north of Major George F. Bollinger, Peter and John Krytz (Kreutz) settled; next to them John and Jacob Cothner, followed in order by

near this fork and up both branches of this stream these German pioneers opened farms.

The first settlers on the upper portion of Castor river, just where the river empties its waters into Mingo Bottom, where the village of Zalma is now situate, was Urban Asherbramer (Aschenbrenner or Asherbrauner); who settled there in 1800, and erected a water-mill to grind corn. This mill is yet operated as a water-mill. Near him Philip Bollinger settled. Daniel Asherbramer (Aschenbrenner) who settled on White Water with William Bollinger in 1804 was evidently a relative of Urban. Other settlers on this river were Joseph Watkins (1803) and Robert Harper sometime prior to 1803; also Edward Hawthorne. These were the earliest pioneers on that part of Castor river, in what is now Bollinger county.

Another settlement of early date in Cape Girardeau district was made on what is now known as Randall's creek, but during the Spanish war as "Rivière Charles." Here the Randalls, from Hamilton county, Virginia, arrived in 1797. John Randall obtained a grant situate eight miles from the village "Lorimont" and about one and a half miles east of the present town of Gordonville. Samuel Randall, Medad Randall, Abraham Randall, James Randall, and Enos Randall all made settlements about the same time on and near

John and Jacob Miller. Above the forks of Big and Little White Water we find, in what is now Cape Girardeau county, Daniel Bollinger and Henry Bollinger secured head-rights; and still further northwest, in what is now Bollinger county, Mathias Bollinger, Philip Bollinger, John Bollinger, senior, and Daniel Bollinger. John Bollinger, senior, had three sons, Dewalt, Henry, and Philip. Mathias Bollinger had one son, David. Philip Bollinger had two sons, Frederick and Henry; all these settled up and down and in the neighborhood of these streams, and so also William Bollinger (1802). Other settlers were, Joseph Baker (Becker); Daniel Clingen Smith (Clingsmith) (Klingenschmidt) had a mill; and John Krytz (Kreutz), who all had farms in those days on Little White Water. Dewalt Krytz (Dewald Kreutz) settled about two miles east of John Cothner near Byrd creek. Farther up west, Jacob Slinker, and Frederick (1801); Jeremiah Paynish (1801); William Tismon (1802); John Hoss (1801); Conrad, Adam and Peter Stotlar (Stadler) (1802); Peter and George Grount (1802); Handel Barks (Bergs) (1803); Frederick Limbaugh (Limbach), a German school teacher, and his two sons Michael and Frederick, junior, (1800); Peter Hartle (1802); Benjamin and Daniel Heldebrand (1804); John P. Aidenger (1802); Daniel Brant (1802); may be the same as in New Madrid in 1798 — Isaac Miller (1804). Where White Water leaves the hill country and flows through the bottom lands, a number of American settlers established themselves and secured grants, Francis Murphy (1796); James Murphy (1799); Raisin Bailey (1802); Alexander Par(r)ish (1802); Alexander Thorn (1802); James Horace Austin (1803); Smith (1803); Jacob Shar(r)adin (1803); William Smith (1802); Daniel Brant (1802); George (M.) Morgan (1803); John Shields, no location, (1804); Charles Sexton (1803); William Samer; Daniel Asherbrauner; John Hoss; John Abernathree; Jeremiah Paynish, alias Boining; Christopher Aidenger (1801); John Ramsay, Jr., owned one slave (1800); William Patterson (1803); Alexander Summers.

this creek, and in 1804 a compact settlement existed in this neighborhood. Among other settlers we also find William Williams (1798). McKendree chapel is located on his grant.³¹ Joseph Waller, from Tennessee (1797) also lived on this creek, but afterwards secured a grant on the Mississippi river about twelve miles above Cape Girardeau, where he established a ferry across the river, which was long known as "Waller's Ferry."

On the edge of the Grand Marias, freely translated by the Americans as "Big Swamp," but really not a swamp, the first settlers were, John (Seaver) Saviour (1797); David Bowie, a son of Reazin Bowie of Marias des Peches (Fish Lake) in what is now Mississippi county and Hypolite Mariot (1799) evidently a French hunter attached to Lorimier, and to whom he afterwards assigned his land.³²

At the headwaters of Cape La Cruz (erroneously spelled Cruche) Isaac Williams made a settlement in 1803, but remained only a short time and then removed to Mississippi territory. Immediately south of Williams on the forks of Cape le Cruz creek William Lorimier, a son of Don Louis Lorimier, was supposed to have a farm, and adjacent to him on the west, Lorimier's first secretary Louis François Largeau made a claim, but whether he ever occupied it is not known. His rights to this property however were afterwards sold under exe-

³¹ Other settlers on this creek were John Giboney (1797); James Cox, senior, and his son-in-law, Simeon Kenyon (1797), and his son James Cox, junior, all from Kentucky; Benjamin Hartgrove or Hargrove; Nicholas Seavers, Sr., 1797; Andrew Franks, (1798); John Guething (1798), a carpenter employed by Lorimier in public works, and in apprehending and keeping in custody prisoners; Hugh Criswell (1799); Joseph Thompson, who emigrated to this district from Vincennes where he had rendered military service in 1790 — (also on Ramsay creek and the Mississippi); James and Joseph Worthington (1799); James Hannah (1799); Jacob Jacobs (1799) — from the district of Columbia; Daniel Duggan or Duggin, dit Count de Monnangel; James Arrell or Earls (1798) from Kentucky; Samuel D. Strother (1797), from Kentucky, first settled on the Saline in the Ste. Genevieve district, but in 1799 lived on this creek; James Dowty, a German (1799); William Thompson; Jeremiah Thompson (1798), afterwards moved to Mississippi territory; Elisha Whittaker (1802); Benjamin Lougherty or Laferty (1803). In 1797 Josiah Lee also lived on this creek. Other settlers here were, Gilbert Hector (1799); Jonathan Ditch.

³² Also William Doss resided on the edge of the bottom, (1800), but afterwards removed to lower Louisiana; Solomon Thorn, the gunsmith on Apple creek also had a grant here; so Mathew and Jesse Scruggs and Terence Dyal or Dial (1799); Charles Bunch (1800), was employed as a messenger for the Post of New Madrid in this year. Edward Robertson in 1797 lived here, sold out to Andrew Ramsay and moved to Big Prairie, where he was allowed to keep a tavern and house for the sale of spirituous liquors; Jeremiah Simpson, sold to Mathew Scruggs. Hugh White received a grant on the Illinois road — on the edge of the Grand Marais (Big Swamp) where the Rock Levee begins. White says, he came from Cave de Roque in the Indiana Territory. Micajah Harris (1802) settled on the edge of this bottom.

cution and purchased by John Hays. About half way between Cape la Cruz creek and Randall creek Enos Randall, already mentioned, made his settlement in 1797. Moses Hurley also seems to have been a resident of this locality, because his name frequently appears as a witness. Immediately north of the post of Cape Girardeau adjacent to Lorimier's grant, Pierre Dumay secured a settlement right which he afterward transferred to Pierre Menard. This Dumay lived in New Madrid and was a native of Vincennes, and served there in the militia. Not far from the mouth of Flora creek Stephen Cavender settled.

At the mouth of what is known as Indian creek, then called Table River (*Rivière Table*), Cornelius Averit (t) or Everett established himself. A projecting rock resembling a table, on the south side of this creek, originally gave the name to this creek, and this rock was long pointed out by rivermen as the "Devil's Tea Table," but it has lately been blasted away by the railroad now running along the west bank of the river. Where Apple creek enters the river Pierre Menard of Kaskaskia secured a grant from the Spanish authorities, but no settlement was made there. Probably he had a trading house at this place or supposed it would be a favorable point to locate such an establishment, because the villages of the Shawnee and Delaware Indians were not far from the mouth of Apple creek, and likely for this reason managed to secure a concession. Above the big bend north of Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi, Joseph Chevalier in 1799 made claim under grant of De Lassus. This Chevalier was from Kaskaskia where he rendered military service in 1790. South of Chevalier, on the river, George Henderson set up a claim under Lorimier, dated 1808.³³

Shortly before the cession of Louisiana Lorimier promised to pay the troops which he was ordered by De Lassus to muster into service to punish the Indians near New Madrid, with grants of land, no other means being at his command to pay for this military service.³⁴ Of

³³ Other settlers on the Mississippi river in the Cape Girardeau district were: Lemuel Cheney (1797) from Virginia; John Tayon and John Johnson (1800); David Downard; Benjamin Rose (1797), who settled above William Ross. William Smith from Kentucky also made a settlement near William Ross, but assigned his right to Thomas W. Waters, one of the early merchants of Cape Girardeau in 1805. Edward Hogan had a farm opposite Thebes, Illinois, in 1797; the big railroad bridge now passes over his grant. Hogan acquired his right from Alexander Millikin who came from Tennessee in 1797.

³⁴ We insert here the names of the members of this Spanish-American military company, arranged alphabetically, as follows: Alexander Andrew, Jr., David Asherbrauner; Harris Austin; Washington Abernethie; Cornelius

course no authority existed under the Spanish law to make such a grant, but nevertheless he made a grant of 300 arpens to each of the one hundred and sixty-four men who had served for six weeks in that campaign. These grants were all subsequently confirmed.

Averitt; James Arrell. Daniel Brant; Jonathan Buys; William Bollinger (John's); Henry Bollinger; Charles Bradley; John Burrows; Henry Bollinger (Daniel's); Davalt Bollinger (Daniel's); Philip Bollinger; Henry Bollinger (Philip's); Frederick Bollinger (Philip's); David Bollinger (Mathias'); Daniel Bollinger (John's); John Bollinger (John's); Stephen Byrd; Abraham Byrd, Jr.; John Byrd; Moses Byrd; William Bonner; Samuel Bradley; Thomas Bull; George Frederick Bollinger; Mathias Bollinger; Daniel Bollinger, Sr. James Cooper; Jeremiah Conway; Jephtha Cornelius; Peter Crytz; James Cox; Hugh Connelly, Jr.; George Cavender; Timothy Connelly; Hugh Criswell; Lemuel Cheney; James Cooper; Daniel Clingensmith. Ezekiel Dickson; Charles Demos, (died before the cession and his widow made claim for grant); Elijah Dougherty; John Dougherty; David Downard; James Dowty; William Dougherty; Peter Franks; Barton Franks; Jonathan Forman, Jr.; Jacob Foster, Jr.; George Grount; John Guething; Baptiste Godair; Robert Giboney; David Green; Michael Guinn; Daniel Grount; John Giboney. Jonathan Hubbell, Sr.; George Hays; John Hoss; John Henthorn; Jonathan Hubbell (Itham); Ebenezer Hubbell; Daniel Hubbell (Mathew's); Jonathan Hubbell (Jonathan's); Lemuel Hargrove; William Hand; John Hand; John Hays; George Henderson; Daniel Helderbrand; Benjamin Helderbrand; Thomas Hening; Gilbert Hector; Christopher Hays; William Jackson; James James; Isaac Kelly; Simeon Kenyon; Benjiah Laugherty; Lewis Latham; John Latham; John Lorange; Valentine Lorr; Josiah Lee, Jr.; John Losila; Charles Lucas; James Mills; George Morgan; James Murphy; Rolland Meredith; Daniel Mullins; Joseph Magee; John May; Hipolite Marote; Allen McKensie; William Murphy; Joseph Niswanger; Joseph Niswanger, Sr.; Michael O'Hagan; David Patterson; John Patterson; Samuel Pew; Alexander Parish; Andrew Patterson; Jacob Probst; Adenston Rodgers; James Ramsay, Jr.; Abraham Randall, Jr.; Enos Randall; Thomas Rodney; Zebulon Reed; James Russel; Nicholas Revelle; Andrew Ramsay, Jr.; Andrew Ramsay, Sr.; Anthony Randall; James Randall; Samuel Randall; Medad Randall; Enos Randall, Sr.; Martin Rodney; Andrew Summers; John Summers, Jr.; Frederick Slinker; John Saviour; John Sineson; Charles Sexton; Alexander Summers; Jacob Sharadin; John Sharadin; Dennis Sullivan; John Henry Smith; William Strother; Samuel Strother; William Smith; Adam Statler; Conrad Statler; John Thompson; William Timantz; Solomon Thorn; Jeremiah Thomas; Joseph Thompson, Sr.; Joseph Thompson, Jr.; John Tucker; Elijah Whittaker; William James Williamson; George Welker; Levi Wolverton; Isaac Williams; John Weaver; Elijah Welsh; Jacob Welker; Thomas Wellborn; Joseph Worthington; Philip Young; Austin Young; Joseph Young; John Zellahon.

CHAPTER XVI.

Spanish Occupation of Louisiana—The "Illinois Country" Defined—Spanish Colonial Government—Public Offices Sold at Auction—Duties of Officers—Judicial Procedure—System of Jurisprudence—Notable Changes in Existing System—Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction—Procedure in Appeals—Powers of Lieutenant-Governor—Names of Early Syndics—Some Early Causes—Copy of Cost-bill—Civil Controversies Arbitrated—Judicial Sales made on Sunday—Population of Early Settlements—French and Spanish Relations with Indians Harmonious—The Turbulent Osages—Plan of Chouteau to Control Osages—Specifications for Fort Carondelet—Influence of Louis Lorimier over Delawares—Treatment of Indians by Spain and by English speaking people Compared.

During the French dominion, the territory now within Missouri, was under the jurisdiction of the Commandant of Fort de Chartres and the council associated with him. When the Spaniards assumed possession, O'Reilly, Governor and Captain-General of Louisiana in March 1770, established the office of Lieutenant-Governor of "San Luis, San Genoveva and the district of the Ylinneses,"¹ and his action was approved by royal cedula dated August 17, 1772.² In place of the French Superior Council of the colony, O'Reilly instituted a Cabildo, composed of six perpetual Regidores, two ordinary Alcaldes, an Attorney-General, a Syndic, and a Clerk. This tribunal was presided over by the Governor in person. Nothing will appear more singular to the reader of the present time than the fact that the office of the Regidores could be acquired by purchase, and that when these offices were first established by O'Reilly they were sold at auction, and that the purchaser acquired a vendible interest in these offices, the right to sell and transfer the same to a known and capable person, one half of the appraised value to be paid cash and the balance at the rate of one-third on subsequent changes.³ These Regidores held, respectively, the offices of Royal Standard Bearer (Alferez Real), of Provincial Alcalde, of High Sheriff (Alquazil

¹ It should always be remembered that during the French and Spanish period, the country east of the Mississippi north of the Ohio, and west of the Mississippi, perhaps north of the Cinque Homme, or Apple creek, in what is now Missouri, was known as "Illinois" or the "Illinois country."

² General Archives of the Indies, Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Louisiana, and Florida, 1613-1818.

³ Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination, p. 3. Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 10.

Mayor), of Depository-General and of Receiver of Fines. They elected the ordinary Alcaldes and the Attorney General Syndic and clerk. The salary of these Regidores was only \$50 a year.⁴ The ordinary Alcaldes were the judges in civil and military cases in New Orleans and summarily disposed of judicial matters without any writing, where the amount did not exceed \$25 in value; but in cases involving larger amounts they sat in Chamber, and their proceedings were recorded by a clerk and notary. An appeal could be taken from the judgment of these ordinary Alcaldes to the Cabildo. But the Cabildo did not itself examine the proceeding thus appealed; it selected two Regidores to do so, who, together with the Alcalde who had rendered the judgment, revised the proceedings, and if the Alcalde and the Regidores so selected approved the original finding, the judgment stood affirmed. The Cabildo sat every Friday, but the Governor could convene the body at any time. The principal Provincial Alcalde had cognizance of all matters out of New Orleans. The Alcazil Mayor (High Sheriff) executed throughout Louisiana all processes from the different tribunals, personally or by his deputy. The Attorney-General Syndic was not the prosecuting officer, but represented the people in the Cabildo, and it was supposed to be his duty to propose such measures as the interests of the people required. All officers who received more than three hundred pesos a year were appointed by the crown, but those receiving less than this sum were appointed by the Governor. The Governor exercised judicial powers in criminal and civil cases throughout the colony, but was subordinate to the Captain General of Cuba. An Intendant had charge of the Royal revenue, and attached to him as legal advisor was an Auditor. A Contador, or Comptroller, looked after the accounts. An auditor of war looked after the military revenues; and an assessor of the government was the legal advisor of the Governor. In addition, various secretaries, a Surveyor General, Harbor Master, interpreters of the English, French and Indian languages, Notaries Public and other minor offices were attached to the central government at New Orleans. At every post an officer of the militia or army was stationed as Civil and Military Commandant, being of no higher grade than Captain. The duties of these commandants were to maintain peace and order in their respective districts and places, to examine the passports of every traveler in the colony (for no one was allowed to travel without a passport), to allow no one to settle in his district without express

⁴ 2 Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 11.

license and permission, to punish slaves, to entertain jurisdiction in civil cases—in lower Louisiana in cases involving less than \$20; but in upper Louisiana for larger amounts,—to make inventory of estates of deceased persons and to attend sales under execution of judgments. In upper Louisiana all post commandants were subject to and under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor, residing at St. Louis, with the exception of the Commandant of New Madrid, who, until 1799, when the post of New Madrid was attached to upper Louisiana, exercised the powers of a sub-delegate, having a jurisdiction and authority independent of the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis. Spanish was the official language,⁵ but the use of French was tolerated and finally in legal matters, says O'Reilly, an Abridgement of the Spanish Law “prepared by my assessor Don Manuel de Urrustia and by the advocate Don Felix del Rey who made them by special commission from me,” was made a guide in civil and criminal cases, for all public functionaries and for the people. This compendium, however, was merely an index to the body of the Spanish law.

Thus the laws and customs “of the mayoralty and shreevalty of Paris” which were extended over “said country of Louisiana,” by the seventh article of the Charter of Crozat, apparently, were superseded. Originally the “coutume de Paris” seems to have been selected by the advisers of the King of France, when he granted this charter, as the system of law under which Louisiana should be placed, because it was the best digest of the French law and to which it was proposed to reduce the customary law of all the other provinces of France.⁶ Nor were the rights of the people, conferred by the laws and customs of Paris, in any wise limited, changed or abridged by the transfers made afterward. The third article of the charter of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, expressly stipulates: “The judges established in all the said places shall be held to adjudge according to the laws and ordinances of the kingdom and the officers to follow and conform themselves to the customs of the Prevôte and Vicomte of Paris, according to which the inhabitants may contract, without that any other custom may be introduced to avoid diversity.”⁷

⁵ Cruzat, Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana, was expressly ordered to use the Spanish language, in 1778, in all official documents.

⁶ Enc. Meth. Jurisp.—Coutume, p. 405.

⁷ 1 Moreau de St. Marie, p. 100, cited in American State Papers, 3 Public Lands, p. 83.

Although the Spanish law was introduced, by proclamation of O'Reilly, practically only the names were changed of the officers administering the existing law. No change took place in the essential principles of jurisprudence.⁸ New Spanish officials, designated by Spanish titles, were substituted for the French officials. The manner also of the proceedings in the trial of causes where such trials took place in lower Louisiana to a limited extent was changed, so as to be in accord with the digest of Urrustia and del Rey, until a general knowledge of the Spanish language and a more extensive information of the Spanish law could be secured. The great system of law relating to property and defining the rights of persons and things was left untouched, so that all remained in the enjoyment of these rights by this proclamation.

During the entire Spanish occupation, it is said that new rules and ordinances were promulgated only in regard to three subjects. In 1770, O'Reilly published a series of ordinances as to how and in what manner land would be granted, and subsequently similar ordinances were published by Carondelet, Gayoso de Lemos, and, finally, by Don Juan Ventura Morales in 1800. Another subject in regard to which new laws were published related to the police, and in addition a number of regulations were made in regard to bridges, levees, roads, slaves, coasting-vessels, travelers, arms, estrays, fishing and hunting. These acts, mainly applicable to lower Louisiana, embodied about all the changes made in the existing system during the Spanish occupation of the country. Stoddard says that "An ordinance regulating dower and inheritance of intestate estates was the only law promulgated in upper Louisiana, independent of the rules and regulations in regard to the acquisitions of lands."⁹

The inhabitants of upper Louisiana who were of French descent, claimed as their inherent birth right, the rights and privileges of *coutume de Paris*, and by these usages and customs governed their own domestic affairs and relations as far as they knew. This they did without interference on the part of the Spanish authority, apparently in ignorance of the O'Reilly proclamation or because the Spanish law introduced by this proclamation in no wise conflicted with the *coutume de Paris*.

While the Spanish language was made the official language, French so thoroughly remained the language of the country and its

⁸ De Bow's Review for 1847, p. 33.

⁹ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 285.

inhabitants, that judicial proceedings in upper Louisiana were carried on principally in that language during the Spanish occupation; but such cases as went by appeal to the Governor-General at New Orleans, were, it seems, presented in the Spanish language, being either originally so instituted or translated on appeal. Petitions in judicial proceedings and petitions for grants and lands were indifferently written in Spanish or French in upper Louisiana.

No question directly arose during the Spanish occupancy of upper Louisiana as to whether or not the Spanish law had superseded the *coutume de Paris*. The settlements were isolated and unimportant. Such legal questions as arose involved facts rather than principles of law, and since the *coutume de Paris* and the Spanish law were derived from the same common source, it was hardly possible that any serious difficulty as to any legal question could arise. We may however conjecture, that possibly if a question of law had directly arisen, bringing into conflict the laws and regulations as established by the *coutume de Paris* and the Spanish Colonial code, that the Spanish lawyers and officials would have declared that the Spanish law prevailed in the colony.

In 1787, Peyroux, then Commandant of Ste. Genevieve, was instructed that he had power to decide only matters "up to the sum of fifty pesos," and that in cases above that sum an appeal must be made to the Lieutenant-Governor as in all other matters concerning "inventories and finances because of the death of any of those inhabitants," but he was authorised in such cases to take judicial action in the presence of two witnesses until the cause could be placed in a situation for the Lieutenant-Governor to pronounce sentence. These instructions very probably define the extent of the civil jurisdiction of the several commandants of upper Louisiana, with the exception of New Madrid. Each commandant had the public archives of his post under his charge. It was his duty to report, as to the affairs of his post, to his superiors. It was the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor, or commandant-in-chief, says Trudeau, "to go to any of these villages when any criminal or summary process is to be pursued," thus taking cognizance of criminal cases in the several districts, although the local commandants also exercised jurisdiction in some criminal matters, subject, however, it is quite certain, to an appeal to the Lieutenant-Governor. In a criminal case which arose shortly before the cession, one, Moses Burnett was arrested in the New Madrid district for stealing two horses from Lorimier and

sent directly to St. Louis to be imprisoned and tried by the Lieutenant-Governor there.¹⁰

During the Spanish government, any one aggrieved by the ruling or decision of these military and civil officers of upper Louisiana, could not only appeal his case¹¹ to the Governor General at New Orleans, but could take it thence to a judicial tribunal in Cuba, and from this tribunal to the Audiencia of San Domingo, and from thence even to the Council of the Indies in Spain.¹² No code of procedure was ever devised more carefully safe-guarding the rights of the individual in theory than the Spanish colonial code. It was merely a matter of money to secure all these rights practically, but the same observation may be applied to every other system of jurisprudence. But "Judges, codes of law and prisons were of little use where such

¹⁰ This arrest was the cause of a good deal of litigation. Burnett after his arrest, escaped from the "calaboza" of St. Louis, and returned to the Tywappity bottom in the New Madrid district, where his family resided. His wife was a sister of Reazin Bowie, who had been syndic of this neighborhood. Burnett remained at home for some time and then with his wife and her slaves and other property started to move by land to lower Louisiana, but Lorimier hearing of his return and attempt to move away, followed him with his son, Andrew Ramsay, and others, and found Mrs. Burnett at the house of Mr. Payne on the St. François river. Burnett, however, was in the woods and could not be found. Lorimier then took possession of the slaves and twelve horses, all claimed by Mrs. Burnett. The province in the meantime having been transferred to the United States, Captain Stoddard made an order for the sale of the property and then Mrs. Burnett presented her petition to the civil commandant of New Madrid, setting forth that all this property belonged to her, that Burnett, at the time of her marriage with him, only had one horse, that the horses and slaves were inherited by her from her father or secured by trades made with her property. Under the enlightened rules of the civil law and which prevailed at the time of her marriage in upper Louisiana, her property was not liable for the debts of her husband and could not be taken for the debts of the husband. When the matter was presented to Captain Stoddard he referred the case to the new courts to be organized, but says: "we doubt whether she can legally obtain the property mentioned in the petition, because it is *personal* property and therefore became the property of the husband on marriage," applying the common law rule, but which was never the rule under the civil law. New Madrid archives vol. 9, p. 314.

Burnett, after the cession in 1805, sued Lorimier, for damages, in the new court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, in Cape Girardeau, but was himself indicted by the grand jury, at the same term, for burglary, and then disappeared. It is not known what became of him. Likely went to the Red river in Louisiana, where his brothers-in-law were engaged in bringing negro slaves into the country via Galveston bay, and which they bought from LaFitte. Was this Burnett related to David G. Burnett, first president of Texas, and who was *empresario* of a grant covering the country in which the Bowie's operated?

¹¹ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 285. But appeal must be taken within five days.

¹² Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 285. "But in case of appeal the party appealing was first obliged to pay the amount in dispute, if the matter related to a claim, to the opposite party, who was required to give bond that in case of reversal he would repay the sum. This regulation was intended to prevent litigious and vexatious appeals for the purpose of delay and partly to shield the poor from

simplicity of manners prevailed and where every one knew how to confide in his neighbor.”¹³

The government was a parental despotism. To illustrate: the common field fence was not maintained in front of the lot owned by a Mrs. Verdon, of the village of St. Louis, as required by the rules and regulations. Consequently, without any litigation whatever, simply by order of the Lieutenant-Governor, the lot was given to Mr. Chouteau, who took possession of it and kept up the fence. Such a method of disposing of the property of a recalcitrant lot owner hardly seems possible to us under a system of government, where all affairs are regulated by fixed law and administered by officers belonging to different departments. But the Lieutenant-Governor united in himself at that time executive, judicial and military functions; he made concessions of the royal domain; he ordered and conducted judicial sales; he acted as notary and controlled the public affairs of the province without the interference of any one; the people regarded him as the representative of the sovereign. Hence when property could be secured for the asking, it was not an unusual thing, if a person to whom property had been granted neglected to do those things required by the established rules and regulations to protect the other lot owners, that his property was given to some one who would do those things.¹⁴

Cases arising in the several settlements and falling within the jurisdiction of the local commandants were quickly tried and adjusted by them or by the Syndics appointed and acting under them. The Syndics resided usually in the remoter settlements, and in the dependencies of the several posts. This position was filled for a time in New Madrid by Pierre Antoine LaForge, by Pierre de Treget at Carondelet, Joseph Decelle Duclos at Mine á Breton, Joseph Chartrand at Charette on the Missouri river, Richard Caulk at Bon Homme, Edmond Hodges, north of St. Louis in the neighborhood of Spanish Pond, James Sturgess on the Platin, Robert Owen at Marais des Liards, about three miles west of Florissant, and Reazin Bowie in Tywappity Bottom. These Syndics received no salary. To the the oppression of the rich, and had the desired effect. Appeals were not common and those who made them could have no other object in view than the reversal of erroneous judgments.” It is not hard to imagine how disastrous such a rule would now be to the legal profession and how it would lighten the labors of the appellate courts.

¹³ Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*, p. 236.

¹⁴ *Charleville vs. Chouteau*, 18 Mo., p. 505. This property is now in the heart of St. Louis and worth untold millions. Madam Verdon died in 1796;

commandants of Ste. Geneveive, New Bourbon and Cape Girardeau was assigned 150 pesos each annually, but the other commandants served without pay, although perhaps at greater expense on account of receiving the Indians and entertaining them on their visits. Trudeau thought they were entitled to a salary.

In practice the administration of the laws was simple. After hearing the stories of both parties, the decree of the Commandant or the Syndic was promulgated, and to that decree, with rare exceptions, all parties submitted.¹⁵ It is also true that during the entire period of the Spanish occupation, only a few cases were carried by appeal from upper Louisiana to the Governor-General at New Orleans. The despotism, if so it may be designated, exercised by these civil and military officers must have been mild and beneficent in character.

Under this judicial system we are told "judgment and execution might be had in four days," yet, by special indulgence, which it seems was always extended, time was generally given to a delinquent defendant so that he could pay without distress or sacrificing his property. To illustrate: Andrew Ramsay secured a judgment against Edward Robertson before the Post Commandant of Cape Girardeau, but Robertson was not able to pay, and in order to secure a stay of execution, addressed the following letter copied literally in English to this officer:

"To Don Louis Lorimier, Commander Civil and Military of the Post at Cape Girardeau.

Honoured Sir;

In answer to the order given to Mrs. Ramsay by me, the note Mr. Ramsay has on me was due in the fall of 1797, which I was ready and willing to discharge it at that time and Mr. Ramsay purchased the note in the fall of 1798, and if he had sent the note from Kentucky at that time, I was able to have paid it without any damage to me; but his knowing that corn would be scarce in this settlement at this season of the year, must certainly have been his reasons for not sending it forward until now, and as this advantage is taken of me, I am not able to pay the corn at this season, as it is not to be had in this country and it was not my neglect that the corn was not paid at the season that it became due. I am in hope that your honor will allow me the same season of the year to pay it as the note became due. Honoured Sir, if you will please to wait until Mr. Ramsay comes home and he will take any property, in lieu of the corn, that I can spare, I will immediately on his arrival pay him up. I expect he will be at home himself in a short time, and is a reasonable man. But as for Mrs. Ramsay, she is destitute of anything that is consistent with reason, and Sir, you know very well that I have summoned a number of the inhabitants that was indebted to

her maiden name was Victoire Richelet; she married Joseph Verdon in 1772 and separated from him in 1775. The piece of ground or lot was situated behind the fort adjoining the land of Chouteau and Marly, and the property was valued at the time of her death, it seems, at ten dollars.

¹⁵ De Bow's Review for 1847, p. 33.

me before you in order to recover payment of them to answer my contracts and am not one dollar the better off, as they are not able to pay me. Therefore, I pray your Honor will consider my case with them and give all of us time to make the produce before we can pay it.

13th May, 1799."

his
EDOUD X ROBERTSON.
mark

It is claimed that fees, costs and legal charges were very low during the Spanish domination at St. Louis, but the cost bills in the judicial proceedings that have been preserved do not bear out this statement.¹⁶ It was notorious that the costs and expenses of every kind attendant upon litigation before the Spanish tribunals and officers at New Orleans were very great. The American settlers in this Spanish territory generally manifested little inclination to enter into litigation. Of course, during this period there were no practicing lawyers in the country, nor was forensic discussion encouraged or even tolerated.

No disposition was shown by the people generally to violate the criminal code of the province. The French attach more disgrace to legal punishment than do most other people.¹⁷ The early American settlers were awed by the dread of the "Mexican mines and the dungeons of the Havannah." However, this threat to send to the mines was generally only a *brutum fulmen*, for according to Clark "if a man suffers in such a business his crime must be aggravated, and then he is only sent to the mines if devoid of friends or money to bribe his judges."¹⁸ A single instance will show how even small criminal matters in upper Louisiana were managed: In 1800 one Moses Moodey, a merchant settler, came to the house of one Griffin in the night at about eleven o'clock, and demanded "his things and a settlement." But Griffin said that this was no time to settle, and after some further dispute, Moodey drew his pistol, threatening both Griffin and his wife. Griffin then sprang upon Moodey, who evaded his grasp and escaped. All of this was witnessed by one Dr. Wallis. Complaint was made by Griffin to Dunegant, the Commandant of St. Ferdinand, and six militiamen were at once ordered to search for Moodey. He was duly arrested and sent to DeLassus in St. Louis where he was imprisoned. Soulard was deputed to go to St. Ferdinand to take the evidence, and this he did without delay. After remaining in prison a month, Moodey petitioned DeLassus for release, acknowledging his guilt, saying that this was his first offense; that

¹⁶ 1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 301.

¹⁷ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 283.

¹⁸ 2d Wilkinson Memoirs, Extract from Daniel Clark's Memoir in Appendix.

he was under the influence of liquor; that he would pay the costs and hereafter "give no cause for complaint." In this petition Griffin joined, and accordingly Moodey was pardoned.¹⁹

It can be easily imagined that seditious language, was especially held in profound abhorrence by the constituted authorities, under such a combined military and civil judicial system. Consequently, it was only at rare intervals that the French settler, politically cowed and tamed, would allow language in derogation of the existing order of things to escape his lips, because if such language was reported to the Lieutenant-Governor or to the Commandant of the post, as it would usually be with promptitude, the punishment was swift and condign; no judge nor jury to delay matters, or the execution of the judgment. We have heretofore referred to the case of one Le Tourneau, who was banished from the society of the happy and contented early inhabitants of "Paincourt" by decree of Governor Piernas. Here is the way Governor Piernas got rid of Monsieur Le Tourneau:

"We, Don Pedro de Piernas, Captain of Infantry and Lieutenant-Governor of the Illinois settlements of his Catholic Majesty: In view of the complaint of Mr. Louis Lambert of the 15th of August against Amable Le Tourneau, a Canadian, accused of using improper and seditious language in contempt and derision of the ordinance of the King, published by us at the door of the church on the day of the Feast of the Assumption, and also of Mr. Joseph Labusciere of the same date of the same affect, we declare the said Amable La Tourneau duly attainted and convicted of seditious language, and a disturber of the public peace, and sentence him to ten years banishment from his Majesty's settlements, with still heavier punishment should he disregard this sentence, and reappear; as also to pay all the costs and expenses of this prosecution."

"Sentence executed this day —

Cottin, Alquazil." ²⁰

¹⁹ The cost-bill in this case was as follows:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Governor's fees, decree and signature,..... | 8 reals, |
| Governor's fees, for order to Adjutant Soulard,..... | 8 reals, |
| Governor's fees, in reading affidavit,..... | 24 reals, |
| Of the cost of 12 pages, one real for four pages,..... | 3 reals, |
| Signature to cost-bill,..... | 2 reals, |
| | <hr/> |
| | 45 reals, |
| | or \$5.62½ |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Soulard's fees: going out of town, 4 ducats,..... | 44 reals, |
| Horse and feed, each 8 reals,..... | 16 reals, |
| Two taking affidavits, two ducats each,..... | 44 reals, |
| Eight and one-half pages, writing 2 reals,..... | 17 reals, |
| Eight signatures, four reals each,..... | 32 reals, |
| | <hr/> |
| | 153 reals, |
| | or \$19.12 |

Total cost 198 reals, or \$24.75.

²⁰ 1 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 303.

But the Le Tourneau family seems to have remained, although the unfortunate Amable was exiled. After the United States acquired Louisiana, one Louis Le Tourneau dit Lafleur and his wife, Marie Bissonette, traded property with one Charles Bosseron and Theresa Brazeau, his wife, and the difference of \$150.00 was settled in "deer skins at the rate of two and one half lbs. to the dollar."

Malefactors when apprehended did not fare easily before tribunals thus organized in these settlements. The following judgment, also accidentally preserved, in which Don Louis Lorimier, Commandant at Cape Girardeau, deals out summary justice to a horse thief, shows how crimes against live property were punished:

"Whereas, it evidently appears by the written depositions of William Lorimier and Henry Sheridan, that Robert Pulliam, an inhabitant of Horse Prairie settlement, in the district of Kaskaskia, territory of the United States, hath committed a theft in this place the nineteenth day of the month, we, Don Louis Lorimier, Commander, civil and military, of the Post of Cape Girardeau, by virtue of the authority vested in us to maintain good order and administer justice in the said post, have condemned, and do hereby condemn, the said Robert Pulliam to receive thirty lashes on his bare back, and to defray the expense incurred by his prosecution, and restore the articles stolen, after which, the said Robert Pulliam is hereby ordered to depart without further delay from this post, and to appear no more therein, else he shall be liable to receive five hundred lashes at every time he shall be apprehended within the limits of our jurisdiction. We, therefore, do hereby give orders to the inhabitants of this post not to harbor the said Robert Pulliam in or near their plantations, and whenever he shall be found within the extent of this post, to apprehend and bring him before us; and every inhabitant who shall not comply with the present order shall be culpable and fined accordingly.

Given at Cape Girardeau, the twenty-fourth of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety nine.

L. LORIMIER."

Civil controversies were often settled by arbitration. As a case in point may be cited, the controversy between Louis Diard and Jean Datchurut, a merchant of Ste. Genevieve in 1769, involving what were at that time large interests. Diard having obtained, before Don Luis Unzaga, Governor-General at New Orleans, in January, 1770, a judgment *ex parte* which was about to be executed in St. Louis in upper Louisiana, it was agreed that in order to "put a stop to a suit which might be ruinous to both," the whole controversy should be referred to "three expert arbitrators, knowing their business." The men selected were, "Mr. Perrault, merchant, at present in the post of St. Louis" acting for Diard, and "Mr. Laclede Ligest, also merchant in this place" and "Mr. Lambert Lafleur, Lieutenant of Militia," as the third, in case of disagreement. After this agreement had been signed by the parties, before Don Pedro Piernas, Lieutenant Governor, he made the order under the date of June

1st that "considering the foregoing claim, we order Messrs. Per-rault, Laclede and Lambert, heretofore named, will decide between Messrs. Diard and Datchurut and will make report to us of their award in the case, to be made known to whom it may concern." On June 9th the two arbitrators promptly decided the case without calling on the third man, Lambert, settling the whole controversy involving many complicated questions of commercial law.²¹

The first legal controversy within the present limits of Madison county of which we have any record, arose in 1770. Pierre Massè dit Picard and Jean Baptiste LaBastille, lead miners living at "Mine LaMotte" were the plaintiffs. They had taken out 20,000 pounds of lead at this mine, when they were interrupted in their profitable work by another miner, named LaRose who forbade them mining any more, claiming that the land upon which they had worked belonged to him and that he had transferred the land to Datchurut, one of his creditors; he also took possession of the lead they had mined. Massè and LaBastille thereupon applied to Piernas for relief, alleging that they did not know the land belonged to LaRose; that the land was not surveyed and the lines run until after they had brought out the lead; that LaRose could not show them his lines when questioned; in short, "that the land had not been measured" and "lines established" before they mined the land. This petition was filed by them November 30, 1770, and on December 1st, Piernas ordered "that in default of LaRose having measured and marked his land, the said Picard and LaBastille may take away their lead and mineral seized by Datchurut and LaRose."

But Massè dit Picard was not so fortunate in another case, also arising in this lead district. One Pierre Dagobert was then a merchant in Ste. Genevieve; he also was engaged in operating lead mines, and therefore employed Massè as a miner and agreed to pay him one hundred francs a month in lead at 5 cents a pound, current price at that time, for his work. But when his time was out and he applied to Mrs. Dagobert for his pay, Mr. Dagobert being absent, she went with him to Mr. Vallé, the Post Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, who had the lead in his possession. Vallé offered payment in cash instead of the lead, lead having gone up in price. This led to a dispute in which Massè says, in his petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, he was violently thrown against a trunk by Vallé, who also threatened to have him imprisoned and then directed his clerk to write on the back of his

²¹ 1 Billon's Annals, p. 101.

contract of agreement to work, an acceptance of the pay offered him by Vallé, and a relinquishment of his claim to the lead, all this over his mark of the cross. Massè's petition was filed in February, and in March the matter was referred to Charpentier for investigation and testimony was taken. A statement was made by Vallé at the instance of Piernas, and in June Lieutenant-Governor Cruzat, who in the meantime had succeeded Piernas as Governor, ordered Massè to make a public retraction and apology to Mr. Vallé for the injurious imputations made against him in his petition, "in the presence of three notable citizens to be selected by Don Louis de Villars," and to suffer eight days imprisonment. In November Massè asked for permission to take the case before Governor-General at New Orleans, and this permission was granted; but the decision of Cruzat was confirmed by the Governor-General. Then in June, 1776, the Lieutenant-Governor gave notice that he had appointed Pierre Laclede, Henry Charpentier and Martin Duralde to receive the apology, and Diego Blanco and Jean Olivier, two soldiers, were appointed as witnesses, the Lieutenant-Governor fixing a day early in November for this purpose, but Vallé was sick on the day fixed and could not attend in person. He therefore appointed Dr. Joseph Connand, at that time a merchant in St. Louis, to represent him. On the day appointed Massè declined to make an apology, saying "he had not given any offense to Mr. Vallé;" but, apparently having reconsidered the matter, on the 12th of November, he wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor that he "would comply with the decision in the case." Although Massè finally lost his case it is very evident that he was a sturdy and independent man, not easily awed and cowed into submission by the constituted officials, who combined executive, judicial and administrative powers, and that he did not readily surrender what he considered his rights.²²

The speedy disposition of cases is illustrated in another instance. In 1780, Charles Gratiot, a merchant at Cahokia, deposited with Charles Sanguinet a lot of merchandise, which Sanguinet afterwards refused to give up, claiming that Gratiot was indebted to him. Gratiot filed what we would call a petition in replevin with Lieutenant-Governor DeLeyba on May 8th; Sanguinet replied on May 10th; depositions were taken next day, and on May 12th Gratiot made an offer to Sanguinet to allow him to keep the goods at his (Gratiot's)

²² According to Billon, Masse died July 24, 1780, at the house of Dr. Reynal, and was buried in the graveyard which then existed on Market street east of Third street in St. Louis.

appraisement. This Sanguinet declined, but on May 16th he proposed that the goods be appraised by arbitrators. This Gratiot declined, and on May 20th Sanguinet finally refused to accept the goods at Gratiot's valuation, and on May 26th DeLeyba entered the following decree:

"All the evidence in this case having been attentively examined and duly considered, we decide that Mr. Sanguinet is not sustained in his defence; that he corruptly detained the goods of Mr. Gratiot that had been merely entrusted to his care for safe keeping, as is proven by all the evidence in the case. In consequence, we condemn the said Mr. Sanguinet in all the costs, expenses and damages of this suit, and direct him to restore to Mr. Gratiot all the merchandise, etc., deposited with him by said Gratiot for safe-keeping, under penalty of imprisonment."

The rights of laboring men who had entered into an agreement or engagement to work were then regarded lightly. If a workingman failed to work as he agreed he was liable to be arrested and sent to prison until he made up his mind to work, as he had contracted. A complaint against a laboring man is preserved in the Ste. Genevieve archives and gives us a vivid idea of how laboring men were managed then. A man by the name of Mullen had agreed in writing to work for Moses Austin, but concluded to quit for some reason or other. Austin objected and filed his petition with the Commandant of the district of Ste. Genevieve to make Mullen work as he had agreed — in words following:

"To Don Francesco Vallé, Commandant Civil and Military of Ste. Genevieve, &c.

Moses Austin of Ste. Genevieve has the honor to represent to you that one named Mathew Mullen, whom he engaged for one year by written contract to work at the Mines of Breton, refuses to fulfil his engagement and *will not work* for your petitioner.

Your petitioner therefore prays you, Sir, to order the said Mullen to fulfil his engagement and in case of refusal that he *may be compelled thereto by force*, and you will do justice.

At Ste. Genevieve the 29th May, 1799.

MOSES AUSTIN."

Upon this petition the Commandant endorsed the following order:

"Let the present be communicated to the party, that he may give reasons or adhere thereto. Ste. Genevieve, 29th May, 1799.

VALLÉ."

It can not be denied that however vicious the system, in many instances effective and substantial justice was meted out. The cases were not long delayed or continued from month to month. Short

cases, short orders or decrees, and mandate to restore property, or to go to the "calaboza," as the jail of that period was generally designated, were much in favor.

Offenses against personal character, such as slander and libel, at that time appear to have been quite prevalent, in "Paincourt" (St. Louis.) Thus, one Michael Calas was cited for having defamed the reputation of Madame Montardy and dealt with in a summary way. It was decreed that he personally apologize and ask her pardon, and in addition pay a fine of twelve hundred mararedis, one half to go to the lady, and the other one half to go to the church. The order closes as follows: "and to be banished and chased away from this part of the Illinois for ten years, as a pernicious calumniator and disturber of the public repose, as much for the present offense as other violences committed heretofore. To this effect he will be conducted by a detail of men beyond the bounds of this province where this sentence will be read to him by the constable of this post, enjoining on him to respect his banishment and not to reappear under penalty of corporal chastisement if found in the possessions of his Catholic Majesty." A certain Menard also, who had impeached the honor of one of the early ladies of St. Louis, was ordered to publicly disclaim the slander, and in addition condemned to suffer "imprisonment of fifteen days as an example to others."

Many other cases relating to the women of early St. Louis came before the Lieutenant-Governor. So Joseph Robidoux was made miserable by a report, which was spread abroad, breaking up a proposed marriage between him and the daughter of Bequette; the slanderous words being that his family in Canada had harbored "wicked ones." Robidoux petitioned that Bequette be compelled to disclose the informant. The Lieutenant-Governor, however dismissed the complaint and very sensibly advised all parties to hold their tongues, recommending Robidoux to secure documents from Canada establishing the respectability of his family.

The civil and military Commandants were generally vigilant in enforcing all such rules and ordinances as related to the administration of public affairs in the country. No one was allowed to settle on the public domain in the country without express permit of the Post Commandants. No one, not even an old resident of the country, was permitted to travel from one village to another more than twenty miles distant without obtaining from the Post Commandant a pass-

port, in which was specifically stated the road to be travelled going and returning.²³

Judicial sales always took place on Sunday at the church door, at the close of Mass, at 12 o'clock noon. Everybody was supposed to attend church, and consequently, this occasion was deemed most appropriate to execute a judicial process. When real property was sold it was not finally knocked down to the highest bidder on the first Sunday, but it was exposed to sale again on two subsequent Sundays, and if no one bid a higher price at these subsequent days, the sale was announced as settled. Evidently, real estate speculation was not favored at the expense of the distressed debtor. At such sales the commandant of the Post or the Lieutenant-Governor was always present. On Sunday, too, the decrees, new laws and ordinances of the Governor-General of the province or kingdom, and the new rules and regulations of the Lieutenant-Governor or Post Commandant, were read.

Under the Spanish law the commandants were required to make a register of the inhabitants of their respective districts, and of this register a copy was required to be sent to the Royal Council of the Indies.²⁴ Accordingly almost the first official act of Piernas, when he took possession of upper Louisiana, was the issuance of an order to take the census. When this was done the total population residing in the western Illinois country numbered only 891.²⁵ At that time the population of the villages of St. Louis and of Ste. Genevieve was exactly the same.²⁶ The largest part of this population had only recently settled on the west side of the river. In 1771, according to Hutchins,²⁷ the total population on the east side, including 230 negroes, was 530, and the total population on the west side, including 120 negroes, 723. But in 1772, there were 497 persons in St. Louis of whom 198 were slaves; and in Ste. Genevieve 592, of whom 287 were negro slaves, showing a total population of 1,088, in what is now Missouri. During the administration of Miro, in 1785, a census of upper Louisiana shows the population of St. Louis to have been 897, and of Ste. Genevieve 594, a total of but 1,592. In 1788 the population of the St. Louis district had increased to 1,197, and in Ste. Genevieve

²³ American State Papers, Public Lands, p. 451, Letter of Hon. Thomas F. Riddick.

²⁴ White's Recompilation, American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 225.

²⁵ 2 Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 3.

²⁶ Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination, p. 23.

²⁷ Hutchins' Topographical Description, p. 111.

district to 896. Morgan writes, in 1789, that he was astonished to find that in twenty years the country had not advanced in agriculture or population, and that, according to the report made by Hutchins in 1769, the present population did not exceed that at the earlier date, "whereas, at that time, there was not a single farm settled on the waters of the Ohio, and now in Kentucky alone you will find more than 150,000 inhabitants." In 1795 Trudeau reports the total population at 2,927, this report not including New Madrid, which in 1791 numbered 219 persons. In 1796 the total population was 3,083, and in addition New Madrid numbered 457 white persons and 42 slaves; but in 1797 the population of New Madrid had increased to 693.

When DeLassus was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana in 1799, the first comprehensive and statistical census of Upper Louisiana was taken, showing the following population: St. Louis 925; Carondelet 184; St. Charles 875; St. Ferdinand 276; Marais des Liards 376; Maramec 115; St. Andre 393; Ste. Genevieve 949, exceeding the population of St. Louis; New Bourbon 560; Cape Girardeau 521; New Madrid 282; Little Meadows (Prairie) 49; total population 6,028. The total number of whites was 4,948 — slaves 883, and free colored 197. During this year 34 marriages were celebrated and 192 births and 52 deaths occurred. According to the last Spanish census of 1803, the population of the Cape Girardeau district was 1,206, an increase of 622 since the census of 1799, the population having more than doubled in four years in this district.

The era of the French and Spanish possession of Missouri was unmarked by such Indian wars, forays or massacres as occurred in the Anglo-American colonies. The rules and regulations of the Spanish government for the protection of the Indians were numerous and specific, and the Government sought in every possible manner to protect these aboriginal inhabitants. In upper Louisiana, as elsewhere in America, the French settlers managed to live in amity with the Indians. When the savage visited the French villages on the Mississippi, he felt at home there. These French pioneers were free from the haughty arrogance and race superiority that characterised even the poorest Anglo-Saxon pioneer and they were especially free from the land hunger that consumed even the humblest English speaking settlers. Hence the two races generally lived in harmony and exchanged good offices. Then, too the French

understood the Indian character and manifested a decent respect for his customs, his habits and his prejudices and for his institutions; made no attempt to induce him to accept alien and foreign ideas, always, of course, excepting the French missionaries, whose labors to Christianize them were unceasing and indefatigable.

But it would be erroneous from what has been said, to suppose that during the Spanish government, Indian depredations did not occur. The Osages, especially, always gave the Spanish authorities much trouble. Trudeau says that they always have "been the greatest obstacle to the settlement of the country." In 1794 Auguste Chouteau went to New Orleans with a delegation of Osage chiefs, and while there with Carondelet devised a scheme to control these Indians. In a secret letter, dated May 24th, 1794, Carondelet wrote the Duke Alcudia that the Big and Little Osages had committed numerous robberies from the "city of San Luis de Ilinoia," as far south as "Nuevo Madrid," and Nachitoches, so that the settlers scarcely dared to leave the settlements to cultivate the fields or hunt. Like his predecessors, he had tried every means to reduce them to perpetual peace with the Spaniards, but that he too, experienced the same perfidy. He says, also, that he had tried to excite other savage nations against them, in the same manner as had been done with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, Arkansas and other Indian nations, but that while awaiting the results of these measures, the expedition organized by the French on the Ohio to invade Louisiana, made it necessary to take into account the possibility of these French using the Indians against Spain. He therefore thought it best to receive a delegation of six of their great chiefs, who came from the Osage river to make peace, and accede to their request on condition that they pledge themselves to permit the erection, on a height overlooking their principal village, of a fort to be garrisoned by Spaniards. This was to hold their young warriors in check, and to obtain from them satisfaction in case of robberies committed by them. The Indians had accepted this proposition. He then adds that he was informed beforehand that a citizen of "San Luis," Don Auguste Chouteau, who "enjoys the greatest consideration among the Indians" had offered to enter into contract to establish such a fort at his own expense, on condition that he be granted the exclusive trade with these Osages for six years, and that he receive the annual sum of \$2,000, to be paid a garrison of twenty men of the fort, this sum not to be paid in case His Majesty should conclude to alter the arrange-

ment by sending twenty veteran soldiers of the army to the fort. Carondelet then urges the approval of the contract as follows: "It is to be observed likewise, that the Commandant of said fort enjoys no pay whatever, and that His Majesty can replace him by an officer of his troops whenever he may deem proper, but I hold that until these Indians become habituated to the intercourse and habits of our nation, it will not be proper to adopt a different system; and as the six years of the present contract appear to me sufficient, therefore, His Majesty will at the end of that time find himself, without the slightest expense, master of a fort with all the edifices of stone necessary for a garrison of forty men, and will find a powerful nation under his dominion, who thus far have been an obstacle to the growth and prosperity of the settlements of upper Louisiana, as the Osages have amid the people of Nuevo Madrid alone stolen more than sixty horses in one night; and finally the enemies of this province, whether French, American or English would be deprived of a resource, always ready at hand, for introducing themselves into our interior possessions and extending their incursions three or four hundred leagues."

Auguste Chouteau in urging his proposal upon the Spanish officials, writes on May 18, 1794, that the Osages count twelve hundred warriors, and that in view of the knowledge he acquired of them after thirty years of commerce with them, he is of the decided opinion that the only means of subjecting these Indians and preventing them from destroying and pillaging the settlements, is to construct a fort in "their very town," maintaining in it a garrison, and thus enabling the chiefs to "restrain the young warriors and prevent them from making raids, and chastise with the penalty of death those who commit murder in our districts, and bring about also restitution of such robberies as they may commit." In order to accomplish this with the approbation of the Osages, he proposed to construct this fort "incurring the risk with his brother, Pedro Chouteau" who is to be Commandant of the same, until the government should station a detachment of regular troops there. To indemnify him for the expense incurred, he asks for the space of six years, the exclusive trade privileges among the Osages on the Osage river, "without any other trader or hunter, except those he may send, on any pretext, presenting himself to trade with said nation." This proposal Carondelet accepted on the 21st of May 1794, advising the Duke of Alcudia on the 24th of May 1794, in the letter already quoted. The plans and specifications for this fort, which became known as "Fort Carondelet," are

dated May 18, 1794. It seems they were drawn up at New Orleans, as follows:

"The said stronghold is to be composed of two parts: The first shall be of brick or stone and the second of logs ten inches square laid horizontally one upon the other, as the Americans practice. It shall form a perfect square each side of thirty-two feet. The second part shall be placed diagonally, that is, so that each side shall cut and correspond to the angle of the first story, and each angle to the middle side of the second story: by which means those defending the top can exterminate with hand-grenades and guns through the holes in the plankwork, all those who attempt to force the door or approach the base of the wall.

The planking of the first story floors shall be at least three inches thick unless the contractor prefer to use tight bricks or stone of same dimensions. That of the second story shall be at least two inches thick and that of the garret shall be of common boards.

The elevation of the first story shall be ten feet between first and second floors, that of the second story nine feet in the same manner: the roof shall have a height of six or eight feet and be covered with tiles, bricks, slate or mud.

All the woodwork shall be sustained by four posts, set at equal intervals in the interior of the edifices, on which the beam shall rest to insure greater solidity.

There shall be two embrasures in each facade of the first story, ten by eight inches square, for placing artillery on pillars (?) with a very thick door as on the vessels.

The door of the fort of the most solid nature with hinges, bolts and lock of iron, shall be $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and five feet wide. The stairway to upper story shall be solid and well conditioned; there shall be on each side of second story, ten loop-holes for guns $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet over the floor, and two at the extremities of the lower sides at a height of six feet, so that they can be used by mounting on a chair without danger of the enemy being able to insert guns to fire into the lower story.

New Orleans, May 18, 1794.

Auguste Chouteau.
Rubric."

In order to protect the settlers against the Osages and a possible hostile American invasion, Carondelet as already stated induced the Shawnees and Delawares to settle permanently in upper Louisiana. This immigration and settlement was brought about chiefly by Louis Lorimier. The extent and character of his power over them is evident from the fact that on one occasion when a Delaware Indian killed a white man on his way to Vincennes, in what is now Illinois, he induced the Delawares, although at the time living without the jurisdiction of the United States, to surrender the guilty Indian to the authorities at Kaskaskia for punishment. This incident is noted by Jefferson in his correspondence, and the name of the man murdered is given by him as Harrison. He instructed the Secretary of State to write a letter of acknowledgement to the Marquis de Casa Yurjo, the Spanish Ambassador, and also instructed the Secretary of War, General Henry Dearborn, to send a copy of this letter, together with a letter of thanks to Lorimier, and to

arrange to interview and give a medal to the principal chief of the Delawares, Takinantha (or Captain Allen).²⁸

During the Spanish regime no effort was made to deprive the Indians of their land by treaty, "to extinguish the Indian title," as it is euphonistically expressed by the Americans. Under the Spanish law all the vacant land, as "waste land," was held to be the absolute property of the Spanish king, requiring no pretended "extinguishment" of the Indian title. The title, however, of the Indians to the land which they held in actual possession was fully recognized, and many rules and regulations were made to protect this possession.

Only at rare intervals would an Indian rob or kill a French settler. In fact (if we except Gabriel Bolon²⁹ and his nephews, murdered by the so-called Mascoux and the massacre at Mine la Motte by the Indians), no record of the murder of a Frenchman by an Indian, during the Spanish Government in Missouri, has been preserved. Occasionally American settlers were killed by the Indians during the Spanish occupancy. Sometimes too, a French settler would be robbed by an Indian; but this did not lead to a bloody Indian war. In some way the matter was always amicably adjusted by the Spanish authorities. Whenever it was necessary to apprehend and punish an Indian, great care was exercised to impress and convince his tribe that the punishment was just. The American settlers never troubled themselves in that way. Whether the chief of the tribe or the tribe approved or disapproved the punishment was of little consequence. In fact, the chiefs and other Indians could consider themselves fortunate if they were not killed without ceremony for an offense by one of their tribe of which they had no knowledge whatever. The Anglo-American asked permission from no one before proceeding against the Indians in his neighborhood. He took the matter in his own hands, and often remorselessly, cruelly, without the semblance of fair dealing, trampled all argument and all considerations under foot. If an Indian was tried at all it was in a forum, the nature and character of which he did not understand and was unable to comprehend; matters, also, which no one took the trouble to explain to him. His own chief was not consulted nor asked to assent to the justice of the sentence. What wonder Indian wars and

²⁸ He lived in the big Delaware (or Loup) village near Apple creek.

²⁹ Came to upper Louisiana from Vincennes; he and his brother Amable were Indian interpreters for General George Rogers Clark.

massacres resulted? And yet we hear much of the cruelty of the Spaniard in his dealings with the Indians. No doubt the early explorers and conquistadores were guilty of great cruelty, but the best commentary on the merits of the two methods is the fact, that in all Spanish speaking countries in Central and South America, the Indians and their descendants still constitute the bulk of the population, reclaimed to some extent to civilization and professing Christianity; while on the other hand, in the English speaking portion of the continent, they have been exterminated, or if not exterminated, driven and moved from place to place until now, finally, even their last resting place, assured them as a common home "as long as grass should grow and water run," against their will, and in the interest of great railroads and the land-hungry Anglo-Saxon, is divided among them in severalty, so that in some way white men may be enabled to secure their last acres. But our procedure is justified by the commercialism, the business interests of the country. Upon no subject does greater ignorance or more unfounded prejudice generally prevail among the people than in regard to the treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards. The Indians in many instances received cruel treatment from the Spaniards, especially on the islands of the Caribbean Sea, but nothing in history can be compared with the cruel and heartless manner in which the Indians of North America have been maltreated, robbed, plundered and goaded into wars of retaliation, in order to absorb their rich heritage.

II

The Royal Domain in Upper Louisiana—Public Lands Donated, Not Sold — Officials Authorized to Grant Lands — Ordinances of O'Reilly and Gayoso — Speculation in Land not Favored — Ancient Spanish Land-Laws Cited—Methods of Securing Title to Public Lands—Popular Neglect of Same—Regulations of Morales Controverted—Authority of Morales Cited —Letter of Ramiro de Lopez Angula—Liberal Colonial Policy of Spain —Simple Procedure in Procuring Land Grants — First Official Land Surveyors—Petition for Land Grants, and Incidental Orders — Large Land Concessions Preceding Change of Government — Interesting Examples of Petitions Securing Immense Grants of Land — Mining Privileges—Lead Mine Claims—Salt Spring Concessions.

Neither the French nor the Spanish Governments sold any portion of the Royal domain in upper Louisiana. No instance of such a sale can be found. Under the French Government grants of land were made by the Governor and Ordonnateur; but when O'Reilly took possession of the colony, he recommended to the King of Spain

that the Governor alone be authorized to make such grants, in other words, be vested with the powers of the Royal Intendants as exercised in the other American possessions of Spain. His suggestion was approved.³⁰ As such Intendant, O'Reilly published his ordinances in 1770.³¹ So also Gayoso published his ordinances in 1798. These ordinances expressly provided for donations of land, to actual settlers coming into the province and desiring to "establish" themselves, and not for the sale thereof. In 1798 the Intendancy of the Province however was severed from the office of the Governor by Royal decree, and the exclusive faculty to grant and distribute land vested in a Royal Intendant. Don Juan Ventura Morales was appointed to this office, and in 1799 promulgated a series of rules and regulations in regard to grants of land, and particularly defined how donations of land to actual settlers should be made. Sales of land seem also to have been contemplated, although none were ever actually made.³² The first sale of land by the sovereign of the soil in upper Louisiana was made by the United States.

In the ordinances of Gayoso, for the first time, reference was made to the Illinois country. In his ordinances, it is provided that "In the Illinois, none shall be admitted but Catholics, of the class of farmers and artisans. They must also possess some property and must not have served in any public character in the country from which they come. The provisions of the preceding article shall be explained to the immigrants already established in the province who are not Catholics, and shall be observed by them, they not having done it until this time, being an omission and contrary to the orders of his Majesty, which required it from the beginning," and "To every new settler answering the foregoing description and married, there shall be granted two hundred arpens of lands. Fifty arpens shall be added for every child he shall bring with him, and in addition, twenty arpens for every negro that he shall bring."

These regulations also provided that no land should be granted to unmarried strangers, not farmers, and without property in negroes,

³⁰ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 251.

³¹ These ordinances were published Feb. 18, 1770, and on Aug. 24, 1770, the Marquis de Grimaldi informed Don Louis de Unzaga, the successor of O'Reilly, that they had been approved. In *Mackay vs. United States*, 10 Peters, 341, the supreme court held that they were not in force in upper Louisiana.

³² American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 704.

or merchandize or money, until they had resided in the province four years, and conducted themselves "well, in some honest and useful occupation," but artisans were fully protected and after having resided in the country three years could apply for land. On the recommendation of a farmer any unmarried man, if the farmer was "willing to give him his daughter in marriage," as soon as the marriage was accomplished, could secure a grant of land. On coming into the province it was necessary to take the oath of fidelity to the king of Spain. If the immigrant claimed to be married proof of the marriage was required, and he had to specify what property belonged to his wife. No land could be granted to traders. Speculation in land was to be "by all possible means" prevented, and the new settler to whom land was granted lost it without recovery, if within the term of one year he did not begin to establish himself upon it, or if in the third year he "shall not have put under labor ten arpens in every hundred," and that "after he has produced three crops this settler has a right to sell his lands." But in case of his death the land descended to his lawful heirs, if "he has one, resident in the country," or if such heirs lived "elsewhere they must resolve to come and reside on it." These rules also required that the grants should be made so as "not to leave pieces of vacant ground between them," since this would offer greater exposure to the attacks of the Indians and render more difficult the administration of justice and the regulation of the police, "so necessary in all localities," and "more particularly in new settlements."

Under these regulations the Spanish officials of upper Louisiana, exercising the power of sub-delegates, made grants of lands varying in number of arpens according to the prayer or petition, and the circumstances of the case. To a poor settler they would give from 200 to 500 arpens; but, if he displayed ability and energy in reducing the land to cultivation, the Spanish officials were always ready to give him additional land. To the wealthy and influential settler larger grants would be made, perhaps of several thousand arpens or a league square, and, although the ordinances of O'Reilly prohibited a grant of more than one league to a person, the ordinance was construed as not prohibiting several grants of one league square to the same individual.³³ Occasionally, in upper Louisiana, grants were made directly by the Governor-General. Thus, Carondelet directly granted to Louis Lorimier 7,000 arpens of land where the city of Cape

³³ Chouteau's Heirs vs. United States, 9 Peters, p. 147.

Girardeau is now located, and to St. Vrain 10,000 arpens of mineral land in the lead district. He also ordered Trudeau to grant Moses Austin a league of land. Casa Calvo gave Colonel Christopher Hays a special permit to settle, and under this permit he took up his residence on Hubbell creek, and obtained a grant of 1,000 arpens from Don Carlos DeLassus.

In upper Louisiana, there were only two "patented officers," says De Lassus, these being the Commandants of St. Louis and New Madrid, who had the authority of sub-delegates, and as such could make grants or concessions of land. Commandants at St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau, were "particular" Commandants, and had no such sub-delegate powers. Prior to 1799 the Commandant of St. Louis was the sub-delegate "for the Illinois," and the Commandant of New Madrid, sub-delegate for that district. How these sub-delegations were bounded is not definitely known; but it is probable that the New Madrid district extended as far north as Cape Cinque Homme (St. Cosme) creek, the northern limit of Morgan's claim. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that when Don Louis Lorimier, in 1795, made application for a grant of land, situated south of Cinque Homme, his petition was made to the Governor-General Carondelet, through Don Thomas Portelle, the Commandant of the district of New Madrid, and that his petition was prepared by Juan Barno y Ferrusola, the official greffier of this district. The order of Carondelet to have the survey made for Lorimier, however, was addressed to Don Zenon Trudeau.

The primary concessions made by the several Commandants of the Illinois country, or upper Louisiana, and the rights of possession thereunder were, without exception, recognized by the Spanish authorities at New Orleans. Together with the survey made in accordance with the concession, they formed the foundations for a claim to a legal title. During the Spanish domination there was an uninterrupted exercise of the power to grant lands by Lieutenant-Governors and sub-delegates, which was never challenged, disputed, or questioned during that period. But land it should be remembered, was then of little value. And although the 11th section of the ordinances of Gayoso expressly says, "No lands shall be granted to traders, as they live in towns, they do not want them," this was held to apply only to new settlers and not to Spanish subjects engaged in trade. So also it is to be noted, that while under the regulations of O'Reilly, no settler was to receive more than a certain number of

arpens in front, in 1789 the Commandant at New Madrid was advised "that a greater or less quantity of land, agreeable to the wealth of the grantee" may be conceded.³⁴ But it would be a mistake to suppose from this that these officers could at any time, with or without reason or condition, grant to any one any quantity of land, or that no authority existed to supervise these grants; on the contrary, as a matter of law, all grants made by these officials were always subject to the final approval of the Royal Intendants, these Intendants being the particular judges of the causes and questions arising under the Spanish law in their respective districts, relating either to the sale or distribution of the Royal domain. Although no case arose in upper Louisiana where a concession made by the Lieutenant-Governor, or any sub-delegate, was rejected by the Intendant, it is nevertheless true that the Intendant had the power to reject any such grant, and that until as the King's deputy, he finally approved such grants, the title to the land remained in the Crown. This seems to have always been law even before the promulgation of the rules of Morales.³⁵

But referring to that class of land grants made as a reward and payment for services rendered, a matter in which many of the early residents within the present limits of Missouri were deeply interested, it was argued that, under a decree of Emperor Charles in 1542, the Viceroy of Peru and Mexico, and the Governors of provinces under their authority, were authorized to grant such rewards, favors, or compensation as to them might seem fit, and that in 1588 this decree was recognized by Philip II., in 1614 by Philip III., in 1628 by Philip IV., and under Charles II., incorporated into the Spanish code for the government of the Indies. It was further argued that these laws were in no wise limited by subsequent ordinances, and that an order of Philip V., of November 24th 1725, requiring a confirmation by the crown, was revoked by an ordinance in 1754, and the Audiencias authorized to confirm such grants in the King's name; but that when the sea intervened, the Governors with the assistance of other officers, were authorized to issue complete titles; that by the 81st article of the ordinance of 1786 the Intendants of New Spain were made the exclusive judges of grants of land;³⁶ and finally that

³⁴ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 251.

³⁵ Menard's Heirs vs. Massey, 8 Howard, p. 305.

³⁶ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 705, where this whole subject is fully and learnedly discussed.

this ordinance was extended to Louisiana in 1798, when the Intendant, Morales, promulgated his regulations.

The first civil and military Commandant of the United States in upper Louisiana, Stoddard, evidently an advocate of the claimants, (he seems to have acquired one of these concessions from Mackay) says that the regulations of Morales "were never enforced; certain it is that they were not carried into effect. The reason for the first is, that the great clamor raised against them, in all parts of the province induced the Governor-General and Cabildo to draw up a strong protest against them, and to lay it before the King. The consequence was, that Morales was removed from office; though he was afterwards reinstated to assist in transferring the country to the French Republic. The reason for the second is, that the assessor died soon after they were promulgated, which totally deranged the tribunal of finances, and rendered it incapable of making or confirming land titles." But Stoddard does not tell us who advised him "of the great clamor" raised against the regulations of Morales.³⁷ Nor does he give us any authority for his statements which seem to rest on hearsay. On the contrary it is known, that in 1797 Gayoso disputed the power of the Royal Intendant, Morales, to interfere in matters pertaining to grants of land, claiming the exclusive power to make such grants, as Governor-General, and that by Royal order dated October 22, 1798, it was expressly affirmed that the powers of the Intendant were plenary to divide and grant the land belonging to the King. After this order Morales published his rules and regulations,³⁸ and the Governor-General of Louisiana ceased to be the Royal Intendant of the province, the office having been, as we have seen, merged into that of Governor-General, at the suggestion of O'Reilly in 1770.

Under the regulations of Morales, a very small number of titles in upper Louisiana (according to Williams, only thirteen grants)³⁹

³⁷ Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana were published eight years after the Louisiana Purchase, when the "clamor" against the Regulations of Morales had become very loud among the American land claimants, and their lawyers, who had acquired in many instances questionable and doubtful titles, issued in the last days of the Spanish government. He was not a resident of Louisiana prior to the purchase of the Territory. It is possible that in his mind he carried back the "clamor" that arose from 1804 to 1812, and which he heard, to 1799, when the Regulations were first promulgated. On the 25th of Sept., 1805, James Mackay conveyed the land to him and which became known as "Stoddard's Mound." This land was surveyed by Soulard in 1806.

³⁸ Menard's Heirs vs. Massey, 8 Howard, p. 305.

³⁹ Williams' Paper on Land Titles in St. Louis, in Scharif's History of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 321.

were completed, it is said, because the expenses of procuring a complete title at New Orleans were enormous, and the fees extortionate. Then too, in 1802, the Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana was directed not to forward applications to complete titles until further advised. Stoddard, explaining the method by which titles could be secured, says that it was "necessary for a concession to pass through four, and in some instances seven, offices before a complete title could be procured, in which the fees exacted, in consequence of the studied ambiguity of the 13th article, frequently amounted to more than the value of the land" conceded.⁴⁰ But it may be observed that a patent for land from the United States passes through perhaps as many offices before it is issued. On the other hand, the Spanish government donated the land to the settlers, while the United States, until the passage of the Homestead law, received the value in cash. Perhaps the chief reason why the Spanish land titles of upper Louisiana were not perfected, may be found in the danger of the journey down the river to New Orleans and the expense of a trip through the wilderness. The regulations of Morales may also have been unpopular because the government reserved the privilege to tax the land, a principle then very unpopular in the Spanish possessions.

The imperfect titles based upon grants made by the various Lieutenant-Governors, exercising sub-delegate powers, were recognized as transferable; they could be and were sold for debts and were passed by devise. But the rules of the Intendant, Morales, were directly in conflict with this general practice. In the 18th article, it is said: "Experience proves that a great number who have asked for land think themselves the legal owners of it; those who have obtained the first decree by which the surveyor is ordered to measure it and put them in possession, others, after the survey has been made, neglect to ask the title for the property; and as like abuses continued for a longer time will augment the confusion, a disorder which will necessarily result, we declare that no one of those who have obtained the said decree, notwithstanding in virtue of them the survey has taken place, and that they have been put in possession, cannot be regarded as owners of the land until their real titles are delivered complete, with all the formalities before recited." And says the 20th article: "Those who without the title or possession mentioned in the preceding article are found occupying lands shall be driven therefrom as from property belonging to the crown." From which, it is very

⁴⁰ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 252.

evident, that at least this regulation of Morales was calculated to make definite and certain the title of all grantees.

DeLassus, last Spanish Governor of upper Louisiana, in his testimony before the Commissioners, said that the rules of Morales were never enforced in upper Louisiana, and, that as Lieutenant-Governor he had a right to suspend the execution of any order, if to him it appeared prejudicial to the interests of the King or people, until he received additional instructions. He said that he did not remember causing the regulations to be published, that he gave no orders to his subordinates in regard to these regulations, because he did not intend to obey them. But in an order dated St. Louis, February 26, 1801, he says: "All concessions and augmentations of property must be granted by the Intendant of these provinces on petition, which is to be presented by those persons claiming lands."⁴¹ And the United States Supreme court from this concludes that "the Intendant General had the power to adjudge on the equity of the claim and to exercise the sovereign authority by making the grant as the King's deputy."

A side light is thrown upon the testimony of DeLassus, when it is remembered, that it was then supposed that titles to many concessions for large tracts of land made by Trudeau and DeLassus, depended upon establishing as a fact before the United States Commission, that the rules and regulations of Morales were not in force in upper Louisiana, and that as Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana he had the power to suspend the rules and regulations of the Royal Intendant. Then too, the rule of the King of Spain was at an end, and it was easy to say that as Lieutenant-Governor he never intended to obey the orders of the Royal Intendant. Yet the transfer of the power of Intendant from the Governor to a separate official, did not affect the powers of the sub-delegate in upper Louisiana, although DeLassus seems to have thought so.⁴² But a delegate could not transfer his power to another, and Morales so advised DeLassus in a letter dated August 26, 1799. Even a casual perusal of the preamble of the regulations of Morales must lead to the conviction that after 1798 no power to make absolute or complete grants of land vested in the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana. Morales thus sets forth his authority and purpose: "However, the King whom God preserved, having been pleased to de-

⁴¹ Chouteau vs. Eckhardt, 2 Howard, p. 349.

⁴² Chouteau's Heirs vs. United States, 9 Peters, p. 145.

clare and order by his decree, given at Saint Lorenzo, the 22d day of October 1798, that the Intendancy of this province, to the exclusion of all other authority, be put in possession of the privilege to divide and grant all kinds of land belonging to the crown, which right, under his order of the 24th of August 1770, belonged to the civil and military government, wishing to perform this important charge not only according to the 81st article of the ordinance of the Intendants of New Spain, of the regulations of the year 1754, cited in said article and the laws respecting it, but also with regard to local circumstances and those which may, without injury to the interests of the King, contribute to the encouragement and to the greatest good of his subjects, did establish, or who may establish themselves in this part of his possessions, after having examined, with the greatest attention, the regulations made by his Excellency, Count O'Reilly, the 18th of February, 1770, as well as that circulated by his Excellency the present Governor, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, the 1st of January, 1798, and that the counsel which has been given me on this subject by Don Manuel Seranno, Assessor of the Intendancy, and other persons of skill in these matters, that all persons who wish to obtain lands may know in what manner they ought to ask for them; and on what condition lands can be granted or sold, and those who are in possession without necessary titles may know the steps they ought to take to an adjustment, that the Commandants, as sub-delegates of the Intendancy, may be informed of what they ought to observe, that the surveyor-general of this city, and the particular surveyors who are under him may be instructed of the formalities with which they ought to make surveys of land and lots which shall be conceded, sold or arranged for; that the secretary of finances may know the fees he is entitled to and the duties he is to discharge; and that none may be ignorant of any of the things which may tend to the greater advantage of an object so important in itself, as the security of property under the conditions to enlarge, change or revoke that which time and circumstances may discover to be most useful and proper to the attainments of the end to which the benevolent intention of his Majesty are directed, etc."

Nor can there be any doubt that the rules of Morales were published and well known to the principal persons in upper Louisiana. That these rules must have been published, is shown by the evidence to sustain the Butcher claim, from which it appears on June 15, 1802, Don Pierre DeLassus de Luziere, Commandant of Nouvelle

Bourbon, approved a petition and recommended to Morales, a grant to these claimants of 1,600 arpens, 400 of which were located near Mine la Motte, and 1,200 on Big river.⁴³ In 1802 Moses Austin also secured a complete title from the Intendant Morales, to a league square at Mine à Breton, and Antoine Reihle a grant near St. Louis. The fact that Barthélemy Cousins, secretary of the Commandant at Cape Girardeau, and also Deputy-surveyor, proposed to purchase land immediately after the publication of these rules, a sale of land for the first time being authorized by the rules or Morales, certainly establishes this publicity. So also the reply of Ramiro de Lopez Angula, dated Naples, April 2, 1800, to Don Henri Peyroux. This letter, interesting in more than one respect, is as follows: "It was never the intention of the King to dispose of the land in such large quantities (100,000 arpens), and under such circumstances as stated in your letter of the 9th of February last, No. 9, and the petition of the inhabitants accompanying it. It is true that in the new regulation there are provisions for the sale of lands in the manner referred to, but it is only under the previous formalities therein specified and with a reference to the ability and force of the persons desirous of purchasing, because it would not be just, that for a small consideration, one or more speculators could make themselves masters of a great extent of land to the prejudice of others coming to settle, and who consequently find themselves driven to purchase those lands which they might otherwise have obtained free of expense. For those reasons I cannot accede, at present, to the before-mentioned proposal, which you may make known to the parties concerned. God preserve you, etc."

The rules of Morales did not really increase the difficulties of securing land but they seem to have been prepared to protect the settler. The careless, loose way in which grants and surveys were made, no record whatever being kept of these transactions under the ordinances of O'Reilly and Gayoso, would have resulted ultimately in great injury to some of the settlers. The new rules required that the surveyor should send a copy of his survey to the office of the Intendant, accompanied by a figurative plat, a cer-

⁴³ Bartholomew Butcher, Michael Butcher, Sebastian (Bastian) Butcher and Peter Bloom (Blum) were German stone-masons, and de Luziere told Mary Ann LaPlante, who came to Louisiana with the family of DeLuziere, that these men were such good stone-masons that it was a great object to have such good workmen and peaceable subjects retained in the country. The Butchers also did work in the Cape Girardeau district, building a house for Don Louis Lormier in 1802.

tificate called *procès verbal*, signed by the commandant, or syndic, or two neighbors, and the surveyor declaring that the survey was made in their presence, and correct, and that it corresponded with the concession, gave certainty to the grant and safety to the grantee. The concession and survey thus attested was duly recorded, and the settler was furnished with this evidence of title for the land, but he was required to perfect his title within three years after settlement on the land.

The liberality of the Spanish government in donating land to actual settlers stands in striking contrast with the illiberal policy of the United States at that period. The pioneer settling in the Spanish Dominions in upper Louisiana was not expected to pay for land on which he established his home. The hardship, the danger, the isolation from all the comforts of civilization seem to have been fully appreciated by the Spanish government. It was thought unjust, that in addition to opening a path in the wilderness and with untold perils and self sacrifice laying the foundation of civilized order, the settlers should also pay the government for the land so settled, or should even pay taxes on the same. Yet it has always been fashionable to criticise the colonial policy of the Spaniards. However just these criticisms may be when referring to trade regulations, so far as the laws and ordinances for the disposal of the Royal domain in upper Louisiana are concerned, they are in nowise justified.

The procedure for securing a concession of land in upper Louisiana, was simple and direct under the ordinances of O'Reilly and Gayoso. The new settler, as soon as he arrived in the country, and possessing "the necessary qualifications to be admitted among the cultivators of these provinces," was expected to make application to the Spanish Post-Commandant for permission to settle, no one being allowed to settle without permission. In petitioning for a grant of land, he was expected to set forth his circumstances, and if the Commandant favorably considered this application, as seems always to have been the case, he endorsed the petition with his recommendation and transmitted the same to the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis. This was the plan at least prior to 1799, when the Regulations of Morales were promulgated. The Lieutenant-Governor granted the request as a matter of course, and ordered the surveyor of upper Louisiana to make the survey and put the petitioner in possession of the land. A trifling fee to be paid to the surveyor was all the expenses incident to securing a large tract of land.

The application of the petitioner to the Commandant for a grant of land was technically called a *requête*, and the recommendation of the Commandant of the post amounted to a verification of the facts as expressed in the *requête* by the petitioner, to which the commandant usually added that no objection to the granting of the land was known to exist, sometimes even in strong terms assigning various reasons which to him might seem to justify the concession. Land was held generally of so little value by the French and the Spaniards, that it was scarcely thought worth while to accept or to pay fees for writing the concession or *requête*.⁴⁴ It was only in rare instances that such a concession was denied, but in no instance was a settlement allowed on the crown lands without permission of the Post-Commandant.



DON ANTONIO SOULARD

Carondelet favored Americans and told DeLassus when he went to New Madrid in 1796, to invite inhabitants of the United States, not hunters, but those who had families and great means, to settle in his district, and to grant them as much land as they wanted.⁴⁵ No list of concessions was kept by the several Commandants or Lieutenant-Governors, as that was no one's duty. After the land was surveyed, and the petitioner placed in possession by reducing to cultivation one tenth of the grant within three years, the title of the grantee was considered substantially perfected and regarded by the people and authorities as his property, although it was evidently not a complete title under the law.

The first surveyor for upper Louisiana, Don Antonio Soulard, was appointed in 1795, and from time to time he appointed a number of deputies, or "Lieutenant-surveyors," in the several districts. He first opened a regular office for the registration of land surveys made by him and his deputies. Soulard's lieutenant-surveyors in the several districts were, Thomas Maddin, Ste. Genevieve; Barthélemi Cousin, Cape Girardeau; Joseph Story, New Madrid; James Rankin, and James Richardson, St. Louis, and James Mac-kay, St. Andre. Officially, Carondelet, Trudeau and DeLassus designated Soulard simply as "the Surveyor." It is not quite clear

⁴⁴ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 59.

⁴⁵ American State Papers, 5 Public Lands, p. 709.

when all the country north of the mouth of the St. Francois was first designated as "Upper Louisiana," or when the order was made so naming this portion of the province, if any order was made at all. But after his appointment in 1795, Soulard and his lieutenant surveyors made all the surveys in this portion of the province.

In addition to the small and limited grants made to actual settlers, larger questionable grants were made by the Lieutenant-Governors of upper Louisiana to reward alleged services, or to favorites, shortly before the transfer of Louisiana. The grantees of these large concessions were all officers and connected in some way with the government. It is evident that when these land grants were made so liberally, the Spanish officials knew that a change of government would take place. No doubt it was also thought that a change in government would add greatly to the value of the land. The great rise in the value of land east of the river after the American occupation was well understood. A number of Frenchmen who had resided in the United States prior to settling in Louisiana, must have fully explained to the Spanish officials the value in which land was held in the United States, and the great number of Americans already settled in upper Louisiana, all anxious to secure land, no doubt also impressed these officials with the importance of securing concessions for themselves and for their friends, before a change of government. The liberal and extravagant land grants made by Trudeau and DeLassus shortly before the cession of Louisiana may be sought in such reasons and motives. Many, if not all, of these grants and concessions were suspected of being ante-dated and tainted with fraud, and for years were the subject of litigation and controversy.

A few examples out of many will show upon what slight and flimsy grounds large bodies of land were granted to applicants, if belonging to the favored class. James Mackay received a concession of 30,000 arpens from DeLassus in 1799 to reward him for services in the years 1795-6, for a voyage made under a commission of Carondelet "to the upper and unknown parts of the Missouri." St. Vrain, a brother of DeLassus, was granted 10,000 arpens on a petition in which he says that he desired "to secure to himself a competency which may in the future afford him an honorable existence," and in 1799 secured an additional grant upon which to "collect his family and keep it near him." Richard Caulk, one of the early American settlers west of the Mississippi, was awarded 4,000 arpens "in consideration of all his gratuitous services, that were often painful and

onerous" to him, as commandant of the settlement of St. Andre, in the absence of the commandant Don Santiago Mackay. François Saucier, a descendant of one of the earliest pioneers of the Mississippi valley, and founder of Portage des Sioux, received a grant of 600 arpens for each of his children — thirteen in number — and 1,000 arpens for himself and wife, to reward him for his "laborious task" as Commandant of Portage des Sioux, a position he filled, he says, "without remuneration." DeLassus himself while Commandant at New Madrid, received from Lieutenant Governor Trudeau a grant of 20,000 arpens on the Cuivre and Salt rivers, twelve miles west of the Mississippi. Mrs. Vallé Villars in a petition to DeLassus says that she has discovered that the lands near Ste. Genevieve have nearly all been divided, and prays that she may be granted a league square on the Saline, basing the claim both on the services of her late husband and her father, being, she says, in her petition, "overburdened with a numerous family." Francesco Vallé, Commandant of Ste Genevieve, also received a league square situated nine miles southeast of New Bourbon. Jean B. Pratte, Sr., got 1,000 arpens by stating that he proposed to devote himself to agriculture as the "only safe" resource "upon which one may found hopes for the future," and two weeks afterwards, still full of enthusiasm as to the profits of agriculture, he secures a whole league square because "convinced that the resources of agriculture are the most infallible means to secure to his family an independent existence, and to shelter them thereafter from the disasters of poverty." Gabriel Cerré, in 1800, on the plea that he desired to make a plantation on an island in the Mississippi, secured the island. He also states, that "after a while," he intends "to occupy himself in felling building timber and wood for fuel, both of which will soon be very much wanted in this town." Dr. Saugrain although devoted to science, seems to have had business forethought as well as an idea of the value of lands, and secured from DeLassus 20,000 arpens at different places in upper Louisiana, "having in view the establishment of mills of various kinds, of a distillery, stock farm, etc." Of course the Chouteaus were diligent in securing concessions of land when land was so liberally and lavishly distributed. Pierre Chouteau secured 30,000 arpens in order to secure a great quantity of timber "necessary for the fabrication of salt," and also "to maintain a considerable stock farm." Louis Lorimier in 1799, was granted 30,000 arpens to repay him for "the cares and troubles"

which he "experienced in fulfilling the various missions with which he was charged, and the frequent voyages he was obliged to make to the injury of his private interest during his absence, and even at the peril of his health and life." His secretary, Barthélemi Cousin, received 10,000 arpens for services, for which he says he never "received any indemnification," and on the 22nd of March, 1803, about the time of the cession of Louisiana, 8,000 arpens additional were granted him "as a reward and in the way of salary."

According to John Rice Jones, during the Spanish government, every subject felt at liberty to dig for lead and smelt it when and where he pleased.⁴⁶ No doubt all the subjects of the King of Spain in the then far away and out-of-the-way lead district in Missouri, did this, but not because it was legal. It is, however, true that the discoverers of mines were favored under the Spanish law, and it was the invariable rule to grant to such discoverers the mine discovered, including four arpens of land adjacent thereto, leaving the neighboring land for others to dig on.⁴⁷ When the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory, it is said by Jones, that there were only four complete titles to land in the lead or mineral district. Nevertheless, many claims were set up to mineral grants made prior to the purchase of the province by the Lieutenant-Governor and Commandants of the various posts. Thus Martin Duralde, specifying no location whatever, secured a concession for what may be called a blanket mineral claim; and James Richardson, who was a Spanish deputy-surveyor, claimed under Gabriel Cerré, 400 arpens mineral land on the Maramec. The supposed Renault heirs made a claim which was recognized by Spain on account of an ancient grant made by the Company of the West. Indeed every grant made by France, prior to the treaty of Fontainebleau, in 1762, was recognized by the Spanish authorities. Thirty-one persons set up a claim to "Old Mines," presumably including one of the mines worked by Renault. Dr. Walter Fenwick claimed four arpens under Francis Azor, *dit* Breton, at Mine à Breton. Moses Austin, under a concession of the Intendant Don Juan Bonaventura Morales, definitely located 7053 arpens and thirty-three and one-half feet, at and near the village of Mine à Breton. St. James Beauvais and Francis Vallé, in order to be perfectly safe, made a general claim of sixty feet around every hill where they might

⁴⁶ Letter of John Rice Jones, American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 605.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 606.

discover mineral, under a concession of Perez dated 1788. The widow Moreau claimed 500 arpens of mineral land under a concession of DeLassus in 1799; Auguste Chouteau, 810 arpens under a concession of DeLassus, dated 1800; J. B. Pratte, 1,000 arpens mineral land in Ste. Genevieve county; Easton and Bruff, under Gerrard & Fleming, 840 arpens at Mine à Joe, a famous lead mine to this day; Camille DeLassus, 2,400 arpens in Ste. Genevieve county, under concession dated October 1799; La Beaume and DeLaurier, 10,000 arpens in the same county in Prairie à Rondo, and Joseph Decelle 630 arpens near Mine à Breton, where he acted as syndic. DeLuziere, father of Don Carlos DeLassus, no doubt without much difficulty, secured a grant of 7,053 arpens on the waters of the St. Francois, near the place where the town of Farmington now stands, and J. B. Pratte, St. James Beauvais, Francis Vallé, and John B. Vallé made a claim to Mine la Motte under grants from DeLassus, although it is certain that this mine had been previously granted to Renault during the French dominion; John Perry and Bazil Vallé also claimed 639 arpens at Mine à Breton; Thomas Armstrong, under Rufus Easton, 640 arpens, at "Armstrong's Diggins" in Ste. Genevieve county. Finally John Smith T., a bold and daring speculator set up a claim to 10,000 arpens under Jacques de St. Vrain, embracing "Mine à Liberty," also "Shiboleth" and "Bellefontaine mines," and to 1,000 arpens mineral land near Mine à Breton, and under Decelle, he claimed 300 arpens at "Doggett's mine," 300 arpens at "Renault mine," 250 arpens on McKee's Branch, 200 arpens at the first mineral fork at the Maramec, 300 arpens at "Mine à Robina," and 294 arpens more at "McKee's Diggins." He also set up a mineral claim on White River, Arkansas, in what was then the New Madrid district.⁴⁸

Next in importance to these lead mine claims, were the various salt springs which had been discovered. Salt springs, in those early days, were deemed very valuable property. Among others, Don Carlos Tayon, Commandant at St. Charles, secured a concession on the Dardenne for 320 arpens on which a salt spring was found. Jacques Clamorgan and John Hildebrand made a similar claim for 320 arpens near the Maramec; Charles Gartiot, under Benito Vasquez, set up a claim to a salt spring tract of 7,056 arpens on the same river; Pascal Cerré, under Gabriel Cerré, to one of 800 arpens, also on this river; DeLaurier under LaBeaume claimed 10,000 arpens on the Salt river, in St. Charles district, under grant of

⁴⁸ American State Papers, 3 Public Lands, pp. 607, 608.

DeLassus, dated March 1801; and John Scott, Henry Dodge, and Edward Hempstead, under Peyroux, claimed 7760 arpens on the Saline creek in Ste. Genevieve district, embracing then the most profitable salt springs in the territory. In addition Charles Gratiot, under Maturin Bouvet, claimed 400 arpens on the river Ohaha, or Salt river, now in Pike county; James McKay claimed a saline of 400 arpens on the Bonne Femme in the Boon's Lick country, now in Howard county; and Victor La Gotoire, 400 arpens on the Ohaha, or Salt river, also in Pike county. John Smith, T., made a claim to a salt spring under a concession to Jacques de St. Vrain of sixty-four arpens, six or seven miles from the Missouri river, near the dividing ridge between the Bonne Femme and Salt river, to one of sixty-four arpens near the Grand Minotaur, then in the St. Charles district, to seventy arpens near the Lemoir creek on the Missouri, and twenty-five arpens on which was a salt spring near White river, now in Arkansas, but then in the New Madrid district.

CHAPTER XVII

Agriculture—Hunting—Primitive Mechanical Arts and Trades—*Voyageurs* and *Engagés*—Farming in Common-fields—Farmers Dwelling in Villages—Ste. Genevieve Common-field—Maintenance of Fences—Primitive Agricultural Implements—French Cart—Small Horses—Cattle—First Cattle Brought into the Mississippi Valley—New Orleans Market—Prices For Agricultural Products—Spain paid in Specie—Difference in Prices when Paid in Barter—No Common-field at New Madrid—LaForge's Complaint as to French-Canadian Farmers—Development of Agriculture after Advent of American Settlers—Agricultural Production of New Madrid and Little Prairie, 1796—Agriculture in Cape Girardeau District—Productions of the District—Domestic Slavery—Indian Slaves—Spanish Ordinances Prohibiting Slavery—Treatment of Slaves—Manumission—Fur Trade—Forest Peddlers—Early Merchants of St. Louis—Nick-names Among the French—Effect of Brandy and Rum on Indians—Contraband Traffic with English Traders—Intimate Relations of *Voyageurs* and *Coueurs des bois* with the Indians—Their Prodigality—Intermarriage with Indians—Fascination of Life in the Wilderness—Destruction of Fur Bearing Animals—Profits of Traders—Value of Fur Trade—French and Spanish Laws to Protect Same—Under French Dominion a Monopoly—Under Spanish Ordinances a Monopoly not Allowed—Traders Assigned to Districts—Contract with Forest Traders—Change in Method of Handling Fur Trade—Trading-houses and Forts—Annual Meetings—Gradual Extension of Trading-houses and Forts up the Rivers—Invasion of Territory by English Traders—Cheaper English Goods—Spanish Effort to Exclude British Companies—Carondelet's Agreement for the Establishment of Forts on the Missouri—Exploring Expedition of Clamorgan and Mackay—Advantage of Traders Residing on the Missouri and Mississippi—Shipment of Salt and Bear's Meat to New Orleans—Agricultural Shipments—Ancient Salt Works on the Saline—Extent of Business—Salt Works on Salt river, the Maramec and in Boon's Lick Country—Grist-mills—Flour Contract with Spanish Government—Distilleries—Tan-yards—Scarcity of Metallic Money—Spanish Troops Paid in Specie—Paper Money—Barter—Peltry Currency—Carrots of Tobacco Medium of Exchange.

Agriculture was the principal occupation of the first settlers of the French villages in the territory now within Missouri. A few merchants supplied what could not be produced on the land; but all the men were also more or less engaged either in hunting during at least a part of the year, or in the fur trade. Some residents of the villages followed the primitive mechanical arts, among them being stone-masons, black-smiths, gun-smiths and cabinet makers.¹

¹ "The mechanic arts did not flourish. Mason work of that day was good, but of the rest I can say nothing in praise of them. The cooorage of the country amounted to very little more than making well-buckets. The carpenters were unskilled in their profession. They framed houses and covered them with peg-shingles; made batton doors, and in a rough fashion. No shoemakers or tanners, but all dressed deer-skins and made moccasins. Almost every inhabitant manufactured his own cart and plough, and made his harness, traces, and all out

The primitive garments worn by the people, were woven at home out of cotton or wool, the former raised by the farmers, the seed being picked from it by the children, while the wool was shorn from the little flocks of sheep which had to be carefully guarded against the wolves. Flax too was cultivated and spun and woven into linen. The skin of the deer furnished the hunting shirt and a raccoon skin the cap. Moccasins, or rude boots and shoes were worn by the people; these were made from leather tanned in the small tan-yards found in every village. Military uniforms and more pretentious clothes were ordered from New Orleans. Although the merchants and traders (negociants) of these villages carried on a comparatively extensive business, it would be a mistake to suppose that these merchants had "open shops or stores"—and displayed their goods as the merchants of our day. Merchandise was then kept in different chests, under lock and key. These chests were only opened and merchandise shown to purchasers, when inquiry for a certain class of goods was made. The goods were kept at the residences of these merchants, and not in separate stores. Kettles, pots, hoes, guns, flint-locks, etc., etc. were all carefully looked after and not allowed to lie around loose, such manufactured articles being considered valuable possessions, and generally imported from Europe.

Many of the men of these French villages, if able to endure the hardship of the business, and otherwise in a situation to leave home, went out annually on long and dangerous trading expeditions far up to the headwaters of the Mississippi and Missouri, and their of raw hides." Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 88. Yet in these days of machine work, it may be doubted if we have mechanics competent to build and manufacture by hand, as the mechanics of that time. We give here some of the names of the early mechanics who followed their respective trades in the different villages: Joseph Mainville, Antoine Pritchett and François Delin were the carpenters; Jos. Robidoux was the shoemaker; Jean Hervieux the gunsmith; Jean B. Bequette the blacksmith, among the first settlers of St. Louis, and Jourdan LaRose was the baker. Pierre Payant and Joseph L'Amoureux (or Amoureux), in 1795, were the lock and gunsmiths, of New Madrid, and François Hudson, an immigrant from Richmond, Virginia, an iron-worker. Another blacksmith, named James Kavanaugh, from Ireland, came to New Madrid in 1796, and in 1799 he made a contract with Jacques Dehault de St. Vrain, a brother of Don Carlos, to furnish the blacksmith work for a mill St. Vrain intended to build at New Madrid. Solomon Thorn was the gunsmith at the post of Cape Girardeau and François Berthiaume among the Shawnees on Apple creek. François Lalumendiere, dit Lafleurs, in 1766 was the tailor in the village, and the Butchers and Peter Bloom (Blum), Germans, were stonemasons in the Ste. Genevieve district. Joseph Vandenbenden managed the bakery at New Madrid for Tardiveau & Co., when they had a contract to supply the Spanish forces in Louisiana with "biscuit"; Juan Simon Guerin was the mason and brick-layer of the town in 1799, and Jacob Myers was the carpenter, who built "Fort Celeste" and the church of "St. Isidore."

tributary streams, in search of furs going either on their own account or as *voyageurs* or *engagés*, returning after months of privation and adventure. The occupation of a *voyageur* or boatman at this time was not considered a degrading one, on the contrary it was held desirable that a young man should be able to say that he had performed a long and dangerous voyage in the far interior. However, even before the purchase of Louisiana, this occupation lost character, principally owing to the lawlessness, coarseness and vulgarity of the American boatmen.

The farming of the first French inhabitants of Missouri was carried on in a common field. In St. Louis the farm lots of the common field, as surveyed by Duralde, all had a front of one arpent, and a depth of forty arpens, an arpent being equal to 192 feet and six inches — English measure. The arpent was both a quantitative and linear measure under the French system. Traditionally, it is said, the lands were thus surveyed so that the settlers might be near each other in case of Indian attacks. It is also said, that the custom originated to save fencing, because enclosing large fields under a common fence undoubtedly saves fencing. But fencing could be saved by surveying the land into more convenient bodies. Perhaps the French custom of surveying land in long and narrow strips, from one to four arpens wide, originated on the lower Mississippi or on the St. Lawrence. On the lower Mississippi, because under the rules and ordinances in force, each settler was required to maintain the levee in front of his ground, both under the French and Spanish dominion. As all lands granted to the first settlers fronted on the river, this system equitably apportions the burden of the maintenance of the levees. On the St. Lawrence, surveys may have been made in this shape to secure all the settlers an equal waterfront, in that colony a matter of prime importance to the early pioneers. Whatever the origin of the custom, as a fact not only the common fields of St. Louis, but the common fields of Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, and Carondelet were divided into long and narrow strips with a common front. The surveys and divisions of the common fields adjacent to Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Philippe and other French villages on the east side of the river were also made in the same way. These common fields were under the supervision of a syndic and a committee of umpires, whose duty it was to carefully examine the fences and report to the syndic. The common fences were generally viewed on a Sunday in January, and

required to be of such character that cattle could not get out of, or into, the common field.²

The French settlers generally lived in villages, and these common fields were adjacent or near such villages, and during the farming season, they went out daily to attend to their agricultural labors. Brackenridge, speaking of the common-field of Ste. Genevieve, says: "Agriculture was carried on in a common field of several thousand acres, in the fertile bottom of the Mississippi river, enclosed at the common expense, and divided into separate lots, separated by some natural or permanent (surveyed) boundary. Horses and cattle, depastured, were tethered with long ropes, or the grass was cut and carried to them in stalls. It was a pleasing sight to see the rural population going and coming, morning and evening, to and from the fields with their working cattle, carts, old fashioned wheel-plows and other implements of husbandry." This great field of Ste. Genevieve, comprising some three thousand acres, to this day 1907, is cultivated as a common-field under a common fence, the farms of the several owners being in long strips one, two, or three arpens wide, extending from the road, along the foot of the hills that skirt the bottom, across the bottom, to the river bank. These strips of land were sometimes from one half to a mile in length. The rules and regulations for the fencing of these fields was a subject that greatly interested these early settlers and cultivators. All who cultivated land in the common field were required to assist and contribute to build and maintain the enclosures, but those residents who did not cultivate land were held only to aid in making and repairing public roads and bridges, and maintaining the commons for the stock and other conveniences of which they made use.³

At New Madrid a common field was not fenced in and divided among the settlers during the Spanish occupation. The question of enclosing a common field, however, was discussed before the Com-

² In 1782 Perrault, Brazeau, Cerré, Rene Kiercereau, Joseph Taillon, Joseph Mainville, Chauvin and Auguste Chouteau were the umpires of the St. Louis common-fields, and at that time the most prominent citizens of the village. The Perrault named above a few years before, in 1779, had been captured by the British and Indians on a "Rebel boat", that is to say, on a boat in the service of the United Colonies, on his way up the Mississippi. A Michel Perrault acted as interpreter for General George Rogers Clark, at Vincennes, in 1780. In 1810 only 200 acres of this common field were in cultivation — although formerly several thousand acres were enclosed — the ground then looked like "the worn common in the neighborhood of a large town" and at several places cut open into gaping ravines." Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 221.

³ See order of Lt. Gov. Zenon Trudeau, *ante*, vol. 1, p. 360.

mandant, but the settlers being Americans objected to the scheme. Each farmer preferred the labor, trouble and expense of enclosing his own field, thus evidencing that spirit of individual independence and self-reliance which has always characterized the Anglo-Saxon.

It was remarked early by the Jesuits who visited Ste. Genevieve that the soil was very fertile. They also observed that the land was not cultivated with care, that wheat which, according to Piernas in 1769, was the principal crop, yielded only from five to eight fold. This lack of success in growing wheat, Father Vivier attributed "to the heavy fogs and too sudden heats," but Piernas thought it was the fault of the farmers who did not apply themselves. In the words of Father Vivier, "maize, which in France is called Turkish corn, grows marvelously; it yields more than a thousand fold; it is the food of domestic cattle, of the slaves and most of the natives of the country, who consider it a treat. The country produces three times as much food as can be consumed in it."³ Yet, in 1744, not enough wheat was raised to supply the colony with flour.⁴

When we take into account the character of the farming implements of these early pioneer French farmers, their scanty wheat crops ought not to surprise us. Their plows were made entirely of wood without a single iron fastening. The mould-board had only the curve that would be found in a root of appropriate shape, but the beam was strong and the wooden point sharpened. A harrow or two were held as the common property so to speak, of all the cultivators of the common-field. Trudeau says that the high price of iron, for which, in 1799, the farmer paid from four to five reals per pound, compelled him "to get along perforce without the most useful tools for his calling," and hence recommends that the Government encourage the establishment of a foundry and forge.⁵ Their other agricultural implements were, hoes, grubbing hoes, spades, shovels and rakes, all primitive agricultural tools, of the same general shape as from remotest antiquity.

The cart in use was "rather a curiosity," says Governor Reynolds, "it was constructed without an atom of iron. When the Americans first came to Illinois (to the American bottom) they called these carts 'bare-footed carts,' because they had no iron on the

³ 69 Jesuit Relations, p. 219.

⁴ Present State of Louisiana, p. 19 (London 1744).

⁵ Trudeau's Report, Jan. 1799, — General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

wheels.”⁶ This cart, called ‘*Charrette*,’ was made of “two pieces of scantling some ten or twelve feet long, framed together by two or more cross-pieces, upon one end of which the body, of wicker work was placed, and the front ends rounded to serve as shafts, and the whole set on the axle-tree of the wheels.”⁷ It was on such a cart that Madame Chouteau and her children made the journey to Cahokia from Fort de Chartres up the American Bottom, Laclede accompanying her on a little French pony, Cahokia being the nearest settlement to the new trading post of St. Louis. But certainly it was not easy and pleasant riding in such a “*charrette*.”

The horses of the country were small ponies resembling mustangs, of the Canadian breed, crossed with wild horses of the plains. “A fine breed of horses,” says Hutchins, “brought originally by the Indians from the Spanish settlements.”⁸ They were strong, of great endurance and required little attention or feed. Men and women traveled much on horseback, along the trails and paths and through the open woods; as a consequence saddle horses were highly prized. “The horses and cattle,” says Governor Ford, “for want of proper care and food had degenerated in size, but acquired additional vigor and toughness; so that a French pony was a proverb for strength and endurance. These ponies were made to draw, sometimes one alone, sometimes two together, one hitched before the other to the plow or carts made entirely of wood, the bodies of which held about double the contents of the bed of a common large wheel-barrow. The oxen were yoked by the horns instead of the neck, and in this way were made to draw the plow or cart. Nothing like reins were used in driving; the whip of the driver with a handle about two feet long and lash two yards long, stopped or guided the horses as effectually as the strongest reins.”⁹

According to Marest, the first cattle were brought into the Mississippi valley to “Tawarois” in 1712,¹⁰ although it is highly probable that before this time cattle were brought into the Illinois country, because before this time the French tilled land in the American Bottom. The French, as well as the American settlers in upper Louisiana, owned large numbers of cattle, which they allowed

⁶ Reynolds’ *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 50.

⁷ Billon’s *Annals of St. Louis*, vol. 1, p. 85.

⁸ Hutchins’ *Topographical Description*, p. 100.

⁹ Ford’s *History of Illinois*, p. 37.

¹⁰ 16 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 332.

to roam in the woods and prairies without any care. "The horned cattle," says Father Vivier in 1750, speaking of the French settlements in the Mississippi valley, "have multiplied exceedingly; most of them cost nothing, either for care or for food." Some of these cattle became almost wild.¹¹ They also had sheep and hogs.

French-Canadians settled and cultivated the soil at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, certainly as early as 1700. They raised grain, built a mill to grind the same, and altogether seem to have lived contented,¹² enjoying the sourish wine which they made out of the wild grapes of the country.¹³ The farmers of the "Big Field of Ste. Genevieve," soon began to ship the produce of their fields just as the farmers of Kaskaskia, on the opposite side of the river, who shipped bacon, salt pork, flour, corn and cattle to New Orleans long before the first settlement of Ste. Genevieve.¹⁴

The price realized by these farmers for their products in the local market was good. The Spanish Commandants paid in specie for all they bought and consequently purchased at comparatively low prices. On the American side of the Illinois country, in 1780, Patrick Kennedy says that ten pounds of peltry was paid for a bushel of corn, and thirty pounds of peltry per 100 pounds of flour, that is to say, corn sold for four dollars a bushel, and flour at twelve dollars a hundred pounds in our present currency. These high prices in barter Kennedy attributed to the fact, that in the Spanish possessions cash was paid for agricultural products by the Commandants, which led to the export of same resulting in great scarcity of provisions at Kaskaskia, because on the frontier of the country and over-run with troops.¹⁵ A regular ferry was kept between Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve by one Cailloux, dit La Chance, and we can well imagine that the specie payment, made by the Spanish officials for produce, attracted the trade of the French settlers to Ste. Genevieve, and so too the ferry at St. Louis, the trade of the settlers around Cahokia.

In 1772 St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve produced 5,898 quintals of wheat,¹⁶ and 1,200 quintals of flour were shipped to New Orleans,

¹¹ 69 Jesuit Relations, p. 221.

¹² 16 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 332.

¹³ Account of the Present State of Louisiana, p. 19 (London 1744).

¹⁴ 69 Jesuit Relations, p. 213.

¹⁵ Draper's Collection, Clark MSS., vol. 60, p. 36.

¹⁶ The old French quintal equivalent to 108 pounds. Century Dictionary—"Quintal."

fifty to Los Arcos and the balance used in the villages. Of this crop Don Francesco Vallé, of Ste. Genevieve, alone harvested 1,000 quintals, Carlos de Arbas 466, Enrique Carpentier 261, Carlos Vallé 166, the remainder being small crops of one hundred and less quintals for each farmer. In 1774 the harvest in both villages amounted to only 5,018 quintals, but in 1775 the total was 9,097 quintals. In 1794 the Spanish Illinois country north of New Madrid produced 39,251 minots of wheat (a minot being the equivalent of three bushels), 51,131 minots of corn, and 17,040 pounds of tobacco, and in 1795,—35,065 minots of wheat, 75,418 minots of corn and 24,750 pounds of tobacco and the people owned 3,863 head of cattle and 618 horses.

The French-Canadian settlers of New Madrid seem to have been poor farmers, if we are to believe La Forge.¹⁷ After the Americans settled and opened up farms there, the district quickly developed agriculturally. The corn crop of New Madrid, in 1794, amounted to only 6,000 bushels but in 1795 to 8,795 minots, or 26,385 bushels. In 1796,—17,425 bushels of corn were raised in the immediate neighborhood of the town, and the farmers there owned forty-two slaves, ninety-six horses and 608 horned cattle. In 1797 the corn crop yielded 23,060 minots. In addition the people owned about 3,000 hogs, 730 cows, 129 horses and forty-six slaves. In the first year after the Little Prairie settlement was founded, 14,040 bushels of corn and 190 bushels of wheat were raised there, and when the census in 1802 was taken, thirty-four families resided in the settlement, owning sixteen slaves, twenty-two horses, and 166 head of cattle.

Cape Girardeau, altogether settled by Americans, was the most prosperous agricultural district in upper Louisiana, at the time the colony was acquired. According to the census of 1803, the farmers of this district, all Americans, raised in that year 2,950 bushels of wheat, 58,990 bushels of corn, 3,100 pounds of tobacco, 9,200 pounds of flax and hemp, 39,000 pounds of cotton, 19,000 pounds of maple syrup, and owned 2,380 head of cattle, and 674 horses. These farmers then owned 179 slaves.

In 1799 the settlers of upper Louisiana owned 7,980 horned cattle and 793 horses, produced 83,349 minots of wheat, exported 84,534 bushels of corn, 28,627 pounds of tobacco; 1,754 bundles of deer skins, each valued at forty cents per pound, amounting to \$70,160,

¹⁷ See copy of LaForge's report in 1 Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, p. 268 et seq.

eighteen bundles of bear skins valued at \$256, eighteen bundles of buffalo robes, valued at \$540, three hundred and sixty quintals of lead at six cents a pound, \$2,160, and twenty quintals of flour at three cents a pound, \$60.—total \$73,176. In addition 1,340 quintals of lead were exported to the United States, and 1,000 bushels of salt were made annually.

Domestic slavery was intimately connected with the agriculture of the French and American pioneers of Missouri. On both banks of the Mississippi slavery existed from the first French settlement of the country. From a letter of *Sieur de Ramesay* and *Sieur Begon*, dated November 7th, 1715, it appears that the first forty-seven French settlers in the Illinois country, who established themselves in the "Thamarois," probably in the American bottom near Cahokia, were then "living at their ease" there, and, says the latter, "they get as many savage slaves as they wish, on the river of the Missouris, whom they use to cultivate their land; and they sell these to the English of Carolina, with whom they trade."¹⁸ Thus early an Indian slave-trade was carried on by the French with the English South-Atlantic colonies. In the case of *Marguerite vs. Chouteau*,¹⁹ it was argued that *Bourgmont* bought Indian slaves on the Missouri and sent them down to New Orleans to work on his plantation. According to *Rivière* and *Pratte*, there were in 1756 many Indian slaves, not only at Fort de Chartres, but everywhere through the country.²⁰ These Indian slaves were bought and sold just as negro slaves at that time. A majority of them were brought down from the Missouri by the traders, although occasionally some were brought up from the lower Mississippi. After the tragic destruction of the Natchez tribe, it is recorded that at least one member of that tribe was brought up the river to Fort de Chartres. Although this Indian slavery, as a matter of fact, existed in the French settlements during the French dominion, it is certain that it was not authorised by any written law. But it has been argued, that because the French Governor, *Perier*, transported to San Domingo, 300 Natchez, believed to have been of the Family of the Sun, nearly all of whom died there, the remainder being sold into slavery, that this was evidence of the legality of the institution. It was so held by the Supreme court of

¹⁸ 16 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 332.

¹⁹ 3 Missouri Report, p. 543.

²⁰ Testimony of J. B. *Rivière* and *Sebastian Pratte* in the case of *Marguerite vs. Chouteau*, 2 Missouri Report, p. 71.

Louisiana; but the Supreme court of Missouri in another celebrated case, held that Indians could not lawfully be reduced to slavery during the French government in Louisiana.²¹

When Spain took possession of Louisiana in 1769, O'Reilly discovered that the French held many Indians as slaves, and in a proclamation which he issued, declared this "to be contrary to the wise and pious laws of Spain," but, while not at once declaring these Indian slaves free, he ordained "that the actual proprietors shall not dispose of those whom they hold in any manner whatever, unless it be to give them their freedom" until the orders "of his Majesty on the subject," and further that all owners of Indian slaves should make a declaration of the name and nation of the Indians so held in slavery by them, and the price at which they valued such slaves. This proclamation was generally understood by the French settlers of upper Louisiana as emancipating all the Indian slaves. As a matter of fact, however, these Indian slaves seem to have remained in slavery, either voluntarily or involuntarily. When they escaped they were not returned to slavery; and when they brought action for their freedom they were liberated. Thus in 1786, Governor Miro, in a case that came before him, from St. Louis, rendered a judgment liberating several such slaves. Reminded by this judgment that the ordinance of O'Reilly was not obeyed, Lieutenant Governor Cruzat in June 1787, issued a proclamation that Indians could not be held in slavery under the ordinance of 1770, and therefore "judged it expedient to repeat the aforesaid ordinance so that the public may know its tenor in order to conform to it," and accordingly the said ordinance was ordered to be "read, published and posted in the customary places." No order "of his Majesty on this subject" having been promulgated, in 1794 Baron Carondelet ordered two Indian slaves to abide with their masters until the Royal will was expressed. But in that year he ordered to be liberated, an Indian mestizo slave named Augustin, a descendant of the Panimahas, and held as a slave by Jos. Michel, a resident of New Madrid.²²

The first negro slaves brought into upper Louisiana or the Illinois country, came with Sieur Philip Renault, director of the mines of the Company of the West, in 1719. On his way from France, Sieur Renault stopped at the island of San Domingo, and there purchased 500 negro slaves to work in the mines which were to be

²¹ Marguerite vs. Chouteau, 3 Mo., p. 592.

²² New Madrid Archives, vol. 2.

opened. These negroes he brought up the Mississippi river to Fort de Chartres. From these slaves are descended the old French-negro slaves found at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis and St. Charles. The slaves found in the Cape Girardeau and New Madrid districts were brought into upper Louisiana by the American settlers, and as we have seen, the amount of land granted by the Spanish authorities to such settlers, was made to depend on the number of members of the family, as well as on the number of servants or slaves brought into the country. These slaves were principally employed in farming. They were "regarded in the light of *bien foncier* or real property, and in fact, as the highest species." This also may be observed "that the Spanish code was ever more lenient and benignant toward the negroes than the colonial system of any other nation." The census of 1799 shows the following number of slaves held in the respective settlements: St. Louis 268; Carondelet, 3; St. Charles, 55; St. Ferdinand, 17; Marais des Liards, 42; Ste. Genevieve, 310; Nouvelle Bourbon, 114; Cape Girardeau, 105; New Madrid, 71; Petite Prairie, 3. Total 988.²³ The total population then was 6,028, thus giving about one slave for every six white inhabitants, or on an average, one for every family.

In 1800 the Spanish government prohibited the introduction of negro slaves into Louisiana, but at the instance of the planters of lower Louisiana a French firm was allowed to bring into the province 5,000 such slaves. DeLassus it appears, also asked permission to allow negro slaves to come into upper Louisiana, making an application to the Royal Intendant Morales to sanction it. Morales, however, answered that it was the duty of a good subject "to blindly obey what is ordered and prescribed by the Royal laws," and then refers to the attempted revolution of the negro slaves of Virginia and the Carolinas, and gives it as his opinion, "that the American government and the owners of the slaves wish to get free of these people at any sacrifice." He then proceeds, asking: "What would become of this province if its chiefs with closed eyes, to such an important matter should introduce in it such a dangerous people?" and concludes by saying, that it is the duty of "this Intendancy to see to it that the wise law which prohibits the introduction of negro slaves is not ignored." DeLassus is ordered to exercise the greatest watchfulness to prevent the negro slaves from being brought into the

²³ Gayarre's History of Louisiana, p. 406. In addition 197 free colored persons resided in upper Louisiana.

country,²⁴ and if such slaves are introduced to apprehend them and to report to him. Evidently the Spanish authorities¹ then were fearful that the slaves would rise in insurrection as in San Domingo if allowed to be brought into the country in large numbers. The attempted slave insurrection in lower Louisiana in 1791, and reports of various attempts at insurrection in the American states, no doubt then current, may also have been the reason for these stringent orders. It is certain the law was generally ignored in upper Louisiana, and that the American emigrants brought with them many slaves.

Generally the French slaves were well treated, they had little work to do and were greatly attached to their French masters, and their families. They were all Catholics and worshipped in the same church with their owners. The same freedom from race prejudice, which characterized the French in their relations with the Indians, also characterized, usually, their relations with the negro. Holding him in bondage, they did not regard him with the same prejudice that marked their English-speaking neighbor. It is true that the early Anglo-American pioneers usually treated their slaves well, but it can not be denied that they regarded the negro, as indeed is generally the case now, as belonging to a distinctly inferior race, and that then the accepted opinion was that the negro was destined to serve the white and superior race. In support of this position arguments drawn from the Bible were deemed ample and sufficient. Duden observed in 1824 that "so far as bodily comfort, protection from disease and amount of labor is concerned, the condition of a slave in the state of Missouri is to be preferred to that of a household servant and day laborer in Germany."²⁵ The largest slave holder in upper Louisiana at the time the province was acquired by the United States, was M. Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve.

Occasionally slaves were manumitted by their owners. Thus Nicholas F. Guion manumitted "a mongrel boy named Alexis, four years old, son of his Indian slave, Madaline, and one, Louie Leritte of this place," St. Louis; and Louison a "mestizo slave" of M. Lorian was freed "by order of the Governor-General of New Orleans." These Spanish Governors-General were liberal in giving freedom to slaves whenever cases came before them for adjudica-

²⁴ Chouteau Collection in Mo. Hist. Society. Letter of DeLassus dated May 24, 1802.

²⁵ Duden's Bericht aus Nord-Amerika, p. 147 (2d Edition).

tion. Thus, in 1783, Charles Henrion bought from Louis Barada his illegitimate mulatto child, Marianne, nine years of age, to emancipate her and make her his heir, but neglected to make his will, and consequently his property came into the hands of the Beaugenous. The matter became a subject of controversy, and finally was left to the decision of Governor-General Miro, who in 1787, decreed that she should be one of the heirs, together with the seven Beaugenous.²⁶ In 1770 Louis de Villars, Lieutenant of Infantry in the battalion of Louisiana gave a negress, by the name of Julia, her freedom, because of "the zeal and attachment she exhibited in his service having completely ruined her health, he desired to set her at liberty with a view to its restoration."²⁷ Under the circumstances detailed certainly a somewhat doubtful liberality. On the other hand Jos. l'Amouroux—in 1794—emancipated his "metif creol, mon esclave, sous le nom de Jos. La Motte," gives him 100 piastres and recommends that he conduct himself soberly and honestly.²⁸

The Missionary priests are also recorded as having owned slaves, some of whom they manumitted from time to time. Thus Father Turgot, Vicar-General of Illinois, freed three slaves belonging to the mission, to-wit: Apollon, a negro man of sixty years, who it would seem should have had some doubt as to the true motive of his clerical master, but for the fact that his wife "Jeanette, aged thirty-eight years and a child, aged three and one half years, named Anselmo" were also manumitted at the same time. Father Ledru, missionary curate, freed his negress Reichelle (Rachel) aged twenty-six years, for the price he paid M. Reihle for her, a liberality apparently that did not cost the pious Father much. But Father Gibault mournfully remarks that he was compelled by want to sell his two slaves, who he said could have supported him in his old age.

The French-Canadian inhabitants of the country before the acquisition of Louisiana, were all practically engaged in the fur trade in one way or another. Piernas in 1769 says in his report: "The sole and universal trade consists in furs." French fur-traders visited the Missouri and Osages in 1689.²⁹ Penetrating from Quebec and Montreal into the far interior in search of furs, in early days, these *voyageurs*, and *coureur des bois*, dazzled the savages in their

²⁶ Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 417.

²⁷ 1 Billon's Annals of St. Louis, p. 102.

²⁸ New Madrid Archives, vol. 2.

²⁹ 64 Jesuit Relations, p. 169 (Burrow's Ed.).

villages with the glittering trinkets in their packs, no less than by the knives, awls, hatchets, kettles, gaudy calicos, ribbons, gay red blankets and other European commodities, perhaps until then never seen by them. Quickly they exchanged these articles for furs, returning with their canoes loaded with rich cargoes. They were forest peddlers, not hunters. For the enormous profits resulting from this trade, they endured the hardships and perils incident to traveling through unknown countries, and unexplored forests. To secure furs, the paddles of their canoes first disturbed the waters of unknown lakes and rivers. In this business they followed the Indians, and joined them on their hunting excursions. They were the middlemen traders between the Indians and the comparatively well-to-do merchants of the villages. From these merchants they received, on credit, the articles needed in the trade, knives, awls and kettles, hatchets, guns, amunition, tobacco, calico, blankets, beads and trinkets. At a later date setting out from Kaskaskia, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, New Madrid and other points on the Mississippi in companies of two, three, or four, usually in canoes, they travelled up and down the tributaries of this great river, but often went directly across the country to the head-waters of the Arkansas, Maramec, Gasconade or Osage, and streams beyond, with packs on their backs or on ponies, to trade in some interior Indian village. Merchants like Viviat, Datchurut or Lambert dit Lafleur, of Ste. Genevieve, Laclede, Chouteau, Cerré, Robidoux, Lisa, Perrault, Martigny, Clamogran and others of St. Louis thus supplied with merchandise such forest traders as François Marc, Thomas Benir, Sans Chargrin, Claude Rousell dit Sans Souci, Pierre Oliver dit Bellepeche, De Coigne, Tous Gaillard, Muslin Barb, Du Chemin, Anti Regis, La Margullier, Martin, the Spaniard, Azeau dit Berthoud, Sans Quartier, Langlois dit Rondeau, Blanchette la Chasseur, the first settler of St. Charles (Petite Côtes), and many others. Of these, some were descendants of the original French pioneers of Canada who had intermarried with the Indians, and hence had at once something of the wild, untamed and roving disposition of the savages united with the innate politeness and courtesy of the Frenchman. Peculiar it is, that nearly all these forest traders seem to be known by nick-names, showing that in true Indian fashion they had acquired and become known by some sobriquet.³⁰ These

³⁰ It may interest some readers to glance over the nick-names of some of the French pioneers, and of a few of the first American settlers among them, alphabetically arranged: François Aubuchon dit Morelles; Joseph Aubuchon dit Yoche; Guillaume Agnet dit Sansquartier, Antoine Bricot dit Lamarche;

French-Canadian traders, especially when they brought casks of brandy and rum, were always welcome, their good cheer, jovial disposition and kindness of heart rejoicing their savage hosts.

But in the history of the French fur trade it was soon found that the

Joseph Bodion dit L'Habitant; Nicholas Beaugenou dit Fifi; Nicholas Boyer dit Cola; Louis Bienvenue dit Delisle; François Bienvenue dit DeLisle; François Bernard dit L'European; Bravier dit Ciril; Alexander Bulner dit Burton; Charles Bergand dit Jean Louis; Antoine Barada dit Bardo; William Burch dit Burts; Jean Baptiste Beauvais dit St. Jeme; Charles Boyer dit Laffond; Jean Baptiste Berton dit St. Martin.

Gabriel Caillot dit Lachance; Rina Coullard dit Depray; François Godin dit Chatouiller; Joseph Constant dit Laramie; Carlos Charrion dit Jean Rion; John Comparios dit Gascon; Jacque Coutue dit Chatoyer; (or Jacque Cotte; dit Chatoillu); Joseph Chauvin dit Charleville; Jean Comparios dit LaPierre François Corneau dit Martigny.

Jean Baptiste Douval (Duval) dit Degrosillier; Jean Baptiste Douchouquette dit Lami, Lamy or Larme; Baptiste Deroche (Deroka) dit Canadian; François Dunegant dit Beausosier; François Deroche dit St. Pierre; Joseph Doublewey dit Deblois; François Desalle dit Cayolle; Toussaint Dechamp dit Hunot; François Delauriere dit Normandeau; Andre De Guire dit La Rose.

François Fostin dit Parent; Fleury dit Grenier. Jean Ferland dit Deloriers; Pierre Come dit Lajeunesse.

Nicholas Gay dit Gravois or Gravier; Alexander Grimo (Grimaux) dit Charpentier; Louis Guitard dit LaGrandeur; Pierre Guerette dit Dumont; Baptiste Grebour (Erebour) dit Maturin; Joseph Gerard (Gerau or Gerar) dit Megar; William Girouard dit Giroux; ——— Grassard dit Grifford; Pierre Gautier dit Sans Quartier; Louise dit Heloise Guyol; Andre Godair dit Tagarouche; Henry Gross dit Groves; Philibert Gagnon dit Laurent.

Jean B. Hubert (Herbert) dit Lacroix; Charles Hebert dit Cadien; Bazil Hebert dit Deshomet; Nicolas Hebert dit Lecompte; Robert Hunter dit Polite Robar; Hebert dit Berry Tabeau; John Hilderbrand dit Albrane; Joseph Alvarez Hortes dit Ortis; Jean Baptiste Hebert dit Fournier.

Louis Lambert dit Lafleur; Pierre Lupien dit Baron; Louis Lasouse (La-source) dit Moreau; Louis LeTourneau dit Lafleur; Joseph Labadie dit St., Pierre; Richelet Langelier dit Langeliervoiles; Laurent Lerouge (Rouge) dit Gagnon; Louis Laffelier dit Tasmin; Marion Laroche dit Dubreuil; Nicholas Laplante dit Plante.

Kierq Marcheteau dit Des Noyer; Charles McLain dit English; Jean Baptiste Maurice dit Chatillon; Joseph Mainville dit Duchene; Joseph Monmirel dit Durant; William McHugh, senior, dit McGue; Daniel McKay, dit Mackay; Anthony Meloche dit Hibernois; Moreau dit Parent.

Jacque Noise dit Labbe.

Oliver dit Bellepeche.

Michael Placit dit Michau; Pierre Payant dit St. Ange; Joseph Papin dit LaChance; Antoine Peltier dit Morin; Amable Partenais dit Maçon; Conrad dit Leonard Price; Paul Portneuf dit Laderoute; Jeremiah Paynish dit Boining; Pierre Porier (Poierrier) dit Desloge; Eugene Poure dit Beausoliel.

Pierre Quebec dit Violet; Pierre Querez dit LaTulipe.

Antoine Roussell dit Sans Souci; Jean Baptiste Rouillier dit Bouche; ——— Rapieux dit Lamere; Jean Baptiste Rivière dit Baccane; John P. Roy dit Lapense; Antoine Roy dit DesJardin; Julien Ratte dit Labriere; Michael Rolette dit Laderoute; Louis Rogers dit Indian Rogers; Alexander Langlois dit Rondeau; Joseph Reindeau dit Joachim.

John Stewart dit Tuckahoe; Lambert Salle dit LaJoye; George Sip dit Sheepe; James Stephen dit Stephenson; Francois St. Marie dit Bourbon; Joseph Saurin (Sorin) dit Larochele.

Pierre Tournat dit Lajoy; Louis Tiblon dit Petit Blanc; Gregoire Tessero

lawlessness of these forest traders was so great as to call loudly for redress. They paid little attention to the rules and regulations promulgated by the government, and, over the protest of the Jesuit missionaries, introduced brandy and rum into the Indian villages, thus quickly demoralizing the Indians.³¹ Far from the seat of government and authority many of these traders in the woods, learned to defy the regulations for the fur trade established by law, and often carried on business denounced as illegal and contraband with the English traders. In fact all the finer skins went to Canada, because these English traders paid better prices than the French at New Orleans.³² On their hunts, together with their Indian friends, they ranged the woods, lakes and streams, and generally met the illicit English traders in some central Indian village and exchanged their furs and peltry for the new guns, powder, blankets, traps, awls, rivets, camp kettles, hatchets so necessary to them, and for glass pearls, and silver rings to bestow on their favorite Indian mistresses. Although not addicted to drunkenness, no inconsiderable portion of their hard-earned gains was expended for ardent spirits. Many learned to regard civilized life as an unbearable restraint. The liberty of the wilderness became for them a sweet and joyous existence. Many established some sort of marital relation with some one or more of the Indian women of the Indian tribes where they spent their winters, often becoming wedded in the Indian fashion, to the daughter of some Indian chief, and then passed through life as semi-barbarians with a brood of young barbarians growing up around them.

They affected, too, the manners and fashions of their barbarous friends and on occasion arrayed themselves in the Indian habiliments of war, not disdaining to bedaub their features with grease, vermilion and ochre, thus to gain influence among the warriors or to win the admiration of some native nymph. Nor were they too good to engage

dit Bebe; Lewis Tash dit Eustache; Margaret Tash dit Eustache; Tesserot dit Teporot; Michæl Tisson dit Honore; François Thibeault dit Liberge; J. B. Thomure dit La Source.

Antoine Vachard dit L'Ardoise; Charles Vachard dit Creol L'Ardoise; Rudolph Variat dit Rody; Jean Baptiste Vien dit Noel; John Vallet dit Bourbonne; Jean Viot dit Gascon; Antoine Vachard dit Mimi L'Ardoise; François Vachette dit St. Antoine.

John Whitesides dit Juan Wedsay.

We also occasionally find names evidently assumed as: Jos. Sansfaçon, Peter LaBombard; Louis Sojourner; Gabriel Latrail; Pierre Quebeck.

³¹ 16 Wisconsin Historical Collections, p. 359.

³² Duvallon's Louisiana, p. 141. (New York, 1806).

in scalping expeditions against other and distant hostile tribes. It was said, by the Jesuits, that "wherever French and savage come together there is an open hell."

After months of such a life of barbaric pleasure and hardship, danger and toil, having disposed of their merchandise, at "very great profit"³³ with their canoes and pirogues heavily loaded with furs, they returned home. The traders who started out with their packs by land, generally returned by water in canoes from the head-waters of the streams where they traded. Such trading expeditions would consume sometimes a year, more frequently two or three years. On arrival at the village or fort, these adventurers made a full settlement with their merchants, and after that, often in a day or two, many of them scattered and squandered all that had been so laboriously earned.³⁴ Then with a new pack of merchandise or under a new engagement they returned again to the forest, to gather again, and then again to squander, if so fortunate as to escape the many perils besetting their paths.³⁵ Such forest traders or *engagés* were scarcely ever satisfied to remain away from the wilderness and its wild and illimitable freedom. Many finally perished there by hunger, fatigue, exposure, the sting of the serpent, the fangs of a wild beast, a fall from a precipice, in a treacherous stream or lake, or even by assassination from ambush, by a rival anxious thus to obtain a pack of furs.

To the wild fur-bearing animals of the forest, this fur trade was especially destructive. Prior to the advent of the European, wild animals were only hunted by the Indians for food and clothing. As the country was but thinly inhabited, and the wants of a barbarous people few and simple, these animals increased in numbers. After the advent of the Europeans, furs were to the Indians a means of exchange. To secure furs, i. e. money, they laboriously and diligently hunted the lordly buffalo, and snared the beaver, the otter, bear, mink, and musk-rat. Farther and farther they wandered into the wilderness in order to secure this precious currency, the only means with which they could secure the coveted European goods. To illustrate, on one occasion after the Louisiana purchase, and before the

³³ Words of Piernas in report, dated Oct. 3, 1769.

³⁴ "They quickly waste whatever they gain in revelling and scandalous chambering as is notorious." — Report of Piernas, Oct. 30, 1769.

³⁵ "And although they have not at times the means for their subsistence and vices, as they find men to back them, who will supply them on account of the future trade, they come out on top and always live in idleness, although it is known that they corrupt the native youth by their evil example."—Report of Piernas, Oct. 30, 1769.

war of 1812, the Saukee and Renard Indians made a drive hunt in northern Missouri, the squaws as well as warriors turning out *en masse*, all starting at a given point and separating about an equal distance apart, marched forward, thus concentrating the game within this line and on that day alone killed seven hundred deer.³⁶ Thus all devouring commercial greed soon made the woods tenantless so far as the most valuable and precious fur-bearing animals were concerned, although at times the over-stocked French fur companies made an effort to check the supply of beaver skins.³⁷ But the fear of competition of the English traders always defeated such schemes. For in case the French did not buy from the Indians, the English not being subject to tax of one fourth in kind, were ever ready to buy and pay a better price.

The profits of the traders were usually large. An average profit of one hundred percent on goods sent out, by no means represented the whole gain, because the merchandise going out was valued at its selling price at the post from which it was sent, while the furs were valued at the price current at the post where they were purchased. For instance, red cloth might sell at Ste. Genevieve or St. Louis or New Madrid at four shillings, or one dollar, per yard, including freight although actually it cost the merchant at the post not more than one half that sum, yet this cloth when sold to the Indian would bring two dollars or even more. On the other hand, the beaver skins or furs with which the Indian paid for such cloth, would be valued at perhaps two dollars at the post, but they would fetch in London, five or ten times as much. Stoddard estimated the value of the fur trade of upper Louisiana for fifteen successive years before the cession, amounted to about \$200,000 per annum, and that this trade annually yielded the traders a profit of over \$55,000, which he justly observes to be a large sum considering the scanty population.³⁸

The French as well as the Spaniards jealously aimed to protect this trade. Under the dominion of the former, the fur trade was a monopoly granted to individuals or to traders, a certain percentage of the profit to be paid by the grantees to the government as a tax; but under the Spanish dominion all subjects, theoretically, were allowed to trade with the Indians without discrimination. In the beginning of the 18th century, the fur trade was a source of constant friction between the

³⁶ Draper's Notes, vol. 23, p. 65 et seq.

³⁷ 16 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 209.

³⁸ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 297.

French and English colonies. The invasion of the French territory by English traders, led to the French-English colonial war, and caused finally, the destruction of the French-American colonial empire. Under the Spanish dominion all foreigners were rigorously excluded from participating in the benefits of the Indian trade. The Canadian traders, after the English acquired Canada, grievously lamented that they were excluded from the fur trade in the Spanish territory west of the river. Lieutenant Frazier, stationed at Fort de Chartres in 1768, says that the English traders can undersell the French at least 25 per cent; he says that the Spanish commandants always shared in the profits of the traders and that there can be no real peace while the French are rivals in the trade; that the Spanish officers make "eternal professions of friendship and good offices with every Englishman with whom they have the least intercourse, but their double manner of acting should put us on guard."³⁹ He complains also that the traders from New Orleans trade in the English Illinois and that they "are in general, most unconscientious rascals" and who make it "their interest to debauch from us the Indians and to foment trouble;" but after his arrival, the New Orleans Company, he says, "confined their commerce in the Missouri river." Private traders "are permitted" he says "to go everywhere" and come to the English side and particularly trade on the Illinois river. The temptation, on the other hand, of the English-French Canadians to poach, as it were, in the Spanish territory stretching to the Rocky mountains, for furs, was almost irresistible. The country was a wilderness of vast extent, and the savages being friendly, the chances of capture, were doubtful and remote. Occasionally however, a French-Canadian trader like Ducharme was entrapped in the Spanish territory, losing his goods, and barely escaping with his life.⁴⁰

The first French grant of a trading privilege on the Missouri was made, as we have seen, in 1744 by Governor de Vaudreuil to Joseph Lefebvre des Bruisseau, and it is likely that of the fort he erected

³⁹ 2 Indiana Historical Publications, p. 413.

⁴⁰ This Ducharme's invasion into the Spanish territory is also mentioned in Rivington's "New York Gazette," September 9, 1770, where it is said that Ducharme "was hardly enough to proceed up that river (Missouri) in direct opposition to the orders of the Spanish Commandant on the Illinois; that his trading and supplying the Indians occasioned the Spanish no little trouble, and which caused them to waylay him and take his peltry, besides wounding him in the thigh, but he escaped to the English shore." —26 Draper's Collection (Clark MSS.). No. 15. Ducharme's Island located according to Cerré about 20 miles above Jefferson city. Also supposed to be Loutre Island.

Baron de Portneuf was commandant in 1752.⁴¹ Under the Spanish regulations no monopoly of the Indian trade was authorized. But the Spanish officials granted to certain traders the exclusive license to trade in certain districts and with a certain tribe—the license being usually given to the trader who would pay the commandant or Lieutenant-Governor the largest price. “These exclusive permissions to individuals varied as to the extent of country, or nations it embraced, and the period for which granted; but in all cases the exclusive licenses were offered to the highest bidder and consequently the sums paid by the individual purchasing, were quite as much as the trade would bear, and in many instances, from a spirit of opposition between contending applicants, much more was given than ever the profits of the traffic would justify.”⁴² In such cases, of course, the individual became bankrupt.

In the districts thus purchased these traders enjoyed the protection of the government officials and the exclusive trade. When these territorial limits were changed, or privileges taken away, no little feeling and antagonism was created. Thus the Chouteaus had the trade with the Osages, until the Spanish authorities gave it to Manuel de Lisa, and then the Chouteaus caused some of the Osages to leave their villages on the Osage river, and move to the Arkansas. The trade with Poncas was granted to Juan Munier,⁴³ because he

⁴¹ Wallace's *History of Illinois and Louisiana*, p. 311.—Gayarre's *Louisiana French Domination*—vol. 2, p. 23-24. As to the extent of the French trading operations, note *Voyage des Freres Mallet avec six autres Francais in 6 Margry, in 1739-1740*, p. 455. As to this fort on the Missouri, see Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyages*, vol. i, p. 157 (Amsterdam Edition, 1769).

⁴² Lewis' *Observations and Reflections on upper Louisiana*, Original Journals Lewis & Clark, vol. 7, p. 369 (Thwaites' Ed.). Bradbury who visited upper Louisiana shortly after the cession thinks, that the political circumstances under which the country was placed during the Spanish dominion precluded the possibility of prosperity. He says that the Governors were petty tyrants, who considered their positions simply a means to aggrandize and enrich themselves and that the interest of the colony was with them only a “remote consideration,” that the most depressing regulations were made to shackle the internal trade of the country, that no man could sell the smallest article, not even a row of pins, without a license and that those licenses were sold by them at an extravagant rate, that a stranger coming into the province, offering to sell goods at a reasonable rate was arrested and his goods confiscated, that all favors from the commandants, such as grants of land, could only be obtained by bribery, and that these officers defrauded their own government, that for instance, a little triangular fort above St. Louis, was paid for by grants of land, but that the Governor made a claim for a large amount against his government for the work and collected the amount. Bradbury's *Travels*, p. 284.

⁴³ This name is given as Juan Munie in the Spanish Archives, but evidently is Jean Munier, of Kaskaskia, where he rendered military service. Probably removed to St. Louis after the conquest of Illinois, like so many other French inhabitants of the eastern Illinois country.

first discovered this tribe in 1789. So also the exclusive trade on the upper Missouri was granted in 1794 to the Spanish Commercial Company, of which Clamorgan was director, for a period of ten years, in order to exclude the English traders from that territory. Lorimier seems to have enjoyed the trade of the Shawnees and Delawares west of Cape Girardeau, as far as the Arkansas.

When the settlements on the Mississippi, at Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis and St. Charles were first established, the Indians brought their furs to these posts, and it was not necessary to take goods into the country for them. When other posts were established in the upper country, the Indians ceased to come to these posts, and the fur traders on the river either had to send goods up to them or go out of business. Under this system, the traders of upper Louisiana would send out, directly, agents to trade with the Indians. A contract between such an agent, Alexander Langlois dit Rondeau, and one Antoine Hubert, merchant in St. Louis, is now not without interest:

"Before the Royal notary in Illinois in the presence of hereinafter named witnesses, was present in person Alexander Langlois, a traveling trader living at the post of St. Louis, who, by these presents, voluntarily binds himself to Mr. Antoine Hubert, merchant, residing at the post of St. Louis, to go up for him, as his clerk, to the post of the Little Osages to trade, at that place, his goods to the Indians, and manage his business, and do all for the advantage of said Mr. Hubert. Said Mr. Langlois promises to conduct said boat, and bring her back after said trade is over, as also the peltries he may have acquired and give all the care to avoid loss or damage to said Mr. Hubert; and will start from said post of St. Louis at the first requisition of said Mr. Hubert. This agreement is made for the sum of eight hundred livres in peltries, deer-skins, or beaver, at the current price of the same at this post, which they will establish on the peltries of this trade at his arrival at St. Louis. It is also agreed that in case said Langlois will take a negro in place of said sum of eight hundred livres in peltries, said Mr. Hubert obligates himself to deliver him one on the arrival of the convoy from New Orleans in the next spring, said negro to be sound and free from all disease, in which case the said Langlois will repay to Mr. Hubert said sum of eight hundred livres in the same manner in peltries.

"And said Langlois is free to manage the said Hubert's business as he may think best, promising the said Mr. Hubert to do the best he can for him. All the foregoing has been agreed to at the post of St. Louis, in the house of Mr. Hubert in the year 1768, the 14th of August, in the presence of Mr. Chauvin, merchant, and Joseph Blondeau, trader, witnesses, who have, with said Hubert and said notary, signed these presents after being read, the said Langlois declaring he did not know how to write."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ In this case Langlois afterward, by arbitration, lost his compensation agreed upon, because he did not faithfully comply with his agreement.

When the agent served for a given compensation as in this instance, he was called an *engagé*. When the trade assumed this character a greater variety of goods was forwarded to the Indian villages, and larger means were employed in the trade. Often forts and store-houses were established in the Indian country. These agents thus supplied with every kind of goods demanded by the Indian trade, generally made their long, toilsome and dangerous journey in canoes and pirogues or batteaus up the Mississippi and Missouri, and the numerous tributaries of these great rivers, and established themselves in trading houses at some convenient point. From time to time they would send down rich cargos of furs, remaining themselves sometimes for years in the Indian country—visited occasionally, perhaps, by their principals. At the trading houses the Indians would annually gather to sell their furs. From these posts hunters and trappers were sent out to follow and trade with the Indians, and successively other posts, or trading posts were established farther up the stream or farther in the interior.

Thus the Chouteaus established Fort Carondelet on the Osage in 1794, as well as to secure from the Spanish officials the exclusive trade with the Osage Indians. The fort was erected "upon a hill which dominates all the vast plain in which the Osages dwell," says Carondelet in his letter to the Duke of Alcudia. Trudeau, who conducted an expedition for the Spanish Commercial Company, established a fort and trading place, in 1796, on the upper Missouri which became known as "Trudeau's House," not far from the present Fort Randall. Regis Loisel,⁴⁵ in 1800, had a trading house at a place which became known as "Fort aux Cedres," from the fact that it was built out of cedar logs. He received a grant of 150,000 arpens from DeLassus at this point, a grant he afterwards assigned to Clamorgan and which was never confirmed. One, Cruzat, in 1802, had a post near the site of Council Bluffs. Near Omaha in 1796, Mackay established a trading post which became known as "San Carlos," Mackay also conducting an expedition for the Spanish Commercial Com-

⁴⁵ This "Fort aux Cedars" was a four bastioned fort—which according to Chouteau, Loisel began to build in 1800. This Regis or Registre Loisel, was a native of Canada—in 1793 he came to St. Louis, where he married Helene—a daughter of Jacques Chauvin. In 1804 he made a report to DeLassus, of the extent of the boundary claim advanced by the Americans after the cession—and offered his "good services as a faithful vassal" to the Spanish government. He died in New Orleans in Oct. 1804. One of his sons—Regis Loisel, Jr.,—became a priest and took up his residence at Cahokia.

pany. Lisa,⁴⁶ in 1808, built a trading post on the Big Horn. Chouteau's Post was another trading place, three miles below the mouth of the Kansas river. Jos. Robidoux had a post near the present St. Joseph, a locality known in early times as the "Blacksnake Hills."

In 1819 Chouteau, Robidoux, Berthold and Papin had a trading house at the mouth of the Nish-na-botna and Pratte and Vasquez a similar establishment above Council Bluffs. Crooks and McClelland had a post in 1810 near Bellevue. Lisa, in 1812, built Fort Lisa five or six miles below Council Bluffs. In



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this way, from time to time, forts and trading places were founded to exploit the fur trade in all the vast region stretching westward to the Rocky Mountains.

No doubt the heavy charges made by the Spanish officials for the privilege of trading with the Indians caused much of the trade to fall into the hands of the English traders. Then, too, the greater enterprise of the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwestern Company and the cheaper and better goods furnished the Indians by these companies attracted the trade, and caused a great loss to the Spanish trade. Lewis says that from the Spanish system much evil resulted to the Indian, that he was compelled to pay enormous prices to Spanish traders for the articles he purchased from them, and that the greatest exertions he could make would not enable him to secure those things which had become necessary to him; that the Spanish officials generally became more exorbitant in their demands, the traders consequently raising the price higher, although the fur bearing animals became scarcer, and that finally the Indians, seeing they could not buy in many instances, took by force the things they considered

⁴⁶ Manuel Lisa or De Lisa, born in New Orleans in 1771, was one of the most enterprising and conspicuous of the Indian traders and merchants of St. Louis. He was a man of restless energy and wonderful enterprise. His father was Christoval De Lisa, who came to Louisiana when the Spaniards took possession of the province, it is said, from South America. Manuel Lisa came to upper Louisiana in about 1790 and at first settled and traded in the New Madrid region and on the Wabash in partnership with Vigo. Then he moved to St. Louis — although the date is not precisely known, but in 1794 when the Spanish Commercial Company was organized by Trudeau he was evidently not a resident

necessary to themselves. This led to a loss of much of the Indian trade in upper Louisiana, on the Des Moines, St. Peter's, and almost to the banks of the Missouri, and which was thus diverted to the British merchants, who were selling cheaper and better goods. Shortly before the purchase, some of the Indian tribes of these upper rivers would lay in ambush and capture boats in their descent of the Missouri to St. Louis, and then compel the crews to load themselves with heavy burdens of the best furs and carry them across the country to their towns on the upper Mississippi, where they would dispose of them to the British traders.

In order especially to exclude the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwestern Fur Company from this trade, it was proposed in 1796, to erect a chain of forts on the upper Missouri. Governor-General Carondelet agreed with the Spanish Commercial Company, to pay annually, a subsidy of ten thousand dollars to establish, maintain and garrison these forts. But the Hudson Bay Company and Northwestern Fur Company were never successfully excluded from the upper Missouri river territory of Louisiana. To the cheapness and superiority alone of the goods of English manufacture sold by these companies, must be attributed the greater success of the English fur companies, because the French traders were always personally more popular with the Indians than the English, Scotch or American traders, and possessed greater influence with them. Yet it should be observed, that the ease of access into the interior country by means of the great water system of the Mississippi and there because his name is not mentioned. In 1800 or 1801, however, his name is the first one to a memorial, asking that the exclusive privilege of the Commercial Company be cancelled. In 1800 he secured the exclusive trade of the Osage Indians — a trade the Chouteaus had enjoyed for twenty years. This caused a division of the tribe and some of these Indians moved from the Osage river to Arkansas. How Lisa secured the privilege of this trade is not known, but evidently in the management of the Spanish officials he then was the equal of the Chouteaus. But Pedro Chouteau, the Commandant of Fort Carondelet was in high favor with DeLassus and he reported to the Governor of Louisiana — that he was surprised to see “the confidence which this tribe places in the Messrs. Chouteau, and the manner in which they get along with them” and “in particular Don Pedro Chouteau.” The life of Lisa after the cession was one of incessant activity. He was the leading spirit of the first Missouri Fur Company in 1808, and from that time until his death constantly traded up the Missouri to the head waters of this great river — where he had a fort on the Big Horn. As Indian agent in 1812 he rendered the U. S. conspicuous service. In 1818 he married a daughter of Stephen Hempstead and a sister of Edward Hempstead. Compelled to come to St. Louis in 1820 to defend his interests against his numerous enemies, he was seized with an illness and died on the 12th of August. He was the most remarkable man among the pioneer merchants of St. Louis. His wife survived him fifty years and died at Galena, Illinois, Sept. 3, 1869, aged 87 years.

Missouri, gave the traders, then residing in the trading villages on the Mississippi, a great advantage and laid the foundation of St. Louis as a commercial metropolis.

For a long time the fur trade represented the principal commercial activity of the country. A small trade in bear's meat and grease from the upper country to New Orleans was carried on. It is said by DuPratz, who traveled with the Indians along the St. François river in Arkansas and Missouri as early as 1745, that in the fall of the year merchants and traders came up from New Orleans and established camps along the banks of that river, to salt down bear's meat, and for that purpose they had huge troughs hewn out of big cottonwood and poplar trees. The meat thus secured was sent by batteau to New Orleans. This trade in bear-meat and bear's grease was a comparatively important business at that time. The same business was also followed on White river, and to this day one of the bottoms along that stream is named "Oil Trough Bottom." Salted and dried buffalo tongue and meat, as well as the meat of other wild animals, was also shipped by boat. Then the people of New Orleans and the garrison located there depended largely for their meat supply on salted bear's meat and grease or oil. According to Father Vivier in 1750, flour and pork were shipped to New Orleans from the Illinois country.⁴⁷ Later on, bacon, salt pork and lard were exported from the upper Louisiana. In 1802 the Cape Girardeau district exported to New Orleans 371 barrels of salt pork, fourteen barrels of refined lard, 7000 pounds of bacon, 8675 pounds of beef, 1800 pounds of cotton and in addition maple sugar and corn.

To these exports from upper Louisiana should be added salt, manufactured on the Saline near Ste. Genevieve. In 1768 Frazier says, "There is a rich lead mine in that (Louisiana) colony, from which they get all the lead that is needed in the country, and the river (the Saline) from the water of which (though fresh to the taste) they make a sufficiency of salt for the consumption of the inhabitants; but these latter conveniences are, unluckily, on the western or Spanish side of the river."⁴⁸ Nothing shows the importance of these salt works on this stream better than the fact that in 1778 an expedition came from Kentucky to the mouth of the Saline to purchase salt, a necessity of which the settlers in Kentucky had been deprived since their arrival in that country. For this trip fifteen

⁴⁷ 69 Jesuit Relation, p. 213.

⁴⁸ Letter of Lt. Frazier, 2 Indiana Hist. Publications, p. 411.

volunteers of Captain Harrod's company were selected; this on account of the labor and danger the expedition involved. This little band — of which Joseph Collins⁴⁹ who afterward gave an account of the expedition, was one — went down the Ohio and then up the Mississippi to the salt works, and securing the salt after some delay, returned shortly before Christmas. On their way back four hundred Indians were in ambush at the mouth of the Tennessee to intercept them, but they escaped and got the salt to the falls, from whence it was taken to Boonesboro, arriving there March 1, 1779.

In 1769 a village of four or five houses existed at these salt works, and Piernas complains that the company making the salt supplied the English at a lower rate than was charged the people at home. Francois Vallé, in 1797, had salt works on the Saline, Edward Dugan in 1799, and John Hawkins in 1800. Salt was manufactured extensively there by Israel Dodge and his son Henry; and that they pushed this business with true American energy is shown by the fact that Ste. Genevieve salt was shipped by them in boats to Illinois settlements⁵⁰ as well as to the Big Barrens in Kentucky in 1802. Michaux, who in that year went far into the interior of Kentucky on his overland journey to Charleston, South Carolina, notes that Ste. Genevieve salt was sold on the Cumberland river.⁵¹ Stoddard says that in 1804 most of the inhabitants on both sides of the Mississippi derived their salt supply from these works, and that no small proportion of the product was shipped up the Ohio by boat.⁵² On this river and on the Cumberland Ste. Genevieve salt sold at two dollars a barrel of sixty pounds. Michaux remarks that saline springs were abundant on the Cumberland river, yet the scarcity of labor such that salt could not be profitably manufactured. Dodge had several hundred laborers in his service at times working his saline, says Reynolds.⁵³ Salt was also manufactured during the Spanish occupancy of upper Louisiana for local use by Cabanne west of St. Louis on the Maramec.⁵⁴

North of the Missouri river, in 1795, Maturin Bouvet made salt on Salt river, but experienced a great deal of trouble with the Indians, who finally destroyed his establishment and killed him. On this account this stream was also known as Saline Ensanglanté (Bloody

⁴⁹ May be a relative of Capt. Jos. Collins in New Madrid, in 1794.

⁵⁰ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 86.

⁵¹ Michaux' Travels, p. 146.

⁵² Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 411.

⁵³ Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 112.

⁵⁴ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 86.

Saline).⁵⁵ It is claimed that Bouvet shipped salt from his works to St. Louis. When Boone and his followers settled in the so-called "Boonslick" country, they began to manufacture salt there, but for local use only, and as an article of prime necessity.

Of course gristmills were established in various portions of upper Louisiana. The French located theirs in the villages, operated them with horses, for they were small and insignificant concerns; excepting however the windmill of Motard in St. Louis, which seems to have been a more pretentious establishment. Chouteau too had a fine watermill near the village — secured the power by damming up the Petite Rivière — the dam forming the well-known Chouteau's mill pond where are now the St. Louis railroad yards. When the Americans settled in the country, they located their mills near where they lived, and wherever possible on water-courses, so as to secure cheap and ample power. Trudeau says that they all "desire to obtain good sites for mills," and he was astonished that two small water-power mills were constructed by them "where no one would have imagined even that one could really work."⁵⁶ It is recorded that some of the mills located on these water-courses were repeatedly carried away by freshets, as for instance the gristmill of John Sturges, located on the Platin in the Ste. Genevieve district. Thomas Maddin began to build a mill on the upper portion of the Saline in 1799. George Frederick Bollinger, in the Cape Girardeau district, erected a more extensive mill on White Water, with a mill-dam built of logs and stone. Richard Jones Waters established a saw- and gristmill at the mouth of the bayou St. John, on the Mississippi river, at New Madrid in 1799, and St. Vrain in the same year contracted for another mill, although it does not appear that it was ever built. Israel Dodge operated a mill on the Spring Branch near New Bourbon, originally built by Vallé in 1793. William Montgomery had a saw- and flourmill on the Terre Blue, where this stream empties into Big river, and Jonathan Doely built the first gristmill on the St. Francois in 1801. Elias Coen, in 1798, had the first mill in Bois Brule bottom. Michael Placet in 1787 erected a mill in the city of Ste. Genevieve, although it is certain that other small mills were in operation in that village before that time. Elisha Herrington in 1798 built and operated a horse mill in St. Ferdinand. In 1798 Duquette built a windmill in St. Charles. From a partnership contract made in 1793 it appears that Tardiveau and Pierre

⁵⁵ American State Papers, 2 Public Land, p. 682. *Ante* p. 99.

⁵⁶ Trudeau's Report of 1798, General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

Audrain were to furnish the Spanish government annually 6,000 barrels of flour. They agreed to build a mill and baking house in New Madrid, and a second mill at Ste. Genevieve, this mill to be under control of Pierre Derbigny and Pierre Menard. The flour of these mills was to be marked "Social." Audrain, it was agreed, should buy the grain, and build light barges to ship the grain and flour in; the biscuit bakery was to be managed by Joseph Vandebenden and Pierre Tardiveau.

But all the mills mentioned were large establishments compared with the corn-mills of the solitary settlers called hand-mills, which consisted of two stones, the upper stone being made to revolve horizontally upon the disk of the other, a child, usually, or a woman, introducing through a perforation of the upper stone a few grains of corn at a time, which was thus ground into meal. A still more primitive way of making meal consisted merely in putting the corn into an excavation on the top of a stump and fraying it with a pestle.⁵⁷

The manufacture of whiskey was an important industry after the Americans began to settle in the country. Auguste Chouteau secured a concession of land on Beaver Pond (Marais Castor) in the St. Louis district, from DeLassus, for the purpose of procuring fuel for a distillery, which he truthfully and ingeniously said could not be kept in operation without fuel. DeLassus, apparently deeply impressed with the importance of the matter, made a grant of wood land for the distinct and expressed reason that a distillery was considered "by the Government as an establishment of public utility and benefit."⁵⁸ James Varnum in 1801 built a distillery between the Platin and Joachim and operated the establishment until 1804. Thomas Maddin also operated one on the lower Aux Vase. Lieutenant-Governor-Trudeau made an additional grant of land to Jeduthan Kendall for the purpose of enabling him to enlarge his tan-yard at Ste. Genevieve, by adding to his establishment a shoe factory and distillery. Whether the shoe factory was established is not recorded, but it may almost be considered certain that the distillery was put in operation. On the Aux Vase, in the Ste. Genevieve district, Pascal Detchemendy operated a tan-yard, which he sold in 1799 to Jean Guibourd. Francois Poillevre in 1793 operated a tan-yard on the river Establishment, in the same district.

Metallic money was scarce among the first settlers of upper Louisiana. The only coin in circulation was the now much despised

⁵⁷ Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 78.

⁵⁸ American State Papers, 2 Public Land, p. 532.

Mexican dollar, which was even cut into four or eight equal parts, popularly called "bits," and passed as current money. The Spanish troops, when they were paid off at all, received hard Spanish milled dollars, coined in Mexico. Thus about twelve thousand dollars were put in circulation annually in upper Louisiana. This was by no means a sufficient supply of money for the commercial needs of the country even at that time. The amount so distributed quickly disappeared, went to New Orleans, or was safely stored away by the French inhabitants for a rainy day. During the previous French dominion paper money was in circulation, and the French troops were for a time paid off in such currency. Concerning this early paper money the author of the "Present State of Louisiana" says, "Perhaps the reader will be glad to know what we do with our paper notes when they are much worn; we sew them up, or when they are too old we carry them back to the treasury and get new ones,"⁵⁹ and he says that even the children "understand paper notes before they know their letters or their God." However, during the period of both the French and Spanish régime trade was mainly carried on by barter among the early inhabitants of the country, just as in the first settlements elsewhere. Furs were the principal currency of the pioneers, up almost to the time Missouri was admitted into the Union. Beaver skins generally were the standard of value.⁶⁰ But tobacco, bees-wax, potash, maple-syrup, salt, feathers, bear's oil, venison, fish, wood and lead could be exchanged for merchandise. All these commodities had a value measured by the various furs of the country. Thus a pound of shaved deer skin of good quality represented about twice the value of a livre, that is to say, forty cents in our present money. A pack of deer skins was about one hundred pounds in weight, and the fixed price for the finest deer skin was what would be forty cents per pound, for medium thirty cents, and for inferior twenty cents per pound, in our present currency. A number of beaver skins, otter or ermine, represented a certain number of pounds deer skin. A "pack" of the skins of a certain animal had a definite weight. "In 1804," says Stoddard, "a bundle of beaver (Castor) skins were worth one hundred and eighty dollars on the spot, a bundle of lynx skins five hundred dollars, a bundle of otter four hundred and fifty dollars, and a bundle of marten three hundred dollars. A buffalo robe (happy times) could

⁵⁹ "The Present State of Louisiana," translated by Capt. Alymer, p. 18. (London, 1744).

⁶⁰ Bancroft, p. 458. As late as 1807, Judge J. B. C. Lucas purchased a residence at St. Louis from Pierre du Chouquette and wife for \$600, payable in peltries.

be bought for six dollars and a bear skin for three dollars." Thus trade was carried on. The cash value of the peltry could be realized only at New Orleans. It required time and expense to take peltry there, and in addition there was the danger and loss incident to a long voyage. Until shipped to New Orleans, these furs were carefully stored in small warehouses.

But furs were not the only currency. A "carrot" of tobacco also had a certain accepted value, a "carrot" being a roll of tobacco in appearance of the shape of a bologna sausage, and called a "carrot" because resembling the root of that name. The "carrot" had a certain weight, and was usually valued at ten livres. "Carrots" were sometimes prepared by boring one-half inch or one inch holes in a log of tough wood; the tobacco, dampened and cured, was wedged in this hole tightly with a mallet and pegged; when the plug was tight and tough as desired, the log was split and it was then taken out. This "carrot" of tobacco then was used and generally accepted as a medium of payment or exchange.

The effect of this peltry currency was to greatly advance prices. "All commercial transactions, unless otherwise especially agreed, are made conformable to this standard of value, and are taken in barter at the rate of forty cents per pound, but as they have to be taken to New Orleans to realize that price, there is much risk and loss; so consequently the merchant sells his goods at a charge proportionate to the venture he assumes. Everything sells at an enormous price, the result of which is that the commonest workman receives pay for labor at the rate of ten or twelve francs per day."

In an order of sale of the effects of Louis Dubreuil of New Orleans, ordered by Don Antonio Cruzat, "Lieutenant-Colonel of the Louisiana Regiment of Infantry and Commandant of the western portion of the Illinois country," it is expressly provided that the goods sold should be paid for in deer skins or beaver skins at the current value, or in money, as the purchaser might elect, on a credit of five months, good security given. At the sale one hundred and six carrots of tobacco were sold for one hundred and ninety-two livres; a yoke of steers sold for three hundred and ninety-nine livres and ten sols, and one hundred empty bottles for thirty-nine livres, but "a lot of historical books" sold for only "ten sols." Among the early French and American settlers a public sale was always well attended and the whole neighborhood would meet on such occasions, making the day of sale a social reunion, women attending also and bidding for articles.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Isolation of Early Settlers—Slow and Perilous Mode of Travel by Land—River Navigation—Description of a "Keel-boat"—Perils of River Navigation—"Cordelling" a Boat Up-stream—Down-stream Traffic—Charm of the Virgin Land—The Early French-Canadian Inhabitants—French Frontier Costumes—Personal Property Highly Prized—Some Personal Estates—Stocks of Merchandise—Manners of Pioneer French-Canadians—Characteristic Traits—The Carnival Season—Training Given Children—Hospitality—Taverns and Inns—French Schools and Teachers—Religion—The Sabbath and Religious Festivals—Pioneer French Cookery—Frugality—Sobriety—Political Indifference—Pioneer Houses Described—Osage Indian Raids—American Immigration to Early French Settlements—Some Early English-Speaking Residents—Only Few Spanish Settlers.

It is difficult for us now to imagine the isolation of the early settlements on the upper Mississippi, situated almost in the center of the continent, surrounded by powerful and warlike Indian tribes. These settlements were more completely separated from the nearest center of population, if we take into consideration the hardship to be endured to make the journey, than the settlements and settlers in the interior of Africa, at Bulawayo, or those on the Congo are now separated from London; or the denizens of Tashkand, or Tobolsk, from St. Petersburg or Berlin or Paris. The little cluster of small villages and settlements on the Mississippi at Kaskaskia, Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, and Cahokia on the east side of the river, and St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid on the west side, were, so to speak, lost in an immense and what must have seemed to the inhabitants of these localities, a boundless continent. Taking the nearest and most convenient water route, it required a journey of a thousand miles through a wilderness to reach New Orleans and its adjacent settlements. This journey must be made in a pirogue on the Mississippi, bordered as Bossu says, with "trees which appeared as ancient as the world."¹

¹ Bossu's Travels, p. 33. Have not been able to find any particulars about Bossu. He styles himself in the title page of his "Travels" as "Captain in the Marines," but he does not give his Christian name. The preface is dated "Cape François, Feb. 15, 1751." On the title page of his *Nouveaux Voyages*, a series of letters addressed to M. Douin, "Chevalier, Capitaine dans les Troupes du Roi, ci-devant son comarade dans le nouveau Monde," published in Amsterdam in 1772, he styles himself "Chevalier de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint Louis, ancien Capitaine d'une Compagnie de la Marine." In a note to the preface

Travel thence across the ocean was imperiled not only by the dangers of the sea, but also by the numerous buccaneers and pirates then infesting the southern waters. The trip by land through the interior meant a journey for many hundred miles on foot or horseback along Indian trails and war paths, across unbridged streams and morasses, often over swollen creeks and rivers, at times impassable for days, and through unblazed and unfrequented woods, to the shores of the Great Lakes or across the Alleghany mountains to the seashore. How far away must Quebec have seemed to the French habitans of Kaskaskia in 1700, and to those dwelling in Ste. Genevieve in 1735! How long and difficult the march to the seat of power on the St. Lawrence through pathless woods and prairies in the summer heat or on bleak winter days, when all nature was wrapped in ice and snow! Yet such journeys must be made. Thus, for instance, Gabriel Cerré, then one of the principal merchants of Kaskaskia, and afterward of St. Louis, for a number of years went annually to Canada. Scantily supplied with provisions the traveler began his toilsome march, camped at night beneath the stars or a cloudy sky, fortunate if in winter he could secure a small fire and a dry strip of ground between it and a log to warm his limbs benumbed with cold; he counted himself doubly fortunate if able to kill some game and to escape the bands of roaming Indians, who, even if friendly, would devour his meagre substance. Or, from the forks of the Ohio, he might go up or down, by water, exposed to many perils. On such a journey down the Ohio Judge H. H. Brackenridge, a man famous in western Pennsylvania in his time, sent his little boy scarcely seven years old from Pittsburg in 1793, to Ste. Genevieve to learn the French language there, a fact interesting because the earliest instance of a pupil being sent to the Spanish country, now in Missouri, to be educated in a foreign language. In a canoe the boy passed down the Ohio, with shores then infested by ferocious Indians, to New Madrid in charge of J. B. C. Lucas, at that time engaged in the Indian trade. Thence on a pony with Lucas and a guide he traveled through the wilderness

of these letters, it is said that Bossu served in the wars in Italy — participated in "diverse actions" particularly at Château-Dauphin in the Alps — that he was wounded, being one of the first that entered the "embrasures du canon de cette placè, qui fut emportée d'assaut par les Brigades de Poitou et de Conti, le 19 Juillet 1744. L'époque de cette brillante journée sera à jamais mémorable dans l'histoire de la vie S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince de Conti et dans les fastes de la France." Was this Bossu, of the same family as Count Bossu in command of the Dutch army in 1578? See Motley's Dutch Republic, vol. 3, p. 334-5.

along an Indian trail to his place of destination, camping out in the forest or in Indian wigwams. Of this journey he afterward gave a graphic picture.² When such a journey was made on horseback, a supply of provisions was taken along, packed on each side of the horse, with a coffee-pot, tin-cup, a hatchet to cut wood and a blanket strapped on the saddle for bedding at night, or, as a cover in case of rain.

A voyage up the Mississippi in a bateau consumed months. Laclede's boat required four months to reach Ste. Genevieve from New Orleans. It took Piernas "on one of the bateaus of the king" from September 4th to November 26th to reach the Isles a la Course (Race Islands) where he was stopped by the ice, ninety miles below Ste. Genevieve.³ DeLeyba made the trip to St. Louis in 93 days.⁴ At a later date, these light bateaus were succeeded by keel-boats. In outward appearance they resembled a canal boat, and were constructed with gunwales twelve or fourteen inches thick.⁵ The boats were often propelled by oars, and when the wind was favorable a sail was hoisted, but usually they were pulled up the river by a *cordelle* ("little rope") fastened to the top of the mast and then passed through a ring, fastened by a stout rope to the bow of the craft, and thrown over the shoulders of men who would walk in a stooping position along the shore. The path along which the men walked in pulling the boat was called the "tow-path," and in all grants made by the Spanish authorities this "tow-path" was reserved to the public.⁶ The reason why the cordelle was attached to the mast was to swing the rope clear of the brush on the bank of the river, and by passing the rope through the ring fastened to the bow, it greatly assisted to guide the boat. The setting poles were ten or twelve feet

² See Recollections of West, p. 22.

³ Report of Piernas to Gov. O'Reilly, dated Oct. 31, 1769.

⁴ Report of DeLeyba to Gov. Galvez, dated July 1, 1778.

⁵ A keel-boat was a craft built on a regular model, with a keel running from bow to stern, and thus derived its name. From the deck, projecting about four or five feet, rose the cargo box, where the freight was stored, extending to within ten or twelve feet from each end of the boat. Occasionally also state-rooms were fitted up in this part of the boat when it was used for passenger travel. Such boats were strong and substantial and built in accordance with well settled principles of ship construction.

⁶ O'Fallon vs. Doggett, 4 Mo. Francois Douchouquette in his testimony before Com. Hunt says, in 1825, that he lived in St. Louis forty eight years; that it was always understood that a tow-path was reserved along the river for boats, by the Spanish authorities, and that fences that interfered with this path were torn down. Hunt's Minutes, vol. 1, p. 160, of copy of Missouri Historical Society.



KEEL-BOAT MOVING UP THE MISSISSIPPI. FROM A PICTURE BELONGING TO MR. PIERRE CHOUTEAU.

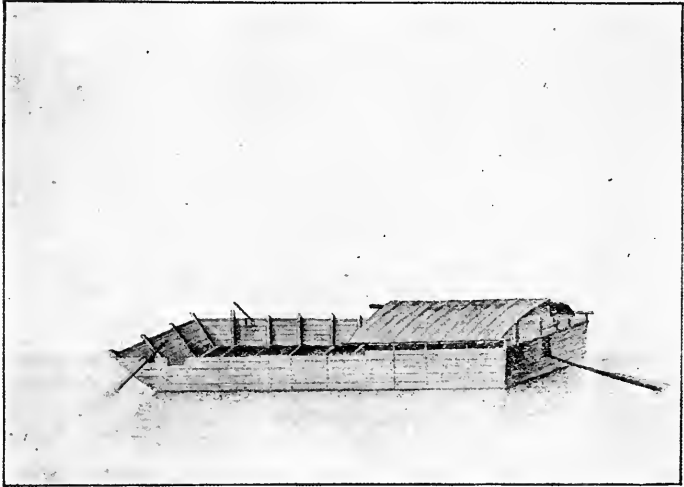
long, the lower end shod with iron and the upper end with a knob to press against the shoulders. In using these, when the water was of sufficient depth, the men placed themselves in single file on the narrow gunwale on each side of the deck near the bow, with their faces toward the stern, their heads bent low, planting their poles on the river bottom pointing down stream, and as the boat moved ahead they walked toward the stern on the gunwales on each side of the cargo box; and as the one in front reached the end of the gunwales he would turn about, pass the others and take his position in the rear. Sometimes the men on the gunwale would drop the setting-poles and catch the limbs and brush along the shore and thus drag ahead; this, says Peck, was called "bush-whacking." A long heavy oar with a wide blade was attached to the stern, and moved on a pivot, which the pilot or captain managed while standing on the roof, or deck, or cargo box, as it was variously called.⁷

The perils of this slow and laborious navigation were neither slight nor inconsiderable. Sometimes, at night, the boats would break from their moorings, the small trees and saplings yielding to the strain while the navigators were asleep or inattentive; then they would silently drift down the stream, a distance greater than had been laboriously covered on the previous day. At times, too, trees would unexpectedly fall into the stream, wrecking or imperiling the boat. On the Ohio, boatmen would often run on rocks and gravel bars, especially when the river was falling rapidly, and it required incredible labor to get the boat safely out of such a situation. Every mile or two there was what the French boatmen called an "*embarras*," that is, rafts often extending out twenty or thirty yards, and here the current, vexed by this interruption, would rush around with great violence. Then, too, to pass around enormous trees often over one hundred feet long, lying in the river at right angles, with limbs outstretched like long arms, and holding fast to the shore, with a foaming, rushing current greatly increased by such an obstruction, was a task of great difficulty. Sometimes, too, the wind blowing into a gale would drive the helpless craft to or from the shore. Their escapes from such dangers seemed wonderful to those early navigators. Only on rare occasions could a sail be raised and the boat thus moved up the river.

No employment can be imagined more laborious or dangerous than thus pulling a boat against the swift current of the river,

⁷ Life of Peck, p. 83.

because owing to the character of the shore and the numerous impediments the cordelle often became entangled among snags, sawyers, limbs of overhanging trees and shrubs, and hence great dexterity was required by the leader of the cordelle. Sometimes the boat fell back for a distance in spite of every effort. Thus, amid innumerable difficulties and painful labor, slowly the keel-boat moved or "worried" up the river in a manner hardly conceivable at this time. Ten to twelve miles a day up stream was a fair average distance for a



FLATBOAT ON THE MISSISSIPPI (WARIN).

keel-boat to make, and an average distance of eighteen miles was deemed worthy of record.

A journey down the river of course did not consume as much time as that up stream. A trip from Pittsburg to Louisville, according to Michaux, consumed 8 or 9 days. In 1802, the usual time consumed from Louisville to New Orleans was from thirty to thirty-five days; from St. Louis about twenty-five or thirty days. Many of the boats going to New Orleans were flatboats, called "broad-horses," huge square bottomed and square built crafts. These never were brought back, but were broken up and wrecked and the timber and material in them sold; the crews, if from upper Louisiana, would return by land, or if from Kentucky, they would often go to New York or Philadelphia by sea,

thence to Pittsburg and down the Ohio back home. The freight rate down the river by flatboat was reasonable enough. In 1802 a boat containing from two hundred and fifty to three hundred barrels of flour carried the same to New Orleans for \$100.⁸

Little, however, did those early settlers regard their isolated situation or the difficulties and perils of a journey to or from their homes. Many soon became charmed and fascinated by the boundless and apparently illimitable expanse of woods and prairies by which they were surrounded, and freedom from almost all restraint and control. To them it seemed as if they dwelt in a fairy land. Says Bossu, "Merchants, tradesmen and strangers, who live here, enjoy as it were an enchanted abode, rendered delicious by the purity of the air, the fertility of the soil and the beauty of the situation." For them all nature seemed to provide; for them great herds of buffalo, stag and roebuck, in the autumn season when the water in the interior country began to run low, seemed to gather on the margin of the Mississippi and its tributary streams, so that with ease they could provide provisions for the inclement season of the year; for them the fat bear seemed to come out of the St. François basin; for them the fowls of the air seemed to wing their flight from the wintry and stormy north, to fill their neighboring lakes and waters; for them the prairie hen and the turkey seemed to fill the land. Here, says Bossu, "the pleasures of hunting and fishing and all the enjoyments of life are abundant," and on both shores of the Mississippi the pure and delicious waters of this river run "for forty leagues between a number of habitations, which formed an elegant sight on both shores,"⁹ and then, speaking of the vast extent of uninhabited country, he adds, "what a pity, that so fine a country has no inhabitants but brutes."¹⁰

These French inhabitants of Missouri bore little resemblance to the "gay and perhaps frivolous" Frenchmen of the age of Louis XV, and still less to those who participated in and "felt the racking storm of the revolution."¹¹ They were principally descendants of the French-Canadian pioneers. Driven by the disasters of the revolution a few families also came directly from France to find a home in

⁸ Michaux's *Travels*, p. 182. Bradbury says that going down the Mississippi below New Madrid he passed 24 such flatboats going south in one day. *Travels*.

⁹ Bossu's *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 24. (London, 1771.)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹¹ Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*, p. 235.

upper Louisiana. It was observed that the French Canadians spoke the French language with a purity remarkable, considering that they were separated so long from their ancestral home and from all literary and other intercourse with it.¹² But it was observed that they lengthened the sound of words and thus gave the language a languid softness, by no means disagreeable to the listener, but devoid of that animation generally possessed by the French. A few words they added to the language, but many words were in use among them which had become obsolete in France, just as English words are in use among us which have become obsolete in England, although we now travel from one end of the globe to the other in a few weeks. Volney says that the French-Canadians at Vincennes "spoke a pretty good French intermixed with military terms and phrases, all these settlements having been made by soldiers."¹³ The primitive stock of the settlers of Canada belonged to the Regiment Cardigan. But Collot says that the people spoke a corrupt French, "espèce de jargon."¹⁴

Removed from the great centers of population, trade and fashion, these French-Canadians dressed in a peculiar fashion, as best they could, yet plain and simple. "The men wore a blanket coat of coarse cloth or coating, with a cape behind which could be thrown over the head, from which circumstances it was called *capote*."¹⁵ Both sexes wore blue handkerchiefs on their heads, but no hats. They had "a strong predilection for the blue color" says Reynolds.¹⁶ Moccasins or Indian sandals were used. These moccasins were both neat and serviceable. The dress of the females was generally simple, and the variety of the fashions few, although in good taste, but the women were dressed neater and better than the men. The women "caught up the French fashions from New Orleans and Paris" and "adopted them to the full extent of their means and talents". Both men and women were always provided with a proper and neat

¹² Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*, p. 239. See also Stoddard's *Louisiana*, p. 330.

¹³ Volney's *Views*, p. 353.

¹⁴ Collot's *dans L'Amerique*, vol. 2, 517.

¹⁵ In 1817 Nuttall describing the dress of the French-Canadians at Arkansas Post says, "Blanket capeaus, moccasins and overalls of the same material, are here, as in Canada, the prevailing dress; and men and women commonly wear a handkerchief on the head in place of hats and bonnets."—Nuttall's *Arkansas*, p. 75.

¹⁶ Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 51.

dress for the church and ball room.¹⁷ Brackenridge, who spent three years as a boy in Ste. Genevieve, describing M. Beauvais, in whose family he lived, says that he was "dressed in the costume of the place," that is, "with a blue handkerchief on his head, one corner thereof descending behind and partly covering the eel skin which bound his hair, and a check shirt, coarse linen pantaloons on his hips, and the Indian sandal or moccasin, the only covering to the feet worn by both sexes," and M. Beauvais was then the wealthiest man, not only in Ste. Genevieve, but in upper Louisiana.

The inventory of the house-hold effects of Jacques Louis Lambert, *dit* Lafleur, a merchant and militia officer, a person of some consequence in those days, who died at Ste. Genevieve December 26, 1771, gives us a good idea of the articles of dress owned and of the personal property of the more wealthy early inhabitants. The great value in which personal property was held is indicated by the minuteness with which it is noted down. According to this inventory, Lambert died possessed of a regimental coat and vest, sword and belt, gun and powder-horn, gold watch worth 200 livres, gold button, silver snuffbox, three pairs of silver buckles, silver cross, silver spoon, silver fork, two silver rings, hunting knife, two purses, two looking glasses, one hat, and an Indian pipe. In addition he died possessed of twenty-two shirts, twelve night caps, thirty handkerchiefs, six drawers, two umbrellas, two mattresses, one feather bed, one blanket, one coverlid, one bed curtain, one pillow case, three cravats, three table cloths, eight pair of breeches, candlestick, yard stick, brush, powder bag, clock, muff, capot, curling iron, plates, tureen, bottles, basket, bowl, pots, copper kettle, barrel, bird cage, and a lot of deer skins and other property. From this inventory it is also apparent that, in 1771, real estate was considered of little value and importance in what is now Missouri. A house and lot valued at 1,000 livres, or 200 dollars, was all the real property one of the richest residents of upper Louisiana then owned. Nor need this surprise us, for land was granted by the government gratuitously to all who applied for it in order to improve or cultivate it, and was only valuable for cultivation and on account of improvements made on it. The wealth of the inhabitants was measured by the personal property they possessed.¹⁸

¹⁷ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 52.

¹⁸ Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana, p. 238.

One Jean B. Butand, *dit* Brindamour, who died in 1771 at the house of J. B. Sarpy, then a merchant at St. Louis, did not leave so extensive an estate as Lambert; but the articles of personal dress of which he died possessed, fairly indicate the value and character of the worldly possessions of most of the people at that time. Butand's effects consisted of six white shirts, two red checked cotton shirts, two blue cotton shirts, three pair of large cotton breeches, one beaufort bed sheet, two blanket capotes, a blue jacket, one pair of blue woolen stockings, four pairs of old shoes, six cotton handkerchiefs, one vest, one cottonade jacket, one red cloth vest, an old trunk, feather bed with skin cover, one buffalo robe, a pillow and old couch, one old gun, one hat, seven pewter spoons and a plate, two iron forks, a pair of scissors, and pair of brass buckles.

On the other hand, the inventory of the personal possessions of Denau Detailly, an Indian interpreter, married to an Indian squaw, shows how small and valueless the personal assets of the poorer classes of inhabitants of upper Louisiana would be considered now. When Detailly died, he had one old feather bed covered with skins, and another with ticking, four delf plates, a tin pan, shovel, seven pewter spoons, four iron forks, an adz and saw, an oven, table, four old chairs two sheets, two pairs of old cotton breeches, ragged at that; a shirt worn and torn, an old blanket coat, straw hat and mittens; and these assets and possessions were deemed then of sufficient importance to warrant the Lieutenant-Governor Perez, Don Antonio de Oro, officer of the garrison, and other officials to go several miles out in the country to cause an inventory to be made. In addition, Detailly had a claim for thirty-seven livres, and which was duly inventoried, against one Mongrain for the price of a pirogue.¹⁹

The stock of goods carried by the old French traders, or merchants, also gives us some idea of the manner in which these pioneers of Missouri were clad. From the invoices and inventories of these traders and merchants which have been preserved, we find that they had for sale, blankets, blue and red cloth, kersey jackets, blanket capotes, colimanco cloaks, double flannel cloaks, cotton and plain shirts, scarlet cloth, also ribbon, thread, pins, (each pin made by hand because this was before the days of machine pins), table cloths, cravats; and for the Indian trade, coarse white and grey Indian

¹⁹ This Mongrain was doubtless Noel Mongrain, a half breed, nephew of Chevaux Blanc, the principal chief of the Osages.

muslin, red cotton handkerchiefs, knit caps and striped caps.²⁰ In 1796, however, Collot observes that about the same goods and merchandise find sale in upper Louisiana as in the Western States of the Union—although in lower Louisiana a better and finer grade of goods found a market.²¹

In their manners, these early French-Canadian settlers were plain and simple. In ordinary deportment they were sober, sedate and serious, and "retained the politeness and suavity of their race" with "something of the gravity of the Spaniard," but happy and hilarious like the French inhabitants on the east side of the river, when amusement was the business of the hour.²² But Lieutenant Frazier, for a time stationed at Fort de Chartres, shortly after the English took possession of the country east of the river, speaking of some of these French-Canadians says, that they "are for the greatest part drunk every day when they can get drink to buy in the colony."²³ Frazier, however, evidently was prejudiced against the people and contradicts himself. For instance, referring to the fact that many of the French residents had removed to the west bank of the Mississippi he says, that the country is "well quit of them," but later on inconsistently adds, that "it is to be hoped that they will see now that they have been imposed upon and that so many will come back as will be able to supply our troops plentifully."²⁴

These old French-Canadians had little of that restlessness, nervousness and impatience that distinguished their European compatriots. In person, men and women were well formed, agreeable and pleasant in appearance, courteous, indicating a cheerful and serene disposition, untroubled by want, care or anxiety. Nor could it well be otherwise, for the necessities of life were easily secured, and beggary was unknown. Courtesy and politeness was universal even among the humblest. The children vied with each other to show kindness to strange children.²⁵ The gentle and easy life they led was reflected in their manners and to a certain degree in the softness and mildness of their languages.²⁶ Kindness was manifested in all their domestic relations. "The women were

²⁰ Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 277.

²¹ Collot's Voyage dans L'Amerique, vol. 2, p. 273.

²² Ford's History of Illinois, p. 36.

²³ Indiana Hist. Publication, vol. 2, p. 412.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 414.

²⁵ Brackenridge's Recollections, p. 20.

²⁶ Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana, p. 236.

remarkable," says Governor Ford, who in his youth lived among these French pioneers, "for the grace and elegance of their manners and sprightliness of their conversation."²⁷ The wife was not the slave but the partner of the husband, and was so considered by law; she was consulted and usually decided all affairs relating to the common welfare. They were faithful and affectionate wives, only rarely did one abandon or desert her husband. Cases of seduction were almost unknown.

Honesty and punctuality characterised all their dealings. They spoke the truth and scrupulously carried out their bargains and those of their fathers. This is shown by the fact, that after the United States acquired Louisiana, and lands and lots had consequently increased wonderfully in value, they often ratified and confirmed the verbal contracts of their ancestors, although legally they could not be compelled to do so. Says Reynolds, "that sleepless, ferocious ambition to acquire wealth and power which seizes on so many people of this day, never was known amongst the early settlers of Illinois,"²⁸ and we may add Missouri. They were uneasy when in debt. They abhorred litigation. Criminal offenses were almost unknown among them. "In no country," says Stoddard, "were aggravated crimes more rare than in Louisiana." The people were educated to obey the laws and the guilty were not allowed to escape with impunity. They had great respect for law and the constituted authorities. The flippant contempt with which every law is now regarded, that does not suit the opinion, prejudice or interest of the individual, was then unknown in Missouri. "Besides, the French attached more disgrace to punishments than any other people."²⁹

No caste separated the people and there was scarcely any distinction of classes, the wealthy and more intelligent were considered more important, but even this manifest difference was not clearly marked. It was observed in New Orleans in 1804, that "they feel cordial and equal respect for all ranks and conditions who have good manners and deportment. 'Tis good conduct which rules with them,"³⁰ — and this was also true in upper Louisiana. At the balls which often took place on Sunday after Mass, rich and poor mingled

²⁷ Ford's History of Illinois, p. 37.

²⁸ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Louisiana, p. 37.

²⁹ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 282. They paid great deference to "men in power," not from obsequiousness, "but from habitual respect." They yielded obedience "without a murmur to their official superiors," p. 327.

³⁰ American Pioneer, vol. 2, p. 235.

on terms of equality. As a matter of fact, nearly all these early French-Canadian inhabitants were connected by ties of affinity or consanguinity. In some places so extensive was this relationship that on account of the death of a relative at an inopportune time, the carnival season, the greatest occasion for festivity in those days, was allowed to pass cheerless and unnoticed. Otherwise during the carnival season, balls and dances followed each other in rapid succession. The children, too, were permitted to be present at these dances, not indeed as a place of frivolity but rather as a school of good manners, and here also the children of the rich and poor were placed on a footing of perfect equality. The only difference between them was a more costly, but not a cleaner or neater dress.³¹ The strictest decorum prevailed on such occasions and solemnity and seriousness prevailed, as at a Sunday school. Two aged discreet persons were chosen to preserve order and decorum—called Provosts—one to select the ladies for the dance, and the other the gentlemen so that all could dance at their proper turn.³² The children were required to be seated, and neither boisterous conduct, promiscuous running about, confusion or disorder was allowed. The dances were cotillions and reels, but the minuet was popular. The customs their ancestors brought from France to the New World gave that grace of manner to these French pioneers which distinguishes the French men and women everywhere. From earliest infancy, even in the western wilderness, the importance of graceful and elegant deportment was impressed on the children. No vulgarity or rowdyism was tolerated and often the priest of the village graced by his presence these festive occasions. Such manners distinguished these French pioneers from many of their American neighbors who were too often coarse and clownish in their conduct. Flint was much impressed by the amiability, the polish and refinement of the people of Ste. Genevieve.³³ But all the writers do not give the same charming picture of the training given by the early French settlers to their children and of these French habitants. In an account of the early education of the youth of the French and French-Canadian settlers, one writer says: "The youth here are employed in hunting, fishing and pleasuring; very few learn the necessary sciences, or, at best, it is what is least attended to. The

³¹ Brackenridge's *Recollections of the West*, p. 25.

³² Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 53.

³³ Flint's *Recollections*, p. 100.

children,³⁴ even of the best sort, know how to fire a musket or shoot an arrow, catch fish, draw a bow, handle an oar, swim, run, dance, or play at cards." Strange as it may seem, General Collot contradicts what has been observed by other early travellers. He says: "Most of the habitants are traders, adventurers, *coureurs des bois*, rowers or soldiers, ignorant, superstitious and stubborn, but they endure great hardship, fatigue and privations and fear no danger in their enterprises, and which they prosecute to the end; they have preserved the French virtue of courage but they are indolent, lazy and drunken and cultivate only a little land; they have even forgotten the divisions of time and the months and when asked as to certain events answer, *du temps des grandes eaux, des fraises, du mais ou des pommes de terre*," that they will not change their habits or usages and when asked to enlarge their commerce and expand their farming operations they simply respond that such has been their custom and they in no wise desire to change it. He says, however, that they love France and speak with pride of it.³⁵ From all of which it would appear that General Collot was a disgruntled observer and perhaps did not receive as much attention as he thought he was entitled to from the residents of upper Louisiana.

Hospitality was universal and "exercised as in the first ages"³⁶ and none thought of being otherwise.³⁷ The stranger was welcomed and never turned from the door. They did not believe what Palfrey, the distinguished New England historian, so dogmatically asserts, "that hospitality is the universal virtue of a lazy and unsettled people."³⁸ Taverns or public inns, however, were licensed by the commandants. Thus, at New Madrid Jacob Myers was licensed "to hold an inn and public tavern," and this privilege was granted him as the highest bidder "in consideration of 60 piastres payable in cash in the course of six months."³⁹

³⁴ Dumont's *Present State of Louisiana*, p. 29. This pamphlet was written by an officer of New Orleans, London, 1744.

³⁵ Collot's *Voyage dans L'Amerique*, p. 515. Bradbury also says that they are much attached to the manners of their ancestors and to their practices in husbandry and that they cannot be induced to abandon them. *Travels*, p. 260.

³⁶ Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*, p. 236

³⁷ 1st Niles Register, p. 214.

³⁸ Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. 3, p. 37.

³⁹ This license was granted in 1795, at public outcry at Fort Celeste. Myers was the highest bidder and entered into bond with Dr. Samuel Dorsey as surety — in substance as follows: 1st to have a house sufficiently large to entertain voyageurs and other persons with "tranquility and safety"; 2nd, to have on hand

The cause of education was not so neglected as might seem.⁴⁰ There were private schools in Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and New Madrid. The schools generally were maintained in connection with the church of the village, and afforded a modest elementary instruction. To such a school in Ste. Genevieve, Brackenridge was sent by his father in 1793. Who the teacher was we do not now know, but the institution seems to have been under the supervision of the village priest, Father St. Pierre. Jean Baptiste Trudeau was the first teacher of a boys' school of St. Louis. He was born in 1748 in Canada and came to St. Louis in 1774 when about 26 years of age. In 1781 he married Madeline LeRoy, widow of François Hebert in St. Louis. Under him, all the old French residents received the rudiments of an education. He was a relative of Don Zenon Trudeau, who to show his appreciation and gratitude for the education given his "numerous family" by Jean Baptiste, made him a free gift or present of \$400 in due legal form, in 1799. This form was necessary, because under the Spanish law, a man could only give away a certain amount of his property although perfectly free from debt. Trudeau continued to teach school in St. Louis for 23 years after the cession, and died in 1827 at the age of 79 years. The first school for girls was established in St. Louis by Marie Josepha Pinçonneau dit Rigache. Her maiden name was Payant. She came from New Orleans in 1777 with her husband, Ignace Pinçonneau *dit* Rigache, a trader, who died in 1788. Madame Pinçonneau was generally known as Madame Rigache. She opened her school for girls in St. Louis at the instance of Baron Carondelet, with whom she probably became personally acquainted in New Orleans.

the necessary eatables and provisions; 3rd, to keep a supply of drink and strong liquor, not only for consumption and use in his house, but enough "that the village may not be in need of it," and this was an "essential condition," and failure to have such a supply on hand of "drink and strong liquor," forfeited the license; 4th, that he would not sell to any Indian savage, or to any slave of color, any liquor or strong drink, and in case of violation of this provision of the bond he forfeits 30 piastres as fine, and all "his liquor" and in addition, was liable to go 30 days to prison; 5th, he binds himself not to sell liquor on holidays and Sunday during divine service, nor in the evening after the beating of the *retraite* — under a penalty of 6 piastres, and 12 days imprisonment; 6th, agrees not to present any claim or legal demand to the commandant for any unpaid liquor bill, on penalty "of his demand being rejected;" 7th, agrees not to take pay or surety for any unpaid liquor bill from any soldier, or sailor, or from the son of a family under 18 years of age, nor from a slave or to accept payment for such a bill in any garment "from foot to head," or shoes or clothing belonging to either children or slaves, on penalty of a fine of 15 piastres and imprisonment of 15 days. This bond was entered into Aug. 24, 1795.

⁴⁰ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 309.

The Baron promised her a monthly salary of fifteen dollars, but this amount was never paid, and in lieu, thereof, she received from DeLassus a grant of land of 1,600 arpens.⁴¹ Madame Rigauche died at St. Ferdinand in 1823, aged 95 years. To her, doubtless belongs the honor of having first established a school for the education of girls, west of the Mississippi—in upper Louisiana at least. In New Madrid in 1793, Thomas Jacob was authorized to teach school. Charles Chartres in 1802, had a private school there, where English instruction was given. His terms were two dollars a quarter, school beginning in March and ending in November. Other teachers in New Madrid were Louis Baby and Philip Duncomb.

All the French settlers were strict and exemplary Catholics. Thus Madame Beauvais had some "little compunction at putting him, (Brackenridge) a little heretic, in the same bed with her own children." However, the inhabitants were far from being bigoted or superstitious, but as a rule they observed the discipline of their church strictly, as well as the holy days of the calendar.⁴² Says Reynolds: "I do not believe that there was a more devout people than these primitive French."⁴³ Some of the more intelligent and influential inhabitants of these villages, it was observed in 1818 by Peck, were French liberalists and infidels.⁴⁴ Yet he remarks that the French universally treated all ministers of the gospel who came to the country, on the acquisition of Louisiana, with great courtesy.

One thing, however, deeply disturbed the religious feelings of Peck, because with them the "Sabbath was a day of hilarity." Mass was attended in the morning, but in the afternoon the people assembled for social amusement. Brackenridge says that the Sunday balls of Ste. Genevieve were comparatively innocent and advises us particularly that M. and Mm. Beauvais were "rigid Sabbatarians." Even Stoddard, coming from New England, and witnessing these universal festivities says: "They play at billiards and other games; and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious habits, such parties and amusements appear unseasonable and strange, if not odious, and seem

⁴¹ American State Papers, 2 Public Land, p. 466.

⁴² Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana, p. 237. "Obstinately attached to the Catholic religion," says Stoddard, p. 330.

⁴³ Reynolds' Pioneers of Illinois, p. 52.

⁴⁴ Life of Peck, p. 88. But Stoddard says, "when apprehensive of death they cling to it as the only anchor of their hope," p. 330.

prophetic of some signal curse on the workers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed, that the French people on those days avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements; much more, indeed, than exists in certain night conferences, and obscure meetings, in various parts among the tombs. When questioned relative to their gaiety on Sundays, they will answer that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen countenance, an attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech and a stiff behavior, are much more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sundays will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the rest of the week. At the time we now describe, the greatest interest in religious festivals and processions was always manifest.”⁴⁵

These religious festivals and processions were admirably calculated to divert the minds of the people from discontent with the established paternal despotism. Great was the excitement which such occasions would cause in these French settlements. The Christmas holidays, especially, were always splendidly celebrated. Then the village church was open all night, the altar illuminated with the largest wax candles the village could afford, and to the young assembled in the church, the sacred images on the walls, with crosses in their hands, lent an indescribable awe, the spectacle, appearing to them as though in reality what they but represented.⁴⁶

The French have always been famous for their cooking. They enjoyed the pleasures of the table. With the poorest French, cooking is an art well understood.⁴⁷ They made use of many vegetables and prepared them “in a manner wholesome and palatable.” Fried and roasted meats were not always on the table, neither was fat hog meat, hot corn bread, nor cold pones, hard as a brick, as in the homes of many American settlers. Instead, they had soups, fricasses, salads, chickens, game, etc., prepared as well as by the *chefs* of Paris. Yet they were not acquainted with the use of the churn, and made their butter by beating the cream in a bowl or shaking it in a bottle.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 316.

⁴⁶ Recollections of the West, Brackenridge, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 21.

⁴⁸ Views of Louisiana, p. 239.

They extracted "a syrup from a certain tree"—that is to say, they made maple syrup. They raised wheat and had flour, and "did not use Indian Corn meal for bread to any great extent." Hominy corn was raised for the voyageurs. It was hard, flinty and ripened early in the fall. Through the simple luxuries of their tables many of the Americans became enticed by the lives, habits and charms of the daughters of the French pioneers. The daughters like their mothers, were generally good and thrifty managers, and neat housekeepers.⁴⁹ On the other hand, only on rare occasions did a French settler intermarry with an American family.

Stoddard attributes the sallow complexion and sickly aspects which characterized some of these French pioneers, "though they experience a good degree of health, in a great measure to the nature of their foods, mostly of a vegetable kind, and their manner of preparing it." Evidently he did not relish the French cuisine now so popular. But the suggestion, that the use of a vegetable diet caused their "sallow complexion and sickly aspect" though "they experienced a good degree of health," clearly shows that Stoddard did not know that in a new country, where the bottoms were covered with heavy timber and malaria necessarily prevailed more or less, a vegetable diet was most beneficial. These old French settlers were wiser than he. He also says that "they are temperate; they mostly limit their desires to vegetables, soups and coffee." This is characteristic of the French everywhere. He also further observes that "they are great smokers of tobacco" that this practice "no doubt gives a yellow tinge to their skins," and contradicting Gen. Collot directly, states that "ardent spirits are seldom used except by the most laborious class of society. They even dislike white wines, because they possess too much spirit. Clarets and other light red wines are common among them, and those who can afford it, are not sparing of this beverage."⁵⁰ They also made "a sourish wine in the Illinois country" which was consumed by those not able to afford imported wines.

These French settlers were not extravagant or wasteful. It is

⁴⁹ But see statement of Alvord in Ills. Hist. Coll. vol. 2, p. 22, that the French women were poor, careless and extravagant housekeepers, citing Volney's Views, p. 336. Volney quotes the apology of the Americans who naturally placed all the losses the French had suffered by the change of government on the French themselves. Stoddard says "this passion for cleanliness is particularly exhibited by the women, who frequently carry it to excess." Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 328.

⁵⁰ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 325.

remarkable that the use of the spinning wheel and loom was unknown among them, and that no domestic manufacture was carried on in their homes.⁵¹ They displayed "great economy in their family matters, not however, because of a miserly disposition, nor always because of a want of means but rather as the result of a conviction that their constitutions" required it. They readily sacrificed "what may be termed luxury for the preservation of health." They seldom contracted the diseases that are the result of excess. Nor need it be thought that these statements, made on the authority of Stoddard, applied only to the rich or wealthier class of the French pioneers of Missouri. Any one will recognize the most salient features of French character in all the accounts given by early travelers of the habits and customs of the first French settlers in this country. It is true that the French Canadian *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* coming from long voyages or from the hunts, often freely imbibed taffia and other strong and intoxicating beverages, for a day or more, (and it is probable that Lieutenant Frazier referred to this class in his letter) but nevertheless, even among this class, drunkards were few. Although laboring hard for months and years, far up the Mississippi and Missouri, and their hundreds of tributary streams, on their return to St. Louis, St. Charles and Ste. Genevieve, they quickly spent their earnings. Plain and simple in their wants, without guile, and generally without ambition to acquire wealth or property, these people easily fell a prey to their more calculating countrymen, and the many Americans who, even before the Louisiana purchase, began to invade the country, and used this harmless and unsuspecting folk as tools to accomplish their purposes. They were as a class, neither a persistent, industrious nor money-saving people. But they were content and happy.

The people were not allowed to participate in public affairs. Politics and politicians were unknown. The Commandant of the post was supposed to look after matters concerning the welfare of the community. The French residents generally were very ignorant on all such matters. Of an extremely peaceful disposition as to political subjects, they were also devoid of public spirit. Enterprises necessary to build up a country, found little support among them.

The houses in which they lived were built of logs planted upright

⁵¹ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 88; Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana, p. 218.

in the ground or erected on top of a wall. Sometimes instead of posts they were made on a frame work, with corner posts, and studs horizontally connected with cross pieces and the intervening spaces filled with stone or mortar. These houses so constructed were white washed. "The French houses," says Ford, "were mostly of hewn timber set upright in the ground or upon plates laid upon a wall, the intervals between the upright pieces being filled with stone and mortar. Scarcely any of the houses were more than one story high, with a porch on one or two sides, and sometimes all around, with low roofs, extending with slants of different steepness from the comb to the side of the lowest part of the porch. They were generally placed in a garden and surrounded by fruit trees, apples, cherries and peaches and in the village, generally each inclosure of the house or garden occupied a whole block or square." On the ridge of the house, or over the gates, one frequently saw a wooden cross.⁵²

These long and low dwellings, when owned by the wealthier and more prosperous, had a chimney in the center of the house, thus dividing it into two parts, and giving a great fire place to each room. One end served as a dining-room, parlor and principal bed chamber; the other was the kitchen. From each of these rooms, however, a small room was often cut off for a private chamber. But some had spacious halls in the centre and chimneys at both ends.⁵³ While many of the houses had no garrets, or stairs leading to the garret, stairs being rare in the French villages of the time, some houses like the Vallé house, and other houses owned by the richer habitants, had large garrets with dormer windows or windows at the gable end, thus lighting up the garrets. The furniture was simple, consisting of beds, looking-glasses, a table or two, some chairs and an armoire. The whole house was one ponderous frame, with walls often not weather-boarded, but spaces between the timber filled in with clay and rock and white-washed, presenting a neat and attractive appearance.⁵⁴ Very few nails were used in the construction, the timbers being tenented and mortised and wooden pegs driven to fasten the whole structure together. Nails being made by hand were scarce. The roofs were fastened down by wooden pegs or pins. The chimney generally was made by planting four posts converging toward the top so that the

⁵² Flint's Recollections, p. 100.

⁵³ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 329.

⁵⁴ See pictures of Vallé and other houses at Ste. Genevieve, in vol. 1. p. 350, et seq. Also the Chouteau and other houses at St. Louis, pp. 48 and 60, ante.

diameter of the chimney at the top was not more than one half as great as at the hearth, and the space between these posts was also filled with rock and mortar. But in Ste. Genevieve many of the houses of the wealthier class had stone chimneys with fire-places four or five feet wide. In such fire-places in the kitchen the culinary preparations were carried on. When the family owned servants, the kitchen was usually located in a detached building several steps from the main house. The house had one window of eight or ten panes of glass to each room. The windows opened like doors, and were protected on the outside by heavy, solid wooden shutters. This was a protection against the neighboring Indians, who in Ste. Genevieve would sometimes, when in an ugly mood, and half drunk, take the town.⁵⁵ "The insolence of the other nations who came openly to their villages, the Peorias, Loups, Kickapoos, Chickasaws, Cherokees, etc., is inconceivable. They were sometimes perfect masters of the village, and excited general consternation. I have seen the houses on some occasions closed up, and the doors barred by the terrified inhabitants."⁵⁶ It can hardly be imagined now that such conduct would not lead to bloody encounters. Under such circumstances, however, well protected windows, heavy doors and high picket fences were necessary it would seem. In St. Louis some of the houses of the wealthier residents were built out of stone.

The better houses had spacious galleries. In such houses the floors were made of plank nicely jointed, but those not able to afford such luxury had puncheons, that is to say, heavy timber hewed and joined together. The joists were made out of logs hewn square. All timber was then sawed by hand. The houses were in enclosed yards, fenced off by pickets seven feet high and eight or ten inches in diameter, driven into the ground and sharpened to a point on top, but the Chouteau house in St. Louis was afterward surrounded by a stone wall. The yards in front of the houses were small, but in the rear large, according to the wealth of the owner and the number of slaves owned, and the amount of stock and stable-room required. Beyond this enclosure large and spacious gardens enclosed in pickets in the same manner as the yard, were situated. In these gardens every variety of the finest vegetables were cultivated together with flowers and shrubs. There was also an orchard on one side filled with choicest fruit trees. Thus lived many of the richer

⁵⁵ Views of Louisiana, p. 245.

⁵⁶ Views of Louisiana, p. 146.

French pioneers in their villages, far more comfortable, and relatively almost in elegance, as compared with the Anglo-Saxon pioneers, who dwelt on isolated homesteads on their land-grants.

The first dwellings of the American settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as from Pennsylvania, were similar in construction in all sections of the west. Both before and after the cession of Louisiana they were usually double cabins, or two distinct log pens, the logs being laid longitudinally upon each other eight or ten feet high. The log houses consisted of two single rooms with an open space between. This space was equal in size to one of the cabins, or rooms, the roof covering each of the log rooms being extended over this space, or hall-way. Sometimes too, the roof extended over the



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walls of the houses so as to form a shed or porch in front and in the rear. The space between the log rooms being thus covered was left open as a passage-way with the bare earth as a floor, and here, in the summer time, the family found a cool and airy retreat from the heat of the day. The roof was made from pole rafters, across which logs were laid and fastened with wooden pins, or by notches, and on these logs were laid clap-boards four or five feet long, and upon these three or four heavy logs, called "weight logs," fastened down at the ends with withes, holding down by their weight the clap-board roof, thus supplying the place of nails. One or two doors were cut into these rooms, the spaces between the logs were chinked or daubed with clay and a few small openings were left for light and air, or when glass could be procured, for windows. The floor consisted of

puncheons laid on heavy logs. Each cabin had a broad fire-place built of wood and clay, or made out of rock whenever accessible. One cabin or room, served as a kitchen, while in the other, in the winter, before huge log fires, the men and boys assembled to discuss the news, the latest arrivals in the settlement, the exploits in the field or chase, the wars and rumors of wars that then were current, and above all, the Indians and their forays.

In case the family owned slaves another log room, or cabin, was built for a kitchen, usually in the rear of the hall-way and about the width of the hall-way from the dwelling. Here the colored women did their work under the supervision and instruction of the mistress, who trained them to industry and order. The cabins of these servants usually, were near by in the same lot. The wealth, industry and enterprise of an American pioneer was shown by the number of his corn cribs, the size of his smoke house, the number of his live-stock, cattle, hogs and horses. Trudeau evidently speaking of poorer classes of French settlers observes, in 1798, that the houses of the new American settlers were better than the houses of Creoles and Canadians "who were settled in the villages thirty years ago."⁵⁷

The first considerable Anglo-American emigration into upper Louisiana dates from the visit of Colonel George Morgan in 1788-89, already mentioned. The immigrants came principally from Pennsylvania and followed Colonel Israel Shreeve, Peter Light, Colonel Christopher Hays,—all surveyors—Captain Hulings, John Ward, and many others who had accompanied Morgan. That the country attracted them is shown by the fact that they nearly all remained, or, if they returned home up the Ohio, soon came back with others. In fact, these explorers with Morgan first spread abroad on the forks of the Ohio and through what was then the western portion of the United States, the fame of the beauty and fertility of the soil of what is now Missouri; they set in motion that stream of immigration which, a few years afterwards, began to move into Louisiana and caused Dr. Saugrain to tell Brissot, that the Spaniards sooner or later would be forced to quit the Mississippi, that the Americans would pass it and establish themselves in Louisiana, a country which he said he had seen, and considered "one of the finest countries in the universe."⁵⁸ Yet even before Morgan and his adventurers came,

⁵⁷ Trudeau Report of 1798; General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

⁵⁸ Brissot's *New Travels*, p. 261. Brissot de Warville was a relative of Genet.

English speaking people had settled in the colony. Thus we find in 1771, Mathew Kennedy in Ste. Genevieve, engaged in trade.⁵⁹ In the village of St. Louis, Marie Newby, the widow of John Claiborn, evidently an Anglo-American family or of Anglo-American descent, married one Philibert Gagnon in 1778, and afterward Philip Fine. This Fine in 1786 settled between the Maramec and the Mississippi. In the same year Captain John Dodge settled at New Bourbon in the Ste. Genevieve district not far from Kaskaskia. A family named "Reed" lived in St. Louis, from the foundation of the settlement and if they were Anglo-Americans, as the name would certainly indicate, must be considered the oldest English-speaking family of upper Louisiana. Laurent Reed said that when the Indians attacked St. Louis in 1780, he was seventeen years old, that he had lived in St. Louis all his life, and that he was born there. This latter statement, however, must be an error, as St. Louis was not founded until 1764, and if Reed was seventeen years old when the Indians attacked St. Louis, he was born there before the town was settled. Reed evidently was mistaken as to his age.

As early as 1774, John Helderbrand (or Hildebrand), by the Spaniards called "Albran," settled on the Maramec.⁶⁰ In 1780, Pierre Chouteau went to his place to warn him and others of the dangers of Indian attacks and depredations. In the same year this Helderbrand, living on the Negro Fork of the Maramec, was killed by the Indians, (in 1788 according to a statement of William Bellew) while in the woods hunting his horses. This William Bellew, who was on the Maramec as early as 1788, was probably an American hunter or trapper. The family of Rev. Ichabod Camp must be included among the earliest English-speaking residents of St. Louis. Dr. Camp was a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal church, born in Durham, Connecticut, in 1726; he graduated at Yale college 1743; then went to England and was ordained a priest by the Bishop of London in 1752; he returned to the United States in August, 1752, and commenced his ministry at Christ church, Middleton. He was married twice, his first wife being Content Ward, who died in 1754. In 1757 he married Ann Oliver, who survived him, dying October 27, 1803 at St. Louis. The Camps came down the Ohio with General George Rogers Clark on a flat-boat, but they did not stop at the Falls of the Ohio as most of the others did who

⁵⁹ See vol. 1, p. 352, note 39.

⁶⁰ See his petition for land, American State Papers, 5 Public Land.

came down the Ohio at that time, but passed on to Natchez; one of the daughters dying there, Rev. Camp moved up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia. At this place it seems he was intimately associated with the early American residents of Kaskaskia, such as Shadrach Bond, Joseph Hunter (who afterward settled in the New Madrid district), and James Wiley. While at Kaskaskia in 1785, one of the daughters, Catherine, married a French-Canadian named J. B. Guion; but being ill-treated she returned to her father's house. This incensed Guion and one night while somewhat intoxicated, he went to the house and endeavored to force her to return to him. Rev. Camp stood at the door and remonstrated with him, but he drew a pistol and shot Camp, and he died of the wound almost immediately, on April 20, 1786, and was buried at Kaskaskia. Mrs. Camp shortly afterward removed to St. Louis. Here she purchased property at the corner of what is now Spruce and Second streets. In 1791 she received a grant of a lot from Lieutenant-Governor Perez on Third and Almond streets, and in 1797, another concession from Trudeau of 2,600 arpens on the Rivière des Peres, at a place which at a later period, by reason of a spring thereon, became known as "Camp's Spring." She also owned a mill on property on the Cul de Sac in 1800.⁶¹

James Richardson, long a deputy surveyor under Soulard, another early American settler, came to the St. Louis district in 1787, settling near St. Ferdinand. In 1795 he was a resident of the Village à Robert, but also owned property on the Maramec in 1796, and built a still house on the Maline in 1799. Richardson had killed a man in Kentucky and fled from that state to upper Louisiana. Thomas Jones was an early American resident on the Maramec. In 1780 he received a grant on Richard creek from de Leyba but later he was driven away by the Indians. His son, John Jones, was a witness before the Board of Commissioners as to the dates of

⁶¹ Her daughter Louise married Mackay Wherry of Pennsylvania, March 19, 1800; another daughter, Charlotte, married Moses Bates in 1805. Bates then lived in Ste. Genevieve, but afterwards removed to St. Charles, and Catherine the widow of John B. Guion, married Israel Dodge January 4, 1804, then residing at New Bourbon in Ste. Genevieve county. He settled on her, by marriage contract, "a house and grounds in New Bourbon, one thousand silver dollars, two young slaves and one thousand arpens of land." The second daughter married Antoine Reihle and died in St. Louis in 1793. The heirs of Mrs. Camp April 15, 1804, petitioned Captain Stoddard, the acting Governor of Louisiana Territory, to amicably partition the estate of Mrs. Camp, which petition was granted and is the first official act under the American government in upper Louisiana.

settlements as far back as 1786, and events in that locality. No doubt this Jones and his family were among the earliest Anglo-American settlers of the country. It also appears from the records, that Gregoire Davy in 1786, and John Gregor in 1787 resided on the Maramec; Jesse Raynor, from Kaskaskia who served in the militia there, resided on Sandy creek in St. Louis district in 1785, but removed from Louisiana in 1799. On June 21, 1788, an Englishman named Keer resided with his wife and family, about six miles north of St. Louis on Bellefontaine, but he, his wife, one son and two daughters were killed, a son of fifteen or sixteen and a daughter two years old escaped. This Keer had just moved from the American settlements across the river, and from the inventory made under the direction of the Lieutenant-Governor, Don Manuel Perez, it would appear that he was possessed of ample house-hold effects, valued at 1,773 livres.⁶² After 1790 English names among the settlers became more numerous, and in a few years large, exclusively American settlements rapidly sprang up in the several districts.

No considerable number of Spaniards settled in upper Louisiana. Most of the Spanish soldiers who were sent up from New Orleans returned. Spanish names in the records of upper Louisiana are, Ortes (Hortez), Alvarez, Vasquez, in St. Louis; Manuel Blanco, a soldier who took up his residence at Mine à Breton, was at New Madrid in 1794. These are about the only names of Spanish residents which occur. The prevailing language in the villages was French, because the villages were almost occupied exclusively by them. The Americans residing on the land outside of these villages were engaged in farm work, so as to perfect the titles to their lands by actual cultivation, as required by the rules and ordinances. These land titles always were a matter of more consequence to the American settlers than to their French neighbors.

⁶² Billon's Annals of St. Louis, vol. 1, p. 249.

CHAPTER XIX.

Activity of French Missionaries — Marquette in Missouri — Fathers Allouez and Gravier — Father Gabriel Marest — Conflict of Early Church Authorities — Friendly Relations Between Missionaries and Indians — Voyage Down the Mississippi, in 1699, of Fathers Davion, Montigny and St. Cosme — Fathers Vivier, Tartarin, Aubert, Wattrin and DeGuyenne — First Resident Priests of Ste. Genevieve — Perils Incurred by Priests Visiting Settlements — Father Meurin — Father Gibault — His Unique List of Baggage — His Influence Causes the French to Espouse the American Cause — Denounced by the British Commander — Tribute to, by Patrick Henry — Father Hilaire and his Controversy with his Parishioners — Father James Maxwell — "Maxwell's Hill" Near Ste. Genevieve — Father Valentine, First Resident Priest of St. Louis — Ceremony of Dedication of First Church Bell of St. Louis — Building a New Church in St. Louis, 1776 — Report on Condition of St. Louis Church Building in 1797 — The Church of Florissant — The Parish of St. Isidore — Salaries of Parish Priests — Cession of Louisiana Affects the Church — Church Property Ceded to Congregations — Church Authorities and Eminent Catholic Dignitaries at Time of Cession — Tour of Bishop Flaget, 1814 — Bishop Dubourg — Father Felix De Andreis — His Marvelous Talents and Acquirements — Colony of Priests of the Congregation of the Missions in Missouri — Establishment of St. Mary's Seminary — First Colony of the Order of the Sacred Heart at St. Charles — Removed to Florissant in 1809 — Madame Duchesne — The Germ of the St. Louis University.

The activity of the French missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries, in the vast territories stretching from the mouth of the St. Lawrence across the continent, and from the Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi, was unceasing and extraordinary. To propagate the faith, they traversed the solitude of boundless forests and prairies,¹ and with their pirogues disturbed the quietude of unexplored lakes and rivers. Surrounded by unknown and often dreadful perils, they visited barbarous tribes of savages and first planted the cross among them, and sowed the seed of a higher and better life, too often stamped out and destroyed by the immoralities, and as Father Vivier says, by the "bad example of the French, who continually mingle with those people," and by "the brandy that is sold to them."¹ For this reason, he mournfully adds, the harvest did not correspond to their labors.

To propagate the faith, Father Marquette accompanied Joliet and greatly rejoiced when he found himself "in the blessed necessity" to expose his "life for the salvation of all these people, and

¹ 69 Jesuit Relations, p. 149.

especially of the Illinois;" he piously vowed that if the great river should be discovered, he would name it the river of the "Immaculate Conception," and that the first mission established among the new people he might discover, should also be named the "Mission of the Immaculate Conception."² Accordingly on Marquette's map, the Mississippi is named the "Rivière de la Conception," and the first mission among the Kaskaskia Indians at Kaskaskia, founded by Gravier, was also named the "Mission of the Immaculate Conception" and the present church and parish of Kaskaskia still retains this name.³

Joliet and Marquette in their downward voyage must have camped at various places on the right bank of the Mississippi. It may be that the Illinois villages Marquette visited, which on his map are named the Pe-8-area or (Pe-8-ar-8-as) and Moingwena, or (M'-8-ingonenas) on the west side of the river, were located in what is now Missouri, since he states that these villages were "in parallel 41 and as low as 40 degrees, and some minutes," although it is well to remember that the latitude given at that date, differs from ours by from one half to a whole degree. If our conjecture be correct, Marquette was the first missionary who visited Missouri.

Although we have no distinct evidence of the fact, it is certain that Fathers Allouez and Gravier, and two other Jesuit missionaries visited the Indians residing on the west bank of the river. They indeed may have established the first settlement in the Mississippi valley at the mouth of the "Rivière des Pères," of which Austin makes mention.⁴ These missionaries traveled up and down the river doing missionary work among the Indians in the Illinois country, then dwelling on both banks of the river, above and near the mouth of the Missouri on the west side, and above the mouth of the Ohio on the east side of the Mississippi.

Father Allouez, in 1690, was appointed Vicar-General of the Illinois country, succeeding Father Marquette who was appointed Vicar-General of this western country when he was selected to accompany Joliet. The first entries of the records of the "Church of the Immaculate Conception" of Kaskaskia were evidently made by Allouez. Father Gravier succeeded him and for a time

² 59 Jesuit Relations, p. 108.

³ Marquette did not found the "Mission among the Kaskaskias," as was so conspicuously, but erroneously, emblazoned in raised letters on the monument erected in his honor at the late "Louisiana Purchase Exposition."

⁴ Austin's Journal, 8 American Historical Review, p. 518.

resided in the village of the Kaskaskias, which was then situated on the lower Illinois river in latitude 40 degrees 41 minutes, on the edge of a prairie on one side, and a "multitude of swamps,"⁵ on the other. While Father Gabriel Marest was in charge of the Kaskaskia mission at this point, these Indians precipitately abandoned this village and moved further south, establishing a new village on the banks of a river ever since known as the Kaskaskia. The church records of 1690 were begun at the old village and when the Indians fled to the new town, they were carried there. Father Gravier greatly regretted this emigration as it separated the Kaskaskias from the Pe-8-ar-8-as and M-8-ingonenas, and he feared it would lead to hostilities between them.

Father Gabriel Marest, who accompanied the Kaskaskias, leaving the Pe-8-ar-8-as without a missionary, traveled far and wide among the Illinois Indians, and was able to endure an incredible amount of fatigue. He understood their language perfectly and mastered it in four or five months.⁶ Father Marest labored successfully in the Pe-8-ar-8-as villages which Marquette had visited, and converted a famous chief of that tribe before his death. In 1700 he was among the Tamaroas, then residing on Cahokia creek opposite where St. Louis now stands. At this time, Father Pinet was also stationed among the Tamaroas, and performed "in peace all the duties of a missionary." Father Bergier, a Seminarian priest, Grand-Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec who, however, only had charge of the French residing in this village, then lived there⁷, and ultimately this led to a conflict between the Seminary priests and the Jesuits. Father Bergier claimed that the Jesuits had the powers of Vicar-General merely with regard to the savages, and not over the French settlers among them, and thus he took away the French communicants from the Jesuits, informing the latter that they had no authority over them in spiritual matters.⁸ Bergier admitted that Gravier was Superior of the Illinois missions, and that, although the Bishop of Quebec gave the power of a Vicar-General to the Superior of these missions, he had been deprived of these powers by the Bishop afterward. All of this Father Gravier denied in 1708, but, he says that he does not aspire to "nominis umbram" and

⁵ 60 Jesuit Relations, p. 161.

⁶ 65 Jesuit Relations, p. 103.

⁷ Ibid., p. 103.

⁸ 66 Jesuit Relations, p. 127.

would gladly concede the superiority and the powers of Vicar-General to Father Mermet. Father Gravier was evidently greatly disliked by the Seminarian priests, and of course had no love for them in return. They called him an "arch-plotter," and he says that Father St. Cosme "had not made a single Christian among the Natchez," that Father Davion had "abandoned his mission through fear of the English and savages," that "this flight does him no credit,"⁹ that Father Bergier said, that "on the first alarm of the enemy, he would abandon the place (Tamarouha) and come to New Orleans," and then, he sarcastically remarks, "never-the-less these gentlemen have undertaken to provide missionaries."¹⁰

The missionaries at Tamarouha, Cahokia (Kaoukia) and Kaskaskia, dwelling with the Indians there, also visited the west bank of the Mississippi, because these Indians crossed and recrossed the river on their hunting expeditions, and the Jesuit missionaries were in the habit of often accompanying them on such occasions. Father Gravier says that the Michigamia, who dwelt near the St. François when Joliet and Marquette went down the Mississippi,¹¹ wintered in 1700 with the Tamarouha on a fine bay of the river, coming more than sixty leagues (180 miles) in order to do so, and that these two tribes at that time formed one village. A year before, in 1699, Fathers Davion, Montigny and St. Cosme, missionaries of the Sulpician order, went down the Mississippi.¹² On the 6th day of December they reached the village of the Tamarouha and a week afterward leaving the Tamarouha village and descending the river, St. Cosme relates that he ascended a rock on the right hand side going down the river, and erected a cross, performing this interesting ceremony in Missouri within the limits of what is now Perry county.¹³

The settlement at the mouth of the Saline which Penicaut found there in 1700, was visited by the Jesuit priests Gravier and Marest. Father Jean Marest, a "Religieuse of the Company of Jesus, Missionaries of the Illinios," who died at Kaskaskia in 1735, certainly came to this settlement on his spiritual errand as well as to the old village of Ste. Genevieve, on the west side of the river. The Sulpi-

⁹ 66 Jesuit Relations, p. 131.

¹⁰ 66 Jesuit Relations, p. 131.

¹¹ 59 Jesuit Relations, p. 151.

¹² Penicaut says that D'Iberville met St. Cosme on April 17, 1700, on his trip up the Mississippi.

¹³ See vol. 1, page 241-42.

cians, Martigny, Davion, St. Cosme, Zebedie, LeJeune Donne and others, we may be sure also found this oasis in the vast wilderness of woods and prairie, although no express mention is made of the fact. Father Luc, stationed at Fort de Chartres, and Father Gagnon, a secular priest of the ancient parish of St. Ann, attached to the Fort, also crossed the river in performance of their religious work.¹⁴

After the foundation of old Ste. Genevieve, the Jesuit priests of Kaskaskia came to the village. No records of these visits exist, but it is not to be thought that they omitted to cross the river to look after the spiritual welfare of the settlers there. From 1735 to 1760, Father Vivier,¹⁵ Father Tartarin,¹⁶ Father Aubert,¹⁷ Father Watrin,¹⁸ and Father DeGuyenne¹⁹ all Jesuit priests stationed at Kaskaskia, can

¹⁴ Father Gagnon and Father Luc were both buried in the grave-yard of St. Ann parish, but when the Mississippi began to wash away the Fort and village, Father Meurin had their bodies removed and re-interred at Prairie du Rocher in 1768.

¹⁵ Father François Louis Vivier, born at Issoudun, October 6th, 1714, in the province of France; entered the Society of Jesus September 1731; came to Canada in 1749; sent to the Illinois country in 1749; remained at Kaskaskia until 1753 or 1754, then transferred to Vincennes, where he died in 1756. His two letters preserved in the Jesuit Relations give most valuable information of the life and condition of the French and Indians in the Illinois country. From 1749 to 1750 he was stationed at Kaskaskia in charge of the Illinois missions.

¹⁶ Rene Tartarin, a Jesuit priest, born January 22nd 1695, came to Canada 1727, according to Father Jones he was stationed at Kaskaskia several years; died in Louisiana September 24, 1745.

¹⁷ François Jean Baptiste Aubert, born in the province of Lyons, March 1st, 1722; entered the Society of Jesus 1739; came to Canada in 1754; curé at Kaskaskia until the expulsion of the Jesuits; returned to France in 1764; in 1784 was engaged in the ministry at Grenoble, France.

¹⁸ Father Philibert Watrin, or Watrin, also spelled "Vatrin" by Vivier, born at Metz, province of Champagne, France, April 1st, 1697; entered the Society of Jesus 1712; arrived in Canada 1732; lived at Kaskaskia and the Illinois country thirty years; parish priest at Kaskaskia; Superior of the Illinois missions; first parish priest at Ste. Genevieve in what is now Missouri in 1760. In 1763 went to New Orleans to defend the interests of the Jesuit Order when the future state of the order in Louisiana was "still between hope and fear." 69 Jesuit Relations, p. 213. In a pathetic letter relating the troubles of the Jesuits in the Illinois country he says that they were driven from their own houses, and that at the age of sixty-seven he departed on foot to find "a lodging a league away with a confrère of his, a missionary to the savages," Father Meurin, and that the French who met him on the way "groaned to see persecution begun with him." Embarking at New Orleans November 24, 1764, he returned to France. Watrin's account of how the decree to banish the Jesuits was carried out in the Illinois country is highly interesting. 70 Jesuit Relations, p. 213, et seq.

¹⁹ Alexis F. X. DeGuyenne, born at New Orleans 1696; entered the Society of Jesus at Paris in 1713; arrived in Louisiana 1726, but, according to Father Jones, "in Canada in 1727," a missionary among the Alibamu (Alibamas) until 1730, then among the Arkansas Indians, then among the Miamis, then Superior of

be reasonably supposed to have been at Ste. Genevieve from time to time in the discharge of their sacred office. But expressly confirming this, Father Wattrin, in 1764, defending the Jesuits against the charge of neglecting their spiritual work, writes, "but here is yet another proof of the care that the Jesuits have taken of this parish; fifteen years ago, at a league from the old village, on the other bank of the Mississippi, there was established a new village under the name of Ste. Genevieve. Then the curé of Kaskaskia found himself obliged to go there to administer the sacraments, at least to the sick; and when the new inhabitants saw their houses multiply, they asked to have a church built; this being granted them, the journey of the missionary became still more frequent, because he thought he ought then yield himself still more to the willingness of his new parishoners and their needs. However, in order to go to this new church he must cross the Mississippi, which in this place is three-eighths of a league wide; he sometimes had to trust himself to a slave who alone guided the canoe; it was necessary in fine, to expose himself to the danger of perishing, if in the middle of the river they had been overtaken by a violent storm. None of these inconveniences have prevented the curé of Cascakias from going to Ste. Genevieve when charity called him thither, and he was always charged with this care until means were found to place at Ste. Genevieve, a special curé, — which occurred only a few years ago, when the inhabitants of the place built a house for a pastor. These two villages, that of Cascakias and that of Ste. Genevieve, made the second and third establishments of the Jesuits in the Illinois country."²⁰

The church records of Ste. Genevieve begin in 1759. The parish, or church of the village was then called "St. Joachin" and Father Wattrin performed the duties of curé in that year. Father Wattrin must have come over from Kaskaskia, where he was curé from 1746 to 1749, after he was relieved of his duties there, perhaps as early as 1750. From 1760 to 1764, Fathers Wattrin, J. B. Salveneuve²¹

the Illinois missions from 1749 to 1756; died in the Illinois country in 1762; seems to have been well versed in the Indian languages, and Father Vivier says that he acted "as my master in the study of the Illinois language." Father DeGuyenne spent thirty-six years as a missionary among the Indians; was curé at Fort de Chartres before his death; suffered from partial paralysis. 70 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 229.

²⁰ 70 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 235.

²¹ Jean Baptiste Francois Salveneuve, born June 8, 1708; arrived in Quebec, Canada, in 1743, thirty-five years of age, was assigned to the Huron missions and remained there until 1761, then came to Illinois country and was stationed

and John LaMorinie²² the church records show, were the ministers regularly domiciled within the limits of what is now Missouri. Father Meurin succeeded these missionary priests in Ste. Genevieve and acted as curé of that parish from 1764 to 1768, and together with Father Luc, also parish priest of St. Ann parish at Fort de Chartres, and Father Collet, had charge of the Kaskaskia parish at the same time. The people of Kaskaskia, influenced by the dominant party in Louisiana, although at the time under English rule, were hostile to Father Meurin, because he was a Jesuit, and many would not recognize him, and it is said that not more than ten men came to communion in four years. Father Meurin could only visit Kaskaskia by stealth at night, but at Fort de Chartres and St. Philippe he was very popular, and the people at Prairie du Rocher offered to build him a house and give him a horse and calèche, as well as a negro servant, in order to induce him to take up his residence there.

Father Meurin was the only Jesuit missionary allowed to remain in the country after the expulsion of the order from Louisiana, and he deserves more than passing notice. He was born in 1707 in France; entered the Order of the Jesuits in 1729 and came to Canada in 1741. The following year he was sent to the Illinios country where he labored among the savages uninterruptedly until 1763. In that year he went to New Orleans with the Superior of the Illinois missions, Father Wattrin, and others, but instead of going to France, he obtained permission to return to the Illinois in order to save his savage Illinois neophytes from forgetting religion, as he felt sure would be the case if they remained long without a missionary.²³ He was not a strong man and his health was never good during the many years he spent in the wilderness. All the property of the Jesuits had been sold and he could draw upon no fund for subsistence. No one was obliged to furnish him anything and all that was promised him when he returned was, that an effort would be made at court to secure for his support

at Ste. Genevieve until 1763, when the Jesuits were expelled. He returned to France in 1764, but it is also said that he died in Louisiana in that year.

²² Father Jean Baptiste de La Morinie in charge of the Ste. Genevieve church in 1762 to 1764, was animated by a "motive and a zeal that refuses itself to nothing." 70 *Jesuit Relations*, 277. He was born at Puigneux, France, December 24, 1705; became a Jesuit at the age of eighteen; came to Canada in 1736; was a missionary among the Hurons at Detroit 1738; at Michilimackinac in 1741, then a missionary in the Miami villages, and finally at Kaskaskia until the Jesuits were expelled. He returned to France in 1764.

²³ 70 *Jesuit Relations*, p. 293.

an annual pension of 600 livres, about \$125. But nothing daunted, he returned. "Ste. Genevieve is my residence," he writes Bishop Briand, "as it was stipulated in the condition of my return to this country. From it I come every spring and visit other villages for Easter-tide, I return again in Autumn and whenever I am summoned for a sick call. This is all my infirmities and my means enable me to do; and even this displeases and prejudices the people of Ste. Genevieve." Although his visits to other settlements displeased the people there, he continued his apostolic work in the vast region which, by order of the French Government, had virtually been deprived of all spiritual laborers. He not only visited Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Prairie du Rocher, but also the camps of many Indian neophytes on both sides of the river. The statement that he was present when Laclede established his trading post where St. Louis now stands is clearly erroneous, as Father Conway has well demonstrated.²⁴ It may be possible that Father Meurin was in St. Louis in 1766, but this even is very doubtful. It, however, seems to be supposed that because an entry in the marriage records of St. Louis shows that Toussaint Hunot and Marie Beaugenou were married by Father Meurin, that this priest must have been in St. Louis, to perform the ceremony, but this does not necessarily follow. It is far more likely that the young and vigorous hunter, with his intended wife, walked over to Cahokia to get married, than that the feeble old priest worn out by many hardships, would walk from Cahokia over to the east bank of the river at "Paincourt," and then cross in a canoe, to perform the ceremony.²⁵ In 1769, Father Meurin was appointed Vicar-General by the Bishop of Quebec. The territorial limits of his jurisdiction seem to have been vaguely defined. In his letter of acceptance, Father Meurin says, that he feels that he is incapable "of such an office," and that he has been left to himself so long that he barely knows the duties of a simple priest, that he is weak in body and mind, and that he possesses no memory and less of firmness. In conclusion he says, "I am no longer good for anything but to be laid in the ground." However, this appointment became to him the

²⁴ Catholic Church of St. Louis, by Rev. J. J. Conway, p. 7.

²⁵ Scharf gives a copy of a certificate, dated 1766, in which Father Meurin states that he baptized in a tent (for want of a church) Mary, daughter of Jean B. Deschamps and Mary, his wife. Mr. Rene Tiercerot (Kiercereau) being god-father, and Mary———god-mother, all in the country of Illinois, St. Louis, which may or may not mean that he was in St. Louis on the west side of the Mississippi. 2 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 1639.

source of trouble, because, when he obtained permission to return to the Illinois country, he entered into an agreement with the Capuchin Fathers at New Orleans, who on the expulsion of the Jesuits claimed sole spiritual jurisdiction in the Illinois country, that he would always act as their Vicar, be subject to their visits, their reprimands and corrections, and their jurisdiction in the whole of the country on the Mississippi. Accordingly, when the Capuchins heard that the Bishop of Quebec had appointed Father Meurin as his Vicar-General in this territory, they caused a warrant of proscription to be issued against him. This would have been promptly executed if he had not escaped from Ste. Genevieve, where he then resided, to the English territory. Here he at once took the oath of allegiance as a former resident, and thus secured himself, as he says, "against Spanish persecution." But although Father Meurin was feeble physically, intellectually he was anything but feeble. He was prompt to assert the rights of his order, and when one LaGrange, who had purchased the property of the "Mission of the Holy Family among the Cahokias," attempted to sell this property to an Englishman, he took it upon himself to oppose this sale, claiming the property as still belonging to the "Gentlemen of the Seminary." He so effectively asserted his authority to act to the commanding officer, Forbes, that for a time at least he prevented a sale of the property. Nor was he at all considerate of the feelings of the persons who had purchased the property of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia. Thus, Sieur Jean Baptiste Beauvais, who had purchased some of it, was continually reproached by him "on that score," so that "he kept him away from the sacraments for three years," and he asked the advice of the Bishop in case he should present himself to him or to another, whither or not "he can be granted absolution and be dispensed from handing over the said articles to the parish church." All the property of the Jesuits, he claimed, was wrongfully seized and confiscated by the French government, because this seizure was made after the cession of the country to England, a contention in which he was undoubtedly clearly in the right. His life, however, was truly a life of poverty and hardship, and during the four years he administered to the English parishioners he says he "received naught but what was given me out of charity by some."

Whether Father Meurin could legally exercise the office of Vicar-General in that part of Illinois, west of the Mississippi, under an appointment of the Bishop of Quebec, the country having been ceded by France to Spain, is a subject learnedly discussed by Father Con-

way, who holds that under the canonical law he could do so in this territory ceded to Spain, until the boundaries of the diocese were changed by the Holy See. But it is evident that the Spanish officials were determined not to recognize the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec over the territory, and Father Meurin himself admits that he was declared a criminal because he received authority from Quebec "which is so opposed to the intentions and interests of Spain."²⁶ The question was not considered at the time a canonical, but a political one. The Spaniards held that all the territory west of the river was within the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of San Domingo. In 1776, at the instance of Spain, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the territory of Louisiana was transferred from the diocese of Quebec to that of Santiago de Cuba. In 1777 when the latter diocese was divided, Louisiana was attached to the new diocese of St. Christopher of Havanna, and finally in 1799, Louisiana and the Floridas were formed into the diocese of Louisiana. The Right Reverend Luis Penalver y Cardenas was appointed Bishop, and later also Archbishop of Guatamala. That the Spanish officials viewed the appointment of Father Meurin as Vicar General by the Bishop of Quebec as a political matter, is shown by the fact, that when it became known De Rocheblave, at the time Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, said to him, "I recognize no English Bishop here, and in a post where I command I wish no ecclesiastical dominion recognized except that of the Bishop of San Domingo."

When Father Meurin fled from Ste. Genevieve, he first went to Kaskaskia where he remained until the arrival of Father Gibault. Then he accepted the offer of the people of Prairie du Rocher, before mentioned. Father Conway says that Father Meurin returned to Cahokia, but the Reverend John Mason Peck states that he removed to Prairie du Rocher and died there in 1777. Peck, an eminent Baptist clergyman, and deeply interested in everything pertaining to the early history of the west, says that Father Meurin "was a very learned man, left a valuable library and a manuscript dictionary of the Indian and French languages in twenty volumes." It is surmised that Father Meurin, after he fled from Ste. Genevieve, visited St. Louis and exercised his spiritual functions there in 1767-68 and 1769, but this conjecture is unfounded.

The first church in the territory, now Missouri, was built in the old village of Ste. Genevieve. It was a large wooden structure, and in

²⁶ 71 Jesuit Relations, p. 75.

1794, it was removed to the present town and used as a church until 1835.²⁷ In this edifice services were held from 1760 to 1764 by Fathers Watrin,²⁸ Salveneuve and LaMorinie, already mentioned. They were succeeded by Father Meurin²⁹ until 1768, then from 1768 to 1773, Father Gibault was parish priest, being succeeded by Father François Hilaire, from 1773 to 1777, who became involved in a controversy with his parishioners. They complained to the Lieutenant-Governor that the good Father was demanding "the tenth of all the produce of our land," although "hitherto, we have paid no more than the twenty-sixth part."³⁰ The matter coming before Governor-General Unzaga, he ordered that "the custom shall not be altered" and that the "commandant shall not tolerate the introduction of any innovation in the matter," but he allowed the Reverend Father "50 pesos fuertes" annually for a servant as an addition to his salary. "It is to be noted," says Unzaga, "that the King has absolute control of the tithes in these Kingdoms," and that it is not right, that "while the King supports" the parish priests, "for them to try and get another fee," and this he says shall "be told to said parish priest on this occasion," so that he may "not dare to demand from his parishioners in the future more than what they are accustomed to pay."³¹ In 1778, Father Gibault returned and again officiated until 1784. Fath-

²⁷ Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 116.

²⁸ The first baptism performed by Father Watrin as village priest was performed on the 24th of February 1760.

²⁹ On the 30th of October, 1764, a religious marriage which took place at the old village was celebrated by Father Meurin, the parties married being Mark Constantino Canada and Miss Susan Henn, who had been made a prisoner about five years before by the Shawnee Indians in Pennsylvania. Canada, it seems, also lived among the Indians. The witnesses to this marriage were Jean Ganiou and T. Tebriege or (LeBirge). Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 118.

³⁰ The names of these Ste. Genevieve parishioners who remonstrated were: LaRose, Rosier (Roussin?), Charpentier, Lalumandier, Biyas (Buyat), Luis LaCroix, Beauvais, Baptiste LaCroix, Tangelier, DeGuire, Pierrop, Lalande, Lanfenes (Lefrenay), Adelmair, Diehle, Vignon, Bouche, Robinette, Louis Frasseur, Joseph Motier, Regis (dit?) La Source, Louis La Source, Vallé, jun., Pratte, Pierre Aubouchon, Paul LaBrosse, Jean Clairnet, Hypolite Robat, Fray Chean, Aubouchon, Dudon.

³¹ Don Luis De Unzaga, was a colonel in the Havanna Regiment and came with O'Reilly to Louisiana. He was appointed Governor in 1770, and his administration was very popular, as he did not enforce the stringent trade regulations of Spain, and consequently the Colony was very prosperous, commerce expanding very rapidly. Slaves being introduced by the English contrary to the Spanish ordinances the plantations quickly increased in number and size. Unzaga married a daughter of St. Maxent, the partner of Laclede, and was a brother-in-law of Galvez who also married a St. Maxent. In 1776 Unzaga was appointed Captain-General of Caraccas.

er Louis Guiques was the village priest from 1786 to 1789, and Father de St. Pierre from 1789 to 1797. In 1796 Father James Maxwell was appointed Vicar-General of upper Louisiana and parish priest of Ste. Genevieve, and held that position when the United States acquired the country until he died.

Father Gibault performed the duties of parish priest at St. Genevieve, while residing at Kaskaskia, from 1768 to 1773, and so also at "La Salinas," by which name the settlement near the mouth of the Saline

F. Gibault, P. cure

creek was known, and at "Old Mines" now in Washington county, and probably at St. Louis, as well, although it is not explained why the Spanish officials should have allowed Father Gibault to discharge his spiritual functions in these places, and excluded Father Meurin, when both priests belonged to the Diocese of Quebec. From an order in the archives of New Madrid it appears that Guy Carlton, "Lieutenant-Governor, Brigadier in command" in 1768, gave a permit to Father Gibault to go to the Illinois country with his mother, Marie Gibault, and his sister Louise Gibault, by way of Michilimackinac with his baggage³² and that on the 26th day of July he was allowed to pass there "unmolested," by Spiesmacher,³³ the commandant. He must have arrived there sometime before that date, because on the 23rd of July he baptized an infant at this post, styling himself the "Vicaire General des Louisiane," evidently considering that his spiritual jurisdiction embraced all of Louisiana, and that no conflict existed, or if he knew of this conflict, that he did not intend to recognize the claim of the Spanish Bishop of Havanna. Subsequently, however, he signed himself simply "Vicaire General des Illinois et Tamarois."³⁴ He took his mother and sister with him to the Illinois country, contrary to the order of the Bishop of Quebec, and for this was severely reprimanded by him.³⁵ Arrived at Kaskaskia, he began his laborious task, and at Easter-tide in 1769 he had brought to their duties nearly

³² His baggage consisted of one bale, four kegs of brandy, four of wine, and his canoe-men were, Jacques Perrein, Pointe Claire, Jean B. Salle of Longveil, François LaMarche of Longveil, Jean B. Dubue of Montreal, Pierre La Chapelle, also of Montreal, and Michael LaVoix, of Chambley. The passengers who traveled with him in the canoe were, François Loillet of LaVallierie and François Beaugie of Beaufort, a senior (seigneur). Was this "Beaugie" the ancestor of the Bogy's of St. Genevieve?

³³ Major Frederick Christian Spiesmacher, of the 60th Royal American, a nephew of Haldimand.

³⁴ 18 Draper's Collection. (Clark MSS.)

³⁵ Letter of the Bishop of Quebec, in New Madrid Archives.

all the Kaskaskians, that is to say, the French folk of the town, the Indians camped near the town on the river, and all the Catholics of the 18th Royal Irish Dragoons.³⁶ Afterward he crossed over the river to Ste. Genevieve and visited "La Salinas" and the "Old Mines." In fact all the settlements on both sides of the Mississippi, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philippe and Fort de Chartres were the scenes of his spiritual labors. In 1770 he visited Vincennes, and he writes the Bishop of Quebec that the people there crowded down the banks of the Wabash to receive him, that they fell on their knees unable to speak, while others could only speak in sobs, and some cried out, "Father, save us, we are almost in hell." From Vincennes, where he remained for two weeks, he returned to Kaskaskia and then visited Ste. Genevieve where he met the newly arrived Spanish Commandant, Lieutenant-Governor Don Pedro Piernas, promising him to include St. Louis in his missionary work. Thus he labored alone in this wide and boundless field, with unceasing activity, traveling through the wilderness, visiting the isolated frontier settlements and the Indian converts. The report of his apostolic labors, the Bishop of Quebec writes him, brought tears to his eyes, and he hopes that by his power he may "bring back to the fold some of the stray sheep." The Bishop then says, "Take good care of Father Meurin, I was a member of his company. People who speak ill of him do so only by ignorance or on account of the calumnies spread by European-French people on the *religieuse* of his order. In Europe it is thought to be the greatest persecution that assailed the church since the persecution in the early centuries of Christianity."³⁷ In 1775 Gibault went to Canada, visiting the Indians on his way to Detroit. On his return he made a second visit to Vincennes, and on the death of Father Meurin in 1777, for several years he was the only priest in the Illinois country on either side of the Mississippi, and Vicar-General of this vast domain. Through all this region he went on foot, or in a canoe, or on horseback, carrying with him in saddle pouches the sacred utensils of his ministry. But Father Conway pictures him as traveling with "his gun across the saddle bow, and a belt about his waist with pistols and a bowie knife," a veritable fighting cowboy, because he thinks that "the frontier priest went armed" to defend himself "against the otherwise unawed Indian thieves and

³⁶ Conway's Catholics of St. Louis, p. 25. English's Conquest of the Northwest, vol. 1, p. 186.

³⁷ Letter of the Bishop of Quebec, in the New Madrid Archives, vol. 2.

murderers, as well as against white ruffians who then infested as they do yet infest our western frontier." A perusal, however, of the letters of the early Jesuit missionaries, wherein they so graphically picture their arduous labors, leaves on our mind a different impression. Generally these early missionaries went unarmed, relying on moral force alone, on their benevolent intentions, on the superiority of the trained and disciplined mind over ignorance, and above all relying on the divine Master for guidance in the hour of peril, rather than on a gun, pistol or bowie-knife, if such a thing as a bowie-knife was known to them at all at that time. It is thus we would prefer to imagine Father Gibault as moving through the wilderness in his apostolic work. Physically too, he was not calculated to inspire the savages with terror, because he was small in size.³⁸

Father Gibault was parish priest of Kaskaskia in July 1778, when General George Rogers Clark captured the town, and, "to him next to Clark and Vigo," says Judge John Law, in his *History of Vincennes*, "the United States are more indebted for the accession of the states comprised in what was the Northwestern territory, than any other man." At the time Clark surprised Kaskaskia with his Virginians, Father Gibault took a deep interest in everything pertaining to the spiritual, social, educational and material prosperity of the French habitants. He was the most influential person there, and it was through his influence that the people were won over. By his individual efforts alone were the inhabitants of Vincennes induced to drive out the English garrison and raise the American flag. When he saw that Clark was greatly exercised about the situation at Vincennes, he told him to leave the matter to him, and that he would give the people such advice as would allay all opposition, and induce them to espouse the American cause. He absolved the people from allegiance to England, encouraged the French inhabitants to enter the American service and form military companies. Without the assistance of these French allies Clark never could have accomplished the conquest or successfully held the Illinois country. When afterward the English made preparations to reconquer the country, and it was supposed they were approaching Kaskaskia with a large force, Father Gibault naturally was in some trepidation, and probably on the advice of Clark, crossed over to Ste. Genevieve into the Spanish possessions. That he had good cause for apprehension is sufficiently clear from the vicious denunciations of Colonel Hamilton,

³⁸ 18 Draper's Collection. (Clark MSS.)

the British commander in the territory north of the Ohio, who characterized him as "an active agent for the rebels, and whose vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a colony where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch," he says, "it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain." He further adds, "to enumerate the vices of the inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but to assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue is not more than truth and justice requires, still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the Reverend Monsieur Gibault." Thus the English commander testified his hatred for the great services rendered by this patriotic priest. Father Gibault was "the power behind the throne," he it was who enthused the French population, and induced them to join their fortunes with that of the colonies. When Clark left Kaskaskia with his combined American and French forces in February 1779, to recapture Vincennes, of which the English, under Colonel Hamilton, had again taken possession, Father Gibault addressed the small army and bestowed on it the blessing of the church. Truly Patrick Henry said, "This country owes many things to Father Gibault for his zeal and services." These services were recognized by a Resolution of the Virginia legislature in 1780; but he received no other recompense. In May 1790, Father Gibault presented a memorial to Governor St. Clair, for a grant of land. In his petition he recites his services, saying that he was never backward in venturing his life on many occasions when his presence was useful to the United States; that he sacrificed his property; that he took American paper dollars at the value at which he could have received Spanish milled dollars, in payment of his tithes and his beasts, and thus set an example to his parishioners, who were apprehensive that this currency was intended to pillage them; that the want of money had compelled him to sell two good slaves, who could have supported him in his old age; that he rejected all offers made by the Spanish government to settle in upper Louisiana, and exerted himself to retain the people in the dominion of the United States, never doubting that he would be compensated; and that he now hopes his demand will be received favorably; that he expects that a grant of land will be made him, in full propriety in his private name and not as a missionary and priest, to pass to his successors, that otherwise he would not accept such a grant; that it is upon services he has rendered and hopes to render

that he founds his demand." On the recommendation of St. Clair a grant of four hundred arpens in the Kaskaskia district was finally made to him, under Acts of Congress 1788 and 1791, and then he sold the land to John Rice Jones. This grant was confirmed in 1811. He also received two other tracts of land embracing about two hundred and fifty acres in the Cahokia commons, which he sold to Nicolas Jarrot. But these land grants became to him a source of trouble. Bishop Carroll of Baltimore objected to their being made to Father Gibault individually,³⁹ and from a letter dated 1792, and preserved in the New Madrid archives, addressed to the Father, it would appear that the Bishop had been advised that he was converting church property to his individual use. In 1785 Father Gibault was parish priest of Vincennes, but in 1786 was superseded as Vicar-General, or, at least, he ceased to act in that capacity. The Reverend Huet de LaValiniere, as "pretre vicarie General miss. de la St. Famille," appointed in 1788, by the Bishop of Baltimore, claimed superior ecclesiastical dominion over the western territory of the United States, — the Illinois country. In 1789 accusations and complaints made against him apparently induced Father Gibault to request the Bishop of Quebec to recall him. Yet in 1789 Father Gibault still appears to be parish priest at Cahokia. In January 1790 the Bishop of Baltimore writes him about the complaints that had been made against him, and that "these complaints were confirmed from different sources," and he adds, that he is sorry to tell him "that the Bishop of Quebec in a letter sent" to him says, "that his predecessors did not have as much confidence in you during the last years as they had in the beginning of your apostolic career." From Cahokia Gibault removed to Kaskaskia and, in 1792, he crossed into the Spanish territory on the west side of the Mississippi, settling in New Madrid, where in July 1793 he was appointed parish priest of the parish of St. Isidore. In 1792 he seems to have been at Arkansas Post, for he there received James Dorst, his wife and six children into the church. Father Gibault afterward was under the immediate spiritual jurisdiction of Father Maxwell, of Ste. Genevieve, Vicar-General of upper Louisiana. From letters addressed by him to Father Gibault it appears that he was considered by his spiritual superior as entirely too lenient in collecting the legal fees for publishing the marriage banns, and performing the marriage ceremony, to part of which fees Father Maxwell was entitled as Vicar-General. In one

³⁹ English's History of the Conquest of the Northwest, vol. 1, p. 188.

letter, dated October, 1801, which has been preserved in the New Madrid archives, Father Maxwell severely reprimands him for performing a marriage ceremony between a Mr. Randall and Miss Sarah Waller, the latter being a minor, without the consent of her father and mother, both being residents of the Cape Girardeau district, a district Father Maxwell says, within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and also with dispensing with the banns of matrimony illegally and wrongfully. Father Maxwell further advises him that heretofore he had granted him his protection and favorably reported as to his conduct to the Bishop, who he says had instructed him to keep a watchful eye upon him, but that if he persevered in his conduct he would have to pursue a different course. From this it is evident that Father Gibault was not then in favor with the ecclesiastical authorities in New Orleans. But while he was parish priest, Father Gibault built a church in New Madrid, securing from Morales, in 1799, the necessary funds for that purpose.⁴⁰ From the time he took up his residence in New Madrid until his death in 1802, he was active in all spiritual matters, and as a priest of the parish he received a regular salary from the government. During this period he also visited not only Arkansas Post but other isolated settlements of this district. Upon his death his papers and correspondence came into the possession of the Commandant of New Madrid, and on the change of government were transferred and remained in New Madrid, where some of them are still found in the archives, although undoubtedly many valuable and important papers have been lost. His will, dated Ste. Genevieve, 1782, and found in the New Madrid archives, shows that he had a brother named Jacques Gibault, an uncle named Antoine St. Jean, living in St. Pierre parish, Montreal, and that his sister Louise, who came to the Illinois country with him, married one Joseph Migneau. As executors of his will he named François LeClaire and Jean Baptiste Vallé (negociants), at that time in Ste. Genevieve.⁴¹

Of De St. Pierre, parish priest of Ste. Genevieve from 1789 to 1797, we have no further information than that he held this office at Kaskaskia in 1785, and according to Major Hamtramck, was also

⁴⁰ Letter of Don Juan Ventura Morales, dated February 27th, 1799, in New Madrid Archives.

⁴¹ A copy merely of the original will is found in the New Madrid Archives, the original having been delivered to the Missouri Historical Society, according to memorandum endorsed on the copy left with the Circuit clerk in lieu of the original.

priest at Cahokia.⁴² He caused Bishop Carroll, of Baltimore, some inquietude, because when he departed from that city he had not obtained from the Bishop the power to administer the sacrament (*pouvoir pour l'administration des sacramens*) nor did he satisfy the Bishop that he came to America with the consent of the superior of his order, and this inquietude was not lessened by the fact that La Valiniere reported that de St. Pierre paid no attention to his authority.⁴³ But St. Pierre, by crossing over the river and taking up his residence in Ste. Genevieve, abandoned the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Baltimore, and thus probably ceased to disturb his mind. We have only another notice of Father St. Pierre. When young Brackenridge arrived at Ste. Genevieve in 1792, and became a member of the Beauvais family, the fact that he had not been baptised caused Madame Beauvais no little anxiety, and she felt some repugnance at "putting a little heretic in the same bed with her own children," but Brackenridge says, "that the good curate Pere St. Pierre, who made a Christian of me" soon removed this anxiety, "M. and Madame Beauvais becoming my sponsors,"⁴⁴ This is all we know of this parish priest except that from Ste. Genevieve he removed to lower Louisiana.

Father de St. Pierre was succeeded by Father James Maxwell. Father Maxwell was a native of Ireland, and appointed Vicar-General over the English and American settlers of upper Louisiana, his appointment being dated at San Lorenzo, November 22, 1794. The Bishop of Salamanca had great confidence in him and brought him to the notice of the King of Spain. Lopez Armisto, Secretary of the Province of Louisiana, also relied upon him to convert the many American settlers in the Spanish dominion, to the Catholic religion, and in a proclamation issued in 1789, the Commandant of Ste. Genevieve stated that the King had permitted the Americans to settle in the province (vagabonds excepted) and that those accepting this offer might continue their religion in private, but could not exercise

⁴² Hamtramck's Letter to General Harmer, dated April, 1789. Draper's Collection, Harmer's Papers, vol. 1.

⁴³ In his letter to Father Gibault, Bishop Carroll says: "I feel uneasy about M. De St. Pierre. He left here without the power to administer the sacrament. I could not give him the power, because I did not know whether he came to this country with the permission of his superior. Mr. de la Valiniere has informed me that Mr. De St. Pierre pays no attention whatever to the first Vicar, who is his superior, appointed by me. Please inquire also whether this is true. I have not had any news from Mr. La Valiniere for some time." Letter in New Madrid Archives, vol. 11.

⁴⁴ Brackenridge's Recollections of the West, p. 23.

it in public, that all churches must be Catholic, "and served by priests from Ireland."⁴⁵

Father Maxwell came to Ste. Genevieve in 1796, and was a very active and enterprising man.⁴⁶ From letters in the New Madrid archives addressed to Father Gibault, it is evident that he was *Maxwell cura Ste Genevieve* vigilant in collecting the ecclesiastical fees due him as Vicar-General, and in asserting his jurisdiction and authority. He, too, was active in securing concessions of land. On November 3, 1799, he obtained a grant from Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus for four leagues square in the forks of Black River in the district of Ste. Genevieve. This concession was surveyed, and embraced within its limits 112,896 arpens of land. Upon this concession he agreed to establish a colony of Irish Roman Catholics, but when the concession came before the Commissioners for Spanish land grants, he explained that owing to the existing wars and subsequent prohibition of immigration from Ireland, he was not able to colonize his grant. He also secured another concession of two hundred and ninety arpens on Gabourie creek, and on the 10th of September 1799, another concession of three thousand arpens on the Mississippi, at the mouth of St. Laurent creek where the little town of St. May's is now situated in Ste. Genevieve county, was made to him, and this grant was apparently approved by the Intendant-General, the Assessor-General, and confirmed by the Intendant Lopez Angulo, under date of New Orleans, July 8, 1800. Upon this claim Father Maxwell built a large house. As assignee of Bernard Pratte, Father Maxwell also claimed a league square near the St. François river, and as assignee of Henry Dielle another five thousand arpens near the same river, all in the Ste. Genevieve district. Altogether, Father Maxwell made claim to about 128,250 arpens of land. His claims, with the exceptions of two hundred and ninety nine arpens on Gabourie creek,

⁴⁵ Ashe gives us a description of the altar of the church at Ste. Genevieve as follows:

"At the upper end there is a beautiful altar, the fronton of which is brass gilt and enriched in medio-relievo representing the religions of the world, diffusing the benefits of the gospel over the new world. In the middle of the altar there is a crucifix of brass gilt and underneath a copy of a picture by Raphael representing the Madonna and child, St. Elizabeth and St. John. In a second group there is a St. Joseph, all perfectly well drawn and colored. The beauty and grace of the Virgin are beyond description and the little Jesus and St. John are charming." 3 Ashe's Travels, p. 119.

⁴⁶ Ellicott's Journal, p. 32. Ellicott who met him at New Madrid, on his way down the Mississippi to survey the southern boundary, says that he "was a well informed liberal gentleman."

were rejected, but occasionally the story is revived that his heirs intend to set up claim to these vast possessions. A beautiful elevation about one mile above Ste. Genevieve, near what is known as "Little Rock Landing," overlooking the Mississippi, the bottom lands on both sides of the river, and the railroads now passing through these fertile fields, is yet known as "Maxwell's Hill," perpetuating his name.

Father Gibault no doubt visited St. Louis on his missionary tours, looking after the spiritual welfare of the people there, although there is no evidence that he resided in St. Louis from 1770 to 1772 as stated by Scharff.⁴⁷ During this period Father Gibault resided at Kaskaskia, traveling far and wide in Illinois country in the performance of his apostolic mission, nor is it likely that the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities would then have allowed a priest of the Diocese of Quebec, to actually reside and exercise his spiritual functions in the Spanish territory, without intervention. Probably, however, no objection was made to an occasional visit by a priest of that diocese, to supply the spiritual needs of the people, in the absence of the regular priest, appointed by the Bishop of Havanna. The first resident priest of St. Louis, as shown by the records of church burials, was Father Valentine, who, on the 6th of June 1773, officiated there at the funeral of William Bisette. In 1772 he was at Arkansas Post, and appears to have removed from there to St. Louis.⁴⁸ The records also show that Father Valentine remained there for two years, until June 7, 1775, officiating on that day at the funeral of Joseph DuBreuil. From St. Louis, he was transferred or removed to Kaskaskia. It is not explained why the Bishop of Quebec allowed him to take up his spiritual functions in his diocese, when apparently the dignitaries of the Spanish church were so jealous of the priests of the diocese of Quebec. Nevertheless it appears from the church records of Kaskaskia that he was probably a parish priest there until 1783, when he was superceded by Father Bernard who had been his successor at St. Louis. Father Valentine was a Capuchin Friar and, while officiating at St. Louis, describes himself as "priest of the parish of St. Louis and its dependencies." As priest at St. Louis, he officiated on December 27, 1774, at the funeral of Louis de St. Ange, "Captain attached to the Battalion of Louisiana"—thus incidentally show-

⁴⁷ 2 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 1630.

⁴⁸ In Unzaga's Report, dated July 11, 1772, of the religious conditions of Louisiana, he enumerates among the priests Father Valentine, as of the "parish of San Luis de los Ilinesses, at the place commonly called Pancorto."

ing that St. Ange, at the time of his death, was an officer of the Spanish military establishment of Louisiana. A few days before the death of St. Ange, a bell, the first church bell of St. Louis, was duly baptised "Pierre Joseph Felicite," in honor of Pierre Joseph de Piernas and, Lady Felicite de Portneuf de Piernas, his wife, — god-father and god-mother of said bell — by Father Valentine, all of which was duly attested by the said god-father and god-mother, and Barrois and Benito Vasquez, as witnesses. Before the advent of this bell, which was probably sent from France or Spain, the congregation of St. Louis was summoned to devotion by means of a large iron mortar, beaten by a heavy iron pestle.⁴⁹ But in 1799, according to Moses Austin, the church was only "a frame building," making an "indifferent appearance," and having, he says, "neither steeple nor bell." From 1775 to 1776, no regular priest was stationed at St. Louis, but Father Hilaire, parish priest of Ste. Genevieve, made occasional visits to the town, to solemnize marriages and perform the ceremony of baptism. Father Hilaire was also a Capuchin priest and Apostolic prothonotary.

The possession of a church bell was apparently the means of bringing home to the St. Louis congregation the necessity of a new church, because two days after the bell had been baptised, on the 26th day of December 1774, the people assembled in the Government building, and in the presence of Governor Piernas and Father Valentine as well as the church warden M. Sarpy, determined to build a new church. It was resolved that the dimensions of this edifice should be 30 by 60 feet, and further that the ash posts should be eighteen feet long, hewed on both sides above the ground, to the width of six inches. The wooden material for this structure was to be furnished by the people, according to an assessment "made on each white and black person of the age of fourteen years and upwards," widows and those over sixty years old only excepted. Pierre Baron, who was present, was made "superintendent of the building and of the assessment," and promised "to do his duty."⁵⁰ His assistants in this work, which undoubtedly then was considered an undertaking of great magnitude, were Rene Kiercereau, Antoine Rivière dit Baccane, Joseph Taillon and Jacques Noise dit DesNoyer. Baron, the superintendent, died soon afterward and consequently, in January 1776, Francesco Cruzat as commandant of the post, award-

⁴⁹ 2 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 1649.

⁵⁰ 2 Scharff's History of St. Louis, p. 1646.

ed the contract to build the church to Juan Cambas as the lowest bidder, the work to be completed for 1,480 livres, which was to be paid in shaved deer skins.

In 1776 Father Bernard de Limpach, a native of Liege, undoubtedly a German whose real name was Bernhardt Von Limbach, was appointed parish priest by Friar Dagobert de Langwy, Superior and Vicar-General of Louisiana, to be duly inducted into office as "parish priest of St. Louis of Illinois, Post of Paincourt, with all its rights and appendages, upon condition of actual personal residence there, and



FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ST. LOUIS AND PAROCHIAL RESIDENCE.
FROM A PICTURE BELONGING TO MR. PIERRE CHOUTEAU

not otherwise." This order of appointment Father Bernard duly deposited for safe keeping in the Government office of St. Louis, as certified by Don Francesco Cruzat, Commandant. Father Bernard remained in St. Louis until 1787, and during his administration of the parish a new stone parochial residence was built for him, in place of the old log building in which his predecessor had resided. This new building was forty feet long by twenty seven wide. It was begun by Jean Cambas and Juan Ortes, the contractors, in July 1777, and completed the next spring. To this building Father Bernard contributed 437 livres in peltries, a sum he had received at New Orleans to pay his passage to St. Louis. An assessment was also made on all the inhabitants of the town over fourteen years of age, widows and per-

sons over sixty years of age excepted, for the balance of the amount necessary to build this parochial residence. Where Father Bernard was stationed after he left St. Louis, we have not been able to ascertain. While at St. Louis he seems to have visited Kaskaskia, at any rate the church records of that parish show that he officiated there occasionally.

Father Ledru succeeded Father Bernard as parish priest of St. Louis. Before he came to St. Louis he was stationed at Kaskaskia, and Major Hamtramck writes General Harmer, in 1789, that he leaves Kaskaskia on account of the lawlessness prevalent there, and that he regrets his departure. Father Ledru remained until 1794. In 1789 he urged that the church of St. Louis ought to be rebuilt and Lieutenant-Governor Perez in a letter to Miro says, that the "habitans do not refuse to do it," but that the majority are not able to contribute "as they would like to" because of their poverty."⁵¹ After 1794 Father Ledru was succeeded by Father Pierre Joseph Didier, a priest of the religious order of the Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur, who from time to time, officiated until April 1799. Father Didier, before he came to St. Louis, was a missionary priest at Florissant. It may be noted that in 1797, Auguste LeClerc brought suit against Father Didier to adjust his liability on a note of 2,050 livres, which Father Didier denied owing. The matter was referred by consent to arbitrators, Father Didier saying, "If my refusal is not a just one, I consent to pay." After Father Didier's departure in 1799 from St. Louis, Father Janin was in charge of the parish until the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. Father Janin came to St. Louis from Arkansas Post, where he was parish priest from 1796 to 1798. In 1798, Father Maxwell, by order of the Bishop of Louisiana, made an examination of the church building at St. Louis and reported that "it is too small for the village," that "its timbers are rotted" and that "it can not be kept from falling into the river," that the church has only 1,213 pesos in cash available for a new church, and no fixed in-

⁵¹ Letter of Perez to Miro, dated Nov. 9, 1787. Father Ledru came from France. In a letter found in the New Madrid Archives, Bishop Carroll gives his real name as Father Jacobin, called Ledru. In this letter he says: "that according to an agreement with the Father Provincial he was to send me a letter testifying to the good conduct of Father Jacobin and authorizing him to stay in America," but that on the contrary he had "received by way of New York information on the conduct of this religieuse in Acadia, which makes me feel very sad and causes me to reproach myself for having given him even limited power. Kindly inquire about him and send me as soon as convenient any information you can get about his behaviour at Kaskaskia." He was also curé of Cahokia for a time.

come, and that the well-to-do inhabitants are obliged, "under the laws of these kingdoms," to contribute "to the construction of the temple." This report was submitted to Governor Gayosa by the Bishop, but with no results.⁵²

The church of St. Ferdinand, at Florissant, a wooden structure, was built in 1792, but it is certain that long before that time religious services were held in this neighborhood. The first entry made by Father Didier, in the St. Ferdinand church-record is dated August 2, 1792, recording the baptism of Claude Pallot, in the church. After the departure of Father Didier, Father Lussion, priest of "St.



Charles of the little Hills of Missouri," served the people of Florissant as well as St. Charles where a small chapel also existed, which, it is

claimed, was erected as early as 1772. This parish was created by the Bishop of Louisiana in 1797.⁵³ The Bishop never visited the parishes of upper Louisiana.

After the removal of Father Gibault to New Madrid, he organized the parish of "St. Isidore" there, as already stated, and built a church (fabrique), and for this purpose received a sum of money from the Intendant Morales at New Orleans. The total value of the church property in 1804 was estimated to be 1,620 pesos. The church was an edifice 60 feet long, 28 feet wide, and 16 feet high between the ground and ceiling. "Its carpenter work" says the report of the commissioners, made at the time of the cession, "is constructed of cypress timber, doubled on the outside with planks of the same wood. It has a partition in its width for the sacristy, ten openings with their windows and gratings; an altar, with a tabernacle of cherry wood; a picture of the Holy Virgin Mary, 8 feet high, by 5½ feet wide, framed in wood; a railing in front where communion is taken; a pulpit of cherry wood; a belfry with a metal bell weighing 50 pounds," and was estimated to be worth 1,200 pesos. The parochial residence was a building 21 feet long and 16 feet wide, "doubled without and within with cypress plank, the floor and ceiling and a wall of cypress planks, a double brick chimney; four openings

⁵² See Maxwell's Report to Bishop of Louisiana, dated February 14, 1798. General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

⁵³ Report of the Bishop of Louisiana for 1789-1797 — Audiencia of Santo Domingo, — General Archives of the Indies, Seville.

with their windows and doors and gratings; a gallery in front, with floor and ceiling; a cellar under said house, and a stairway to mount the garret. In addition, to this parish residence, was attached a building near by, used as a kitchen, 18 feet long by 15 feet wide, estimated to be worth 350 pesos, and also a bake house, 15 feet long and ten feet wide, with a brick chimney, and an oven 30 feet in circumference, with frames complete made of brick, a roof made of carpenter work to cover it, and this bake house was equipped with a bread maker, flour sieve, shovels, poker, casks, canvasses and sheets for covering the bread and other utensils, all valued at 120 pesos.⁵⁴ In the parochial residence surrounded by a large garden Father Gibault lived in ease and comfort with his colored servants, well able to entertain the Vicar-General of upper Louisiana, Father Maxwell, as well as Father Lusson of St. Charles, who occasionally during this period visited him at New Madrid on spiritual errands, then long and laborious journeys.

During the Spanish government, the parish priests of Ste. Genevieve (including the adjacent settlements of Nouvelle Bourbon, Saline, Old Mine and St. Michael) St. Louis (including certainly Carondelet), St. Charles (including it would seem the church of St. François at Portage des Sioux and the church of St. Ferdinand at Florissant) and the parish of St. Isidore or New Madrid, (including Arkansas Post and other settlements), received a regular salary of \$600 per annum, and in addition the burial and marriage fees, which were not inconsiderable. This afforded a very decent support for that time. The expense of building and maintaining the several churches was paid by the Government.⁵⁵

With the cession of the country to the United States the small annual stipend to the established clergy and the governmental care of the church buildings, of course, ceased, and the priests became directly dependent upon the support of their respective congregations. The church buildings with the other property belonging to the church was ceded to the several Catholic congregations. Thus the church property at Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, St. Ferdinand, of Portage des Sioux, New Madrid and some vacant ground in Little Prairie (now Caruthersville) was granted to the Catholics of those villages. In Ste. Genevieve the Catholic congregation also

⁵⁴ Report of Inventory of Royal Property at New Madrid—Archives of the Indies, Seville.

⁵⁵ Stoddard's Louisiana, p. 316.

claimed and was allowed a tract of land three arpens in front by fifty in depth, — land which is still the property of the church and the rents of which go to its support.

Among the Catholic priests of the newly acquired territory of upper Louisiana Rev. James Maxwell, of Ste. Genevieve, was the most active, being "a learned and practical Irish Catholic priest."⁵⁶ He took a deep interest in public and political affairs. In the Act of 1808, incorporating the Ste. Genevieve academy, he is named as one of the trustees, and in 1813 he was appointed by Jefferson a member of the Territorial Council, and was elected president of the same. At the time of the cession he was Vicar-General of upper Louisiana, but how long after the cession he remained Vicar-General is not certain. He died in 1814. Rev. Patrick Walsh who was appointed his Vicar-

*El Obispo de la
Louisiana*

General by the Right Reverend Penalver y Cardenas, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, residing in New Orleans, when the territory was transferred to the United States, appears to have remained in charge of the whole diocese, and it is likely that for a

time at least Rev. James Maxwell also remained Vicar-General of upper Louisiana. Rev. Patrick Walsh, as Vicar-General after the cession, removed a priest at New Orleans, but the latter refused to recognize his authority and appealed to the congregation who then elected him.⁵⁷ This led to litigation. The Vicar-General appealed to Governor Claiborne, praying for such relief against the "schismatic and rebellious conduct" of this priest as could be afforded.

Bishop Cardenas did not reside at New Orleans after 1801, but removed to Guatamala, having been appointed Archbishop of that diocese, but in a letter addressed to the Very Reverend Canon Thomas Hassett, making him administrator of the bishopric, he styles himself "Bishop of Louisiana and Archbishop of Guatamala." It is said by Bishop Spaulding that after the appointment of Bishop Cardenas to Guatamala, a second Bishop was appointed for "New Orleans," although Bishop Cardenas styled himself "Bishop of Louisiana," but that the name of this Bishop is not now known. Spaulding

⁵⁶ Life of Bishop Flaget, p. 60.

⁵⁷ Gayarre's Louisiana, American Domination, vol. 3, p. 106. He removed a Spanish priest named Antonio de Sedella, "the same who attempted to introduce the Inquisition into Louisiana in 1789."

says that the Archbishop of Baltimore was canonically charged with the administration of this diocese after Cardenas resigned the charge, and that Archbishop Carroll appointed Rev. Olivier, Vicar-General of this diocese with ample jurisdiction, very likely succeeding the Very Reverend Patrick Walsh. The Vicar-General Olivier was a brother of the venerable missionary priest Father Donatian Olivier, parish priest of Prairie du Rocher, who after the death of Father Maxwell occasionally visited Ste. Genevieve and administered to the spiritual wants of the people there until October 1815, when Bishop Flaget of Bardstown who then administered the affairs of the diocese of Louisiana appointed Father Henri Pratte⁵⁸ as parish priest. Father Olivier died on the 29th day of January, 1841, at St. Mary's of the Barrens, aged 95 years.⁵⁹ Rev. M. Sibourd succeeded Vicar-General Olivier, and succeeding him Dr. Dubourg was placed in charge of the diocese. The Bishop of New Orleans or Louisiana was considered at Rome as a suffragan of the Archbishop of Havanna, and this connection was not officially dissolved until 1826, a very short time before Bishop Dubourg departed for Europe. If Bishop Carroll had charge of the bishopric of Louisiana, for by that name it was then known, it must have been at the request of the Archbishop of Havanna. In 1807 on the recommendation of Bishop Carroll four new sees were erected in the United States, but the bull which created the see of Bardstown strictly speaking only embraced the states of Kentucky and Tennessee and the country northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi,⁶⁰ leaving the country west of the Mississippi within the diocese of New Orleans, or Louisiana, and the western Floridas. When the Rev. Patrick Walsh ceased to be Vicar-General of Louisiana is just as uncertain as when the Rev. James Maxwell ceased to act. But it is recorded that in 1815 Abbé Dubourg as the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the church then residing at New Orleans received General Jackson at the door of the "time-honored cathedral" of that city. Dr. Dubourg was at this time, says Bishop Spaulding, "administrator of the diocese of New Orleans," evidently meaning "diocese of Louisiana."

⁵⁸ Father Henri Pratte was born January 19th 1778 at Ste. Genevieve and died there September 7, 1822. He in 1803 entered the College of Montreal, Canada, where he was ordained priest. He was very energetic in attending to the affairs of the church, and during his pastorate the church was much enlarged and improved. In addition he served as pastor of the church at Old Mines and St. Michael, frequently visiting these places.

⁵⁹ Life of Bishop Flaget, p. 128.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

When in 1814 Bishop Flaget of Bardstown visited upper Louisiana, he did so at the request of Dr. Dubourg.⁶¹ The Bishop crossed the river in a canoe at St. Louis on June 30, 1814, but on this visit found a cool reception, and the days



BISHOP FLAGET

spent there, says his biographer, were days of "great sadness for him." General religious apathy prevailed, "the rich, the fathers, the mothers, the children over 15 years of age staid away from the confessional," and he complains that he could make "no impression whatever on their callous hearts."⁶² Perhaps this spiritual condition could be attributed to the fact that shortly after the cession

Father Pierre Janin left the St. Louis parish, and that no priest resided there from 1804 to 1813. The interments only were recorded in the church register by Jean Baptiste Trudeau, the school teacher. From 1806 and 1810 Father James Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve occasionally visited St. Louis on spiritual errands. In 1808, '09, '10, and '11, Father Urban Guillet, a Trappist, residing at the monastery of "Notre Dame de Bon Secours," near Cahokia, made like visits; so also did the Rev. Marie Joseph Dunand, another Trappist missionary, in 1808, '10, '11 and '13. Father Bernard, too, who had formerly lived in St. Louis, came up from Kaskaskia in 1810. In 1813 Father Savigné, who before this time occasionally had visited St. Louis, permanently located there. Father Savigné, it is said, was the last priest sent west by the Canadian mission. When Bishop Flaget came to Cahokia on his way to St. Louis, as he entered his house he found Father Savigné there, "holding the handle of a skillet to make an omelette."⁶³

From St. Louis, in 1814, Bishop Flaget went to Florissant where the "entire population turned out with joy to welcome him" — and a procession headed by chanters was formed, to escort him to the church. Among those present on this occasion, he records, were two men, respectively 107 and 108 years of age. He was much affected by the firm faith of the people here, "who seem to have been true

⁶¹ Life of Bishop Flaget, pp. 129, 132.

⁶² Ibid., p. 132.

⁶³ Life of Bishop Flaget, p. 132.

Israelites in whom there was no guile." He remained in Florissant three days, then crossed the Missouri river, sitting in an arm chair in "a canoe decorated with flowers," and visited another congregation divided into hostile factions, probably a congregation on the Dardenne. From there he went to St. Charles, arriving there on the 18th of July. On the 21st, he departed for Portage des Sioux, remaining there until the 28th, when he returned to St. Charles. Here, also, the congregation was at war with its priest. From St. Charles he returned to St. Louis, where he arrived August 3, 1814, but he says that his "sojourn here will be almost useless." He was treated, however, with every possible attention by Governor Clark, who prevailed on him to baptize three of his children. Although the good Bishop was not satisfied with the result of his spiritual visit to St. Louis, he no doubt accomplished great good, and brought back into the fold many who had wandered away or had become indifferent, and also restored harmony in some of the congregations. From St. Louis on the 14th of September, he departed for Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia.

On the 21st of September he arrived at Ste. Genevieve where he was received with great honor. Here he delivered a powerful sermon against the violation of the laws of abstinence, and against balls and dancing, the favorite amusement of the people. From Ste. Genevieve he made a visit to the Catholic-American settlement "in the Barrens," in what is now Perry county. On his return to Ste. Genevieve he preached to an assembly of five hundred negroes, and found that marriage was not common amongst them. "He threatened their masters with privation of the sacraments unless they afforded their servants every facility to enter lawfully into this holy contract." The people of Ste. Genevieve presented him with a new suit of clothes and fifty dollars in money. During this "episcopal campaign," as he calls it, Bishop Flaget says that he traveled 900 miles in order to visit ten or twelve thousand Roman Catholics, scattered on the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, sometimes traveling for days without a human habitation in sight.

In 1815 Bishop Dubourg was consecrated Bishop of upper and lower Louisiana at Rome; but he then urged that upper Louisiana be detached from his diocese, and Bishop Flaget be made first Bishop. To this change Bishop Flaget did not object, but the plan was frustrated by the opposition and loud protest of the people of New Orleans against the appointment of Bishop Dubourg. This

unpleasant situation induced Bishop Dubourg to locate his episcopal residence at some place in upper Louisiana to be determined upon, at least temporarily. In a letter to Bishop Flaget, he requested him



BISHOP DUBOURG

to ascertain from the Catholic residents of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis in upper Louisiana, what they would do to meet his requirements to secure the residence of a Bishop among them. These requirements, which seem modest to us now, were, however, not so easy for that time. They consisted of (1) three thousand dollars to defray his traveling expenses and those of missionaries from Europe, (2) a necessary donation of land for a cathedral and episcopal mansion, and (3) suitable salaries for the missionaries.

Bishop Flaget, accompanied by Fathers DeAndreis and Rosati, and the lay brothers Blanca, and a Mr. Tucker as guide, visited upper Louisiana on this mission. They found that in upper Louisiana also considerable prejudice had been created against Bishop Dubourg among the Catholics. In Ste. Genevieve, where the first overture was made to locate the seat of the Bishopric, he was received with much coldness and indifference. In St. Louis the people took no more interest, says Bishop Flaget in a letter to Father David, in the matter of the reception of Bishop Dubourg "than about that of the Emperor of China," and he describes the presbytery as without doors, windows, floors or furniture, and the church as in a still worse condition. He says that "the people were filled with prejudice against their Bishop whom they had never seen." But subscriptions were started, and the example of Jeremiah O'Connor who gave a thousand dollars, at that time a princely sum, had a good influence with the rest of the population. Bishop Flaget was shown great consideration by non-Catholics. Colonel Benton called on him, and many others, and thus his mission was finally made successful. He returned to Bardstown awaiting the return of Bishop Dubourg. The latter had sailed from Bordeaux on the 1st of July 1817, and landed at Annapolis on the 4th of September, accompanied by five priests, twenty six young men, some of whom were candidates for the ministry, and others destined to become lay brothers to assist the missionaries in temporal affairs. On December 2nd he arrived at Bardstown, and on the 12th departed on the steamboat "Piqua" for St. Louis, accompanied by Bishop Flaget and a company of priests.

On Christmas day they were at the mouth of the Ohio, and on the evening of that day the boat stopped at or near the farm of widow Fenwick, a Catholic, opposite Grand Tower, where they were happy to visit. On the evening of the 30th of December they arrived at Ste. Genevieve, and early the next morning sent a messenger to the Rev. DeAndreis to announce their arrival. They were received with great ceremony, and on the first day of the year, 1818, Bishop Dubourg celebrated the first Pontifical mass at Ste. Genevieve. From Ste. Genevieve the rest of the journey was made by land by way of Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia to St. Louis. Here he also was received with great pomp; and as soon as he became personally known to the people, was greatly esteemed and loved. Bishop Flaget now returned to Kentucky, and Bishop Dubourg began his episcopal labors in a territory extending over the whole western portion of the Mississippi valley, from New Orleans to the Rocky mountains and the Great Lakes. In all upper Louisiana there were then only four priests under his spiritual jurisdiction and to his visible temporal authority, seven small chapels were subject. But he was a man of zeal, who had well planned his work before he came to St. Louis.⁶⁴ While in Italy he induced Rev. Felix DeAndreis, Rev. Joseph Rosati and others to come to America to take up their residence in upper Louisiana. They were members of the "Congregation of the Priests of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul." While residing in St. Louis he annually visited New Orleans and lower Louisiana. In 1824 he removed the seat of his episcopal residence from upper Louisiana to New Orleans.

Among the priests Bishop Dubourg induced to come to upper Louisiana, Father Felix De Andreis was certainly the most eminent. Before his departure from Italy for America Bishop Dubourg appointed him Vicar-General of his diocese.⁶⁵ Father DeAndreis was born December 13, 1778 at DeMonte, Piedmont; studied rhetoric and

⁶⁴ Bishop Louis William Valentine Dubourg was born at Cape François, on the island of San Domingo, February 14, 1766; educated in France; studied theology at St. Sulpice; driven from France by the Revolution; fled to Spain; came to Baltimore in 1794; a priest of the order of St. Sulpice in 1796; president of St. Mary's Seminary; established the Sisters of Charity in Baltimore; in 1815 went to Rome, consecrated Bishop there of upper and lower Louisiana; in 1815 founded in America the Society for the Propagation of the Faith; removed from St. Louis to New Orleans in 1824; in 1826 was made Bishop of the see of Montauban in France, and in 1833 was Archbishop of Besançon; he died October 1833. A man of great energy, zeal and piety. "A man," says Lucas, "of distinguished talents and personal accomplishments." Letter dated August 18, 1817.

⁶⁵ Life of Felix DeAndreis, p. 97.

philosophy at Cuneo; at the age of sixteen made application to join the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission of St. Vincent; entered as a novitiate in the house of the Mission at Mondori, and in 1797 assumed the habit of St. Vincent, and under the guidance of the Rev. Joseph Giordana applied himself to his holy vocation. In 1800 he studied at Turin, and afterward at Placentia, and so assiduous was he in pursuing his studies, "that he became a profound philosopher, a learned theologian, an erudite historian, besides being well versed in literature, chemistry, natural history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, music, geography, and skilled in Hebrew, Greek, French, and Spanish languages. As for Latin, he spoke it fluently, and wrote it with elegance." He was "gifted with so piercing an intellect that he penetrated at first glance, the most difficult questions and most abstruse theories." His memory was extraordinary, and having once read a book he could, years afterward, repeat many passages and give a resumé of its contents. He had a marvelous knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, the works of the holy Fathers, the canonical decisions of the church, the moral and ascetic books by the most eminent divines, and the great writings of St. Thomas, St. Augustine, St. Bernard and St. John Chrysostom. Such were his qualifications in 1801, when in Placentia he was promoted to the priesthood. After his ordination he was at once entrusted with the complete exercise of the apostolic ministry, and became a conspicuous missionary, teacher and director of collegians. But his ardor for knowledge did not lead him away from the "science of the saints," and he kept continually in mind the admonition of St. Vincent to students, not to allow "an inordinate avidity for learning to invade their hearts." Hence he resolved only to "give to study a stated portion of time," and beyond that to "banish every thought of it" because, he says, "Study is not God, nor even the most direct road to him." He resolved therefore to more assiduously "exercise piety" and "practice virtue," and labor to "overcome self esteem" because "humility is the gate to truth," and remembering that the "prudence of the flesh kills the soul," he resolved to practice mortifications by giving up certain comforts of life in which he had indulged, under the pretext that they preserved his health and strength.

From Placentia, Father DeAndreis was transferred to Monte Citoria in Rome, where he soon became celebrated on account of his missionary labors in many parts of Italy. Here he taught theology to the priests of his own order and also to the clergymen

of the college of the Propaganda, by order of Pope Pius VII, and thus were discovered the vast treasures of sacred learning he possessed. Bishop Rosati who attended these lectures says that they "inflamed" the hearts of his listeners, and that "his words pierced the inmost depths of the soul." When he spoke of the "truths of religion," or the "maxims of eternal salvation," his countenance, naturally pale, "perceptibly changed its color" and it seemed when he addressed the students of the Propaganda, that he "longed to transmit to their hearts the heavenly fire that would make them fervent apostles for infidel lands, to which they were destined."⁶⁶ His fame soon filled Rome. Cardinal Della Somaglia attended his lectures, and afterwards told the Pope that he seemed to hear a "St. John Chrysostom or a St. Bernard." During this period of his career he had frequent presentiments that he would go to America and die there. As early as 1810, he told Bishop Rosati that they both ought to learn English, and he then predicted that that language would be needful to them. This presentiment was finally realised, when in the year 1815, Bishop Dubourg came to Rome to be consecrated as Bishop of Louisiana. But not without a struggle did Bishop Dubourg secure this brilliant and shining light of the priesthood of Rome. Accidentally, or providentially, some would say, one evening he passed a public hall where he heard a young priest "in sonorous language address a large audience;" he entered and listened attentively, and turning to the young student of the Propaganda who escorted him, asked who was the young priest that was preaching so well; he then learned his name and that he was a missionary of the Congregation of the Missions, and said "O, how glad should I be if I could have some of these priests for my diocese." Then the student told him that Father DeAndreis desired nothing more ardently than to be employed in foreign missions. This was enough for Bishop Dubourg. His rare energy, persistence, intelligence and indomitable will were directed to secure Father DeAndreis and missionaries of his order. He became personally acquainted with DeAndreis, met many obstacles but overcame them all, and at last, December 27, 1815, secured the establishment of a seminary of the order of St. Vincent for Louisiana.

On the 14th of October Bishop Dubourg surrounded by a little colony of missionaries, destined to plant a seminary of the "Congregation of Missions" in his diocese, composed of Fathers

⁶⁶ Life of Father DeAndreis, pp. 18, 31.

Felix DeAndreis, Jean Baptiste Acquaroni and Joseph Rosati and Mr. Joseph P. Peira, postulant priest, and Mr. Leo Deys, a student of the Propaganda, and Anthony Boboni, postulant lay brother, in an audience with the Pope received his apostolic blessing. The Pope conversed with them for over one hour, exhorting them to put their entire trust in God, animated them to bear cheerfully the many labors they must necessarily undergo, and predicting that innumerable blessings would flow from their work. They then bade farewell to all their friends, and on the 21st day of October departed from Rome. As they went out of the Flaminian gate their "hearts palpitated with holy joy and the most lively gratitude to God for the apostolic ministry," to which they were destined in a foreign land, for the sufferings they would meet "while laboring to extend the kingdom of Jesus Christ." Thus was laid the foundation of "St. Mary's Seminary" established in what is now Perry county in 1818, incorporated by the territorial legislature of Missouri, and generally known among the Catholic hierarchy as "St. Mary's of the Barrens," the mother-house and the nursery of many priests and bishops of the Catholic church of the United States.

But a long and arduous journey and many labors were still before Father DeAndreis and his little band, before they were permitted to lay the foundation of their seminary in the wilderness, to rear the humble log cabins in which to preach and practice the precepts of their order and begin their religious educational labors. Although they did not understand the English language they yet aspired to preach and teach in this language. To master the tongue they devoted many hours and days. Father DeAndreis with brother Martin Blanka, made the journey across the Alps and expected to meet his companions with Father Rosati, in the South of France. At this day we can hardly realize the hardships such a long tour by land across the mountains in the inclement season of the year then involved. Leaving the balmy air and sunny land of Italy, Father DeAndreis on this journey crossed Mont Cenis in January, walking much of the distance through snow knee deep with the cold and frigid wind almost taking away his breath and incrusting his clothes with a thick coating of ice. At last he reached Montpelier most anxious regarding Father Rosati and his companions, of whom he had heard nothing for a long time. He was then told that of 21 vessels that had sailed from Italy for the southern ports of France, 19 had perished, and this filled him with great and lively apprehensions for their safety. But on

the 24th day, at Toulouse, he joyfully embraced them all, to learn that they had been equally distressed on his account.

On the 30th of January they arrived at Bordeaux where they remained until the 12th of June following. They then embarked on a brig called the "Ranger," bidding adieu to Bishop Dubourg who in the meantime, had also arrived but was obliged to remain in France to adjust some affairs of his diocese. In addition to those already named, Fathers Carretti and Ferrari, and Messrs François Xavier Dahmen, Joseph Tichitoli and Casto Gonzalez, seminarists, also joined the party of Father DeAndreis, and three young laymen, François Moranville, Medard Dilatre and John Flegifont, who had some intentions to enter the order. These missionaries were almost the only passengers on the brig, and their voyage across the ocean was made very pleasant because the Captain, although an unbeliever, facilitated as much as he could, the performance of their religious exercises, and took pleasure in assisting at divine service and hearing them speak of religious subjects. But all efforts to convert him, Father DeAndreis says, failed because he would candidly say "that the business of this world seemed to him more important than that of the next;" on which Father De Andreis comments: "What lamentable blindness!"

On the 26th day of July, at 10 o'clock in the morning, they landed in Baltimore. They were received by Father Bouté, the President of St. Mary's College, a house of the Sulpicians, with great joy. DeAndreis enjoyed "the honor of singing high mass at the cathedral," but he says that it was "a painful thing for me, to hear bells pealing from magnificent temples, and to be told that these edifices belonged to heretics." In Baltimore they remained until September 10th when they started in "a stage" for Bardstown, Kentucky, then the residence of Bishop Flaget. As can be well imagined, this journey was a revelation to Father DeAndreis and his companions. The falling rain, the frightful roads, the wretched taverns, the swollen creeks and rivers, reduced them to a pitiful condition, and some of the party could "not refrain from shedding tears." The expenses, too, of the trip were such as to threaten to leave the party without means, and in order to economize they put their baggage into a wagon, separated into bands and set out on foot, and "then it was," says Father DeAndreis, "happening to be alone and somewhat apart from the rest of the company, in the midst of these frightful mountains, in doubt as to the road, and scarcely knowing how to get on, the smiling

picture of Rome, its churches, and the friends I had left there, presented themselves to my mind in glowing colors, and like daggers, made me experience, for an instant, all the tortures of melancholy." But, he adds, "God, faith, and the desire of the salvation of souls, soon brought back to my soul, peace and serenity." On the 22nd of September the party reached Pittsburg, and, at last, on the 19th of November, 1816, they arrived at Louisville and from there, on horseback, Father DeAndreis went to Bardstown, forty miles distant. Here he met Bishop Flaget and accepted his generous offer that he and his companions remain awhile at his seminary, St. Thomas, four miles from Bardstown, a resolution which Bishop Dubourg at first disapproved, but subsequently, when he arrived on the spot, applauded. Here DeAndreis met Father David, Superior of the seminary, and



FATHER DE ANDREIS

afterward Bishop of Mauricastro *in partibus*, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Bardstown. At this time twenty young ecclesiastics resided there in a log house covered with rough boards, the attic of which served as a common dormitory. Not far from this collegiate building was the episcopal residence, also constructed of logs but two stories high, the first floor divided into three rooms, the largest of which served as a school room and refectory, and in the other two smaller rooms Father DeAndreis and Rosati were

located. The Bishop occupied a room in the upper story, while near his room was a small library and cabinet which he also gave up to one of the band of Father DeAndreis.

Father DeAndreis and associates remained here until September and learned "many useful things" of which if they had been ignorant, he says frankly, "might have been very prejudicial to ourselves and others." He also found that "a certain amount of toleration is laudable" and, that "if it had always been observed by other missionaries, many scandals would have been prevented," that the "enemies of Christianity would not have had so many arguments against us," and that the "adjuration of heretics and the conversion of infidels and savages would have been a work of much less difficulty." But the irreproachable and austere life led by the two Bishops of the seminary, the total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors they practiced, the invariable rule by which they banished such liquors from their

table and the seminary table, and refused for themselves to accept any donation of the same on pretense of thus recruiting their strength, was an example of mortification, a source of much edification to Fathers DeAndreis and Rosati, and they determined to follow it in the same manner as soon as settled in their new home. Of course Father DeAndreis, during his residence at St. Thomas, daily gave instructions in theology and other subjects, and he and all his companions also assiduously studied English. Father DeAndreis began to preach in English, hear confessions in English, and began to translate his sermons into English, studied English prose and poetry, and always in his walks with his pupils conversed in English.

When Bishop Flaget made his trip to upper Louisiana, already mentioned, to ascertain the sentiments of the inhabitants, Father DeAndreis accompanied him, and also brother Blanka. When, after a journey of nine days, he and Bishop Flaget came to Kaskaskia he was moved to tears "at the sight of the cross that rose on the spire of the church," at that time but seldom seen in the cities and villages of the United States. At Kaskaskia he and Bishop Flaget were received with great hospitality at the residence of Colonel Pierre Menard. From there they went to Ste. Genevieve where Father Henri Pratte was the parish priest, and thence to St. Louis, arriving October 17, 1817, where Bishop Flaget, as we have seen, successfully arranged for the residence of Bishop Dubourg.

While they were in St. Louis two members of the parish of "St. Mary's of the Barrens," situated about eighteen miles from Ste. Genevieve, came to St. Louis at the instance of Father Dunand, the last Trappist priest remaining in the Missouri country, who occasionally visited that parish, and in the name of the other members of the congregation, numbering thirty five families, requested the Bishop to intercede with Bishop Dubourg to choose their parish as the location for the future seminary. They offered to donate six hundred and forty acres of land to that end. They received the assurance that the wish of the inhabitants, on the arrival of Bishop Dubourg, would be favorably entertained. Bishop Flaget then returned to his own diocese, after leaving Father DeAndreis at Ste. Genevieve, where afterward, as we have seen, he received Bishop Dubourg. Bishop Flaget sent Father Pratte to St. Louis to remove any difficulties that might arise there, prior to the arrival of Bishop Dubourg. Father DeAndreis remained at Ste. Genevieve, and this was the first scene of his apostolic labors in the diocese of Louisiana.

From Ste. Genevieve he wrote Father Sicardi, "We need whole colonies of missionaries with considerable pecuniary resources in order to make rapid progress in these immense woods."

As his Vicar-General, Father DeAndreis went with Bishop Dubourg to St. Louis. As soon as the Bishop was settled there, another delegation from the parish of "St. Mary's of the Barrens" waited on him and repeated the proposal made to Bishop Flaget. The Bishop was much impressed by the generosity of the offer, and the ardor of the faith which animated the people. He promised to personally visit them and examine the location; when shortly afterward he did so, he found the location very satisfactory and so reported to Father DeAndreis, who immediately, as Superior of the order in America,



BISHOP ROSATI

approved the plan to establish a house of the Congregation of the Missions there. The work of erecting St. Mary's Seminary was now ordered begun which for half a century was to shine "like a beacon light of learning in the west," and give celebrity to the name of the "Barrens." The name "Barrens" was applied to the small prairies of Southwestern Kentucky, from whence most of the early settlers came, and by them bestowed on the prairies they found in

their new home. In speaking of the seminary, the old students usually simply refer to it as "the Barrens."

Father DeAndreis now called Father Rosati and the other members of his order from Bardstown to "the Barrens," to push the work of erecting the new seminary. Father De La Croix, a priest skilled in architecture, was sent there by Bishop Dubourg. In the spring of 1818, with the assistance of the people, the work had already made considerable progress. Some ground had been cleared, log cabins erected, and the foundation for a church laid. In December, 1818, all the members of the Congregation had arrived from Bardstown at "the Barrens" where, says Father DeAndreis, reside "the best Catholics in the diocese, all Anglo-Americans, an honest and industrious people." In this year Father Carretti, a native of Porto Maurizio who came to America with Bishop Dubourg, died in St. Louis. Father DeAndreis also records that Father François Xavier Dahmen and Father Tichitoli studied theology under him in St. Louis. Father

Dahmen afterwards, from 1822 to 1840, was parish priest of Ste. Genevieve.⁶⁷ In this year Father Cellini and two students, F. Borgna and another, arrived there from Italy to attend the seminary. Father Cellini was parish priest of St. Michaels (Fredericktown) from 1827 to 1849. He died January 6th, 1849 at St. Louis, old age rendering him unfit for active ministerial duty.

During the progress of the work, Bishop Dubourg and Father DeAndreis frequently visited "the Barrens" and gave assistance as appears from what Father DeAndreis writes to Father Baccaria, the Superior of the order, at Monte Citerio. In a letter dated 19th of September, 1819, he says, "I wish I could give you some idea of our establishment which covers about one square mile of land, seemingly uncultivated since the time of Adam. Our house will be habitable next November; the expense of building in this country is enormous, though we are as saving as possible and everyone does his share of the work. Father Cellini labors like any hired workman, and the Bishop himself does not shrink from helping to carry the lumber, he remains the whole day in the heat of the sun spurring on the workmen and superintending the undertaking." In the meanwhile, he says, the seminary is "in a miserable log cabin" made of logs roughly put together, and that the rules of the order were observed with as much exactitude as the situation would admit. He, however, observes that the fare was very poor, consisting of ill-baked bread, water instead of wine, meat now and then, potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables, milk and bread being their choicest food. He complained of the extremes of heat and cold, and also of the insects, of which he counted ten different species, "which attack us in the night," but, of all these, "the tick" which buries itself in the flesh, caused the greatest suffering, and he concludes, that "the glory of God and salvation of souls" alone is what induced him to remain. All this, however, did not prevent Father Beccari, who had succeeded Father Sicardi, from sending new colonies of missionaries to "St. Mary's of the Barrens."

In 1820, this first and oldest collegiate institution of Missouri was well established. But now, too, the life of Father DeAndreis was fast ebbing away, and October 14, 1820, he died at St. Louis, much regretted and lamented. Father Leo R. DeNeckere, then a young priest of the "Congregation of the Missions," but afterwards Bishop

⁶⁷ He was the first priest consecrated in St. Louis by Bishop Dubourg; he had been a soldier in Bonaparte's army. The famous priest Father Charles Nerinyck on the 24th of August, 1824, died at his house on his return from Perryville where he had founded the Bethlehem convent of the Sisters of Loretto.

of New Orleans, watched at his bed-side during the closing days of his life. From St. Louis his body was carried to St. Mary's of the Barrens, and there beneath the altar of the church, rest his mortal remains. Before his death he appointed Father Rosati⁶⁸ Superior of the "Congregation of the Missions" in America, and under his able and energetic management, the Seminary of St. Mary's of the Barrens soon attained a wide reputation. In 1827, Father Rosati was appointed Bishop of Tenegra *in partibus*, and in 1829, first Bishop of St. Louis. The church of St. Joachim at Old Mines, in Washington county, consecrated on the 29th day of October, 1820, was one of the first fruits of the missionary labors of this order.⁶⁹

Among the many eminent men who received their training at St. Mary's Seminary Bishop John Timon should also be mentioned. He became a resident of St. Louis in 1819 and engaged in business there. But in 1823 he abandoned worldly pursuits, entered St. Mary's Seminary as a theological student, was admitted to the priesthood, performed much missionary work and died Bishop of Buffalo. When he entered the seminary it consisted only of several small log houses. "In the largest cabin," says his biographer, "one story in height was the university; in the northwest corner of the building was the theology department for study and lecture; in the northeast corner was the room for philosophy and general literature; the southwest corner was used for a tailor-shop, and the southeast for a shoemaker's department." All the surroundings indicated poverty, but

⁶⁸ Bishop Joseph Rosati, a native of Sora, kingdom of Naples, where he was born in 1789; became a member of the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul; came to America with Father DeAndreis; appointed second superior of the order in America; first Bishop of St. Louis; established the Jesuits in St. Louis, the Sisters of St. Joseph, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Sisters of Visitation and Sisters of Charity, and founded the St. Louis Hospital and several colleges for boys and three academies for girls; member of the Provincial Councils of 1829, 1833, 1837, and 1840; called to Rome, sent on diplomatic mission to Hayti; consecrated Archbishop Kendrick as coadjutor; died in Rome September 24, 1843, and buried at Monte Citario in a chapel dedicated to St. Vincent de Paul.

⁶⁹ This church was consecrated by Father Joseph Rosati, the successor as superior of the order of Father de Andreis, assisted by Fathers François Cellini, F. X. Dahmen, John Odin, Louis Rondot, John Timon, Philip Borgna, Angello Mascaroni, Régis Loisel and Benoît Roux, and the following laymen—Louis Tucker, Frederick Saucier, Hilary Tucker, George Hamilton, and James Shannon. Reverend Henri Pratte, Parish priest of Ste. Genevieve, had charge of this parish until his death in 1822. He was succeeded by Reverend François X. Dahmen, 1822–1828, and he, by Reverend John Bouillier. The parish register begins April 20th 1820, recording the baptism of Edward Colman. The St. James Catholic church of Potosi was first attached to the church of St. Joachim as a mission and the earliest baptism at Potosi, dated 1827, was recorded by Father John Timon.

“such was the piety and the resignation of the inmates of the seminary under the pious government of Father Rosati that all seemed to feel happy and advanced in the way of salvation.”⁷⁰ In connection with the seminary a college for seculars was opened in an unfinished house, and here also many sons of the early Protestant settlers of Missouri received an education. At the time Bishop Timon attended the seminary, Father J. M. Odin, afterwards Bishop of New Orleans, was also a student there.

When Bishop Dubourg was in France in 1817, he applied to the Superior-General of the Order of the Sacred Heart for a colony of those religious ladies to establish a house of their order and a school in his diocese. This request of the Bishop, who knew so well how to appeal to the religious and charitable feelings, was acceded to and five members of this order with Madame Duchesne as Superior were sent from France to establish a school for girls in that then far away diocese. This little band of devoted and heroic women sailed from France in the spring of 1818, reached New Orleans safely, and on the 22nd day of August arrived at St. Louis. At first they opened a school at St. Charles, but through either the poverty or indifference of the people met very little encouragement. After remaining there for one year it became manifest to these ladies that with their school they would not be able to earn even a scanty subsistence at St. Charles and they therefore concluded to remove to Florissant. Father Dunand, the same pious Trappist who had induced the people of “the Barrens” to petition the Bishop for the location of the seminary in their neighborhood, now assisted the sisters in their removal to Florissant, where on Christmas Eve 1819 they occupied their new home. Here they remained until 1827 and then began to erect a convent on a tract of 27 acres of land adjacent to St. Louis, conditionally donated to them by John Mullanphy. In 1847 they sold their convent at Florissant and removed to St. Louis. Madame Duchesne remained Superior of the order in America until 1840. The labors and hardships she endured, the holy life she led, and heroic virtues she manifested, entitle her to a conspicuous place among the early female educators of our state. Few are the old families of St. Louis in which some daughters were not educated by the accomplished ladies of this order. So conspicuous were the merits of Mother Duchesne that the Congregation of Rites in Rome, it is said, has under consideration her beatification.

⁷⁰ Life of Bishop Timon, p. 28.

With the presence of Bishop Dubourg, life and activity began to characterize the Catholic congregations of the territory which before his time had seemed to be suffering from dry-rot. Almost immediately after his arrival in St. Louis he laid the corner-stone of a new brick church to replace the old post and log structure. The architect of this new church was Gabriel Paul and the builder Hugh O'Neil. But this church was never plastered and ceiled, for it soon gave way to a stone cathedral.

In St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, after the departure of Father Dunand, Father Charles de LaCroix for a time supplied the congregations. Father Dunand was known among the French Catholics of Florissant and elsewhere as "le Pere Prieur," and was held in high esteem. In May 1820 he returned to France. From 1804 to the time of his departure to France he seems to have visited every Catholic community west of the river, and was indefatigable in his religious labors.

Father François Niel, a French priest, in 1818, under the auspices of Bishop Dubourg, opened a school in St. Louis which continued until 1819. In 1820 Father Leo Deys, Father Andreas Ferrari, Father Aristide Anduze and Father Michael Saulnier who came with Father DeAndreis, at the request of Bishop Dubourg, acted as professors in this school. At this time Father Niel was curate of the cathedral. This school was the germ from which grew the St. Louis University, founded a few years afterward by the Jesuits.

CHAPTER XX

The Louisiana Purchase—Westward Movement of American Pioneers—British Proclamation, 1763, Prohibits Settlements West of the Alleghenies—Virginia Colonial Assembly, 1769, Asserts Authority over Botetourt County "on the Mississippi"—Relations of France and Spain to Colonial Boundary Claims—Territory Northwest of Ohio to the Lakes Becomes Part of Virginia by Conquest—By Treaty of 1783 Free Navigation of the Mississippi Secured to United States and Great Britain—Boundary Lines of Canada Fixed by the Military Operations of Virginia—Significance of Erection of Fort Jefferson South of the Mouth of the Ohio—Free Navigation of Mississippi Denied by Spain Leads to Louisiana Purchase—New England and Eastern States Disposed to Acquiesce in Spain's Denial of Free Navigation—Indignation Aroused in Kentucky—Independent Spirit of Western Pioneers—Isolation and Dissatisfaction of Western Population Basis of Spanish Intrigues—New Madrid a Spanish Port of Entry—Spanish Espionage of River Commerce—The District of "Miro"—General James Wilkinson Chief Agent of Spain—His Intrigues and Efforts to Deliver Kentucky to Spain—Sentiment for Independent Government in Order to Secure Free Navigation of the Mississippi—Colonial Scheme of Colonel Morgan Frustrated by Wilkinson—Gayoso Goes to Mouth of the Ohio to Meet American Emissaries—Free Navigation of the Mississippi Secured under Treaty of 1795—Louisiana Acquired by Napoleon, 1800—Free Navigation of the Mississippi again Denied—Universal Discontent of Western Population—Warlike Preparations Authorized by Congress—Negotiations by Monroe and Livingston in Paris—Motives Impelling Napoleon to Sell Louisiana—Sale Quickly Consummated—Marbois' Account of the Conclusion of the Treaty—Objections to Ratification of Treaty in United States—Constitutional Impediments—A Conceded Unconstitutional Precedent—Predicted Consequences of the Purchase of Louisiana—Dissolution of the Union Planned in Massachusetts—Popular Approval of the Louisiana Purchase—Survival of the Union Due to the Purchase of Louisiana.

The acquisition of Louisiana, from France, by purchase, will always be considered by the student as one of the most important events in the history of the United States, and in its far reaching consequences certainly one of the greatest governmental transactions ever consummated by peaceful methods.

The story of the gradual spread of the English-speaking settlers, from the Atlantic seaboard across the formidable barriers of the Appalachian range, through a wilderness tenanted by fierce and war-like savage Indian tribes, to the waters of the Mississippi, is a romance of heroic achievement. Slowly, from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, these settlers moved westward.¹ Across the mountains and through the virgin forests

¹ Marbois, p. 108. The planters who had come from England at first were in no hurry to advance toward the mountains.

they opened roads, and moved beset by every peril. In the wilderness they reared their rude log cabins, homes and fortresses at once, and in the unbroken woods opened farms and planted the seeds of future states.

Before the Revolution, these bold and hardy pioneers had crossed the Alleghanies, built their homes on the banks of the Alleghany and Monongahela; organized society in the valley of the Watauga; penetrated the wilderness beyond the Chattahoochee; and, some of the most adventurous spirits following the Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland, had reached the mighty waters of the Mississippi. Nor could the British government restrain this westward movement. Although by royal proclamation, bearing date October 3, 1763, settlements were prohibited farther west than the Alleghanies, nevertheless such settlements were made. Evidently with a view to assert its authority over, and its claim to the west, when Botecourt county was organized by the Virginia Colonial Assembly in 1769, the following clause was inserted, "And whereas, the people situated on the Mississippi, in said county of Botecourt, will be very remote from the court-house, and must necessarily become a separate county as soon as their numbers are sufficient, which probably will happen in short time; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the inhabitants of that part of the county of Botecourt which lies on the said waters, shall be exempted from the payment of any levies to be laid by the said county court for the purpose of building a court-house and prison for said county."² The celebrated settlement west of the mountains on the banks of the Watauga, one of the branches of the Holston, was formed in direct defiance of this royal proclamation and in 1776 was admitted to representation in the Constitutional Convention of North Carolina.

The Revolution did not impede this westward march; it found some of its staunchest supporters among the western settlers. Nor during the struggle did the southern states lose sight of their western boundary. It was well understood that Georgia claimed the country to the Mississippi on the parallel of Savannah; and during the war North Carolina and Virginia began to survey their boundary lines from the Atlantic to that river. North Carolina formed the Watauga settlement into a county out of its territory west of the Alleghanies, with the Mississippi as a western limit and this territory now constitutes the state of Tennessee.

² Kercheval's History of the Valley of Virginia, p. 154.

Spain observed these claims with undisguised jealousy. In 1777, Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, was instructed in case the Americans showed a disposition to capture the British posts on the lower Mississippi, and deliver them to his Catholic Majesty, to receive and hold them "in trust or deposit."³ Nor did France think it advisable to give the Americans all the strength which was then attainable. Spain at one time might have secured the largest part of the territory claimed by the southern states, but failed to do so. Galvez, however, in several brilliant campaigns conquered both Floridas, and thus the limits of Spain were extended to the thirty-first degree of north latitude, on the east bank of the Mississippi; and it was also afterward claimed, that the expedition of Don Eugenio Purée in 1781, from St. Louis, to the post of St. Joseph, and the capture of this post, gave possession of the country along "the river of the Illinois," to Spain. The rupture between England and Spain, and consequent conquests of the two Floridas by Galvez during the Revolutionary war, gave the United States great satisfaction; a minister was sent to Madrid by the Colonies to negotiate an alliance, and particularly to secure the right of a free navigation of the Mississippi to the sea, but this right Spain, supported by France, was not willing to concede.

In 1778, during the Revolutionary war, under commission from Virginia, General George Rogers Clark conquered all the British territory northwest of the Ohio River, to the Great Lakes, and established American authority in the old French settlements on the Mississippi. This conquered country was erected by Virginia, in 1778, into the county of Illinois, and Colonel John Todd was appointed County Lieutenant and Civil Commandant of the same. Under the orders of Patrick Henry, Gen. Clark built Fort Jefferson at the mouth of the Ohio.⁴ North Carolina extended her boundaries to the Mississippi, and Georgia proposed to establish, as the county of Bourbon, the territory now embraced within the limits of the state of Mississippi. In addition, the Indian victories of the troops of the southern colonies in the Cherokee and Chickasaw country, was a palpable assertion of dominion in this disputed territory.

When finally the negotiations for peace began, the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Floridas had *de facto* become the west-

³ Gayarre's History of Louisiana, p. 111, — Spanish Domination.

⁴ At the mouth of Mayfield creek, near the present town of Wyckliffe, in Ballard county, Kentucky.

ern limits of the southern states. Nevertheless, France and Spain were anxious to exclude these states from the Mississippi, and de la Lucerne, French Minister at Philadelphia, obtained from Congress a resolution that our Minister should, in the peace negotiations as to the western boundary, then pending, treat under the direction of France; and further he was directed to "not insist" upon the free navigation of the Mississippi below the thirty-first degree of north latitude.

Relying on the proclamation of 1763, which practically conceded to the Indians, the Shawnees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws, the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, it was claimed during the peace negotiations between France, Spain, England and the United States, that the western boundary of the United States could not extend to the Mississippi, because Great Britain had excluded the whites from this territory, and thereby acknowledged the independence of the Indians settled in it. Count de Vergennes suggested that the western boundary of the United States south of the Ohio, be a line starting at the north boundary line of Florida, on the Tombigbee river, up that river northeast until its head was reached, thence across to the bend of the Cumberland, and down the river to the Ohio,—all east of this line to be territory of the United States, and all west to be free Indian territory, but under the protection of Spain; and the territory north of the Ohio, Vergennes proposed should be regulated by the "Court of London." But Spain as already stated even denied the title of the United States to the territory northwest of the Ohio, claiming that she had conquered the country "near the sources of the Illinois," and that all the country not conquered and owned by her belonged to the Indians, and therefore could not belong to the United States.⁵ Thus it was proposed to exclude the United States from the Mississippi river, France conspiring with Spain, and perhaps looking to the future re-acquisition of the Louisiana country. But Jay would not assent to these terms; and after tedious and protracted negotiations, a final treaty of peace was concluded September 3, 1783, the ratification being exchanged May 17, 1784, which secured Spain west and east Florida; and by the eighth article of the treaty, free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth, was conceded to both citizens of the United States and Great Britain. The Mississippi was made the boundary line on the west between Spain and the United States and on the south, it was fixed on the

⁵ Carr's Missouri, p. 72.

thirty-first degree north parallel, running due east from the Mississippi to the Appalachicola, thence down the middle of that river to its junction with the Flint, thence to the head of St. Mary's river, and down that river to the Atlantic ocean.

The full significance of the energetic action of Virginia during the Revolutionary war in extending the sphere of her military operations to the Mississippi, and northwest of the Ohio, is not fully appreciated at this day. Through the maze of hostile intrigues the United States secured the Mississippi as a western boundary; but it is certain that the military operations inaugurated by Virginia made possible this result. The conquest and possession of the country north of the Ohio, and the erection of a fort south of the mouth of the Ohio on the Mississippi, together with military possession of the territory it implied, could not be denied. Without this actual occupation of the territory northwest of the Ohio, secured by the brilliant and heroic campaign of General Clark, the boundary of Canada, instead of being the Great Lakes might have been the Ohio river on the south, and the Mississippi river on the west. In the magnitude of its results, the far seeing statesmanship which prompted Virginia to send an expedition to wrest from English possession the wilderness country bordering on the Mississippi, will in all future time, easily stand as one of the pre-eminent events in the annals of the Revolutionary period. So also the erection of Fort Jefferson by order of Governor Patrick Henry, made impossible the contention that the country between the Tombigbee, the Cumberland and the Mississippi rivers, was neutral Indian territory, because it was also in part at least, *de facto* Virginia territory, and the campaigns against the Indians in this country were undoubtedly a practical assertion of dominion.

The fact that the Mississippi was secured as the western boundary of the United States ultimately led to the Louisiana purchase. Although under the treaty of 1783, the free navigation of the Mississippi was conceded to the United States, Spain practically withheld or denied this privilege and almost immediately after the treaty in 1784, Galvez instructed the Governor of Louisiana that the English and Americans did not, under this treaty, have "the right which they put forward to the free navigation of the Mississippi."⁶ Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister at Philadelphia, declared

⁶ General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Letter of Galvez dated Aranjuez, June 26, 1784.

expressly that the Spanish King would never permit any nation to use that river, both banks of which belonged to him. Waiving, for a time, the just claim of the United States, Jay thought it expedient in order to secure certain trade facilities and mercantile advantages for the New England and Eastern states, to suggest a new treaty with Spain "limited, say to twenty or thirty years, the United States stipulating that for the term of the treaty, they would forbear to navigate the Mississippi below their southern boundary." In Kentucky this proposal aroused great bitterness. The free navigation of the river as guaranteed by the treaty, was necessary to the people west of the Alleghanies. The rich, productive fields of Kentucky yielded bountifully in vain, without this natural great water-way to the sea. It was the only outlet. When the proposal by which the eastern states, in order to secure commercial advantages of their own, intended to sacrifice the interests of the young and growing communities of the west, was clearly understood the flames of indignation rose high.

The population of the west was rapidly increasing. In 1769 the wife and daughter of Daniel Boone were "the first white women that ever stood on the Kentucky river," but in 1785 an aggressive and high-spirited people had settled in the country. Thoughtful men already began to see that the Americans would eventually possess the whole Mississippi valley. When in 1788, Brissot de Warville traveled through the western country he met Dr. Saugrain, then a resident of Gallipolis, and records that Dr. Saugrain said, that sooner or later the Spaniards would be forced to quit the Mississippi and give up Louisiana, that the Americans would cross the river and establish themselves in the country, and that he considered Louisiana "one of the finest countries of the universe."⁷

Among the settlers and pioneers of this new western country a spirit of independence prevailed. People were self reliant. They felt that their interests could only be effectually protected by the organization of a new state west of the mountain wilderness, which seemed to separate them from the east by a topographic barrier. They had an inadequate government, with no protection at all except that which their own strong arms afforded. Across the Ohio, wild and ferocious savages living under British pay, made insecure their homes by incursions. They petitioned Virginia and Congress for the privilege to organize a new and separate state of the Union. This

⁷ *New Travels in the United States by Brissot de Warville*, p. 259. (London Ed. 1792.)

privilege was denied. What wonder, when it was proposed to close up the Mississippi and to subject the productions of their soil to seizure and plunder, and manifold exactions from a foreign power planted at the mouth of this great river, that the people should be dissatisfied.

Of this condition of affairs Spain took notice, and, using this dissatisfaction as a basis, almost immediately after the close of the Revolution, a series of complicated and subtle intrigues were begun, to separate the west from the Atlantic states. The field of operation was not confined to Kentucky alone, but extended over the whole southwest, involving many public men, land companies and Indian tribes, and continued for a period of twenty years, until the final acquisition of the Louisiana territory. Nor was Spain alone engaged in these intrigues. France, too, endeavored to regain Louisiana, and thus encircle the Atlantic states, and set bounds to the "childish avarice of the Americans," who, says Rochefoucault-Liancourt, "wish to grasp everything." Great Britain also had not given up hope of regaining a foothold in the Mississippi Valley, and in one instance at least this led to the exposure, humiliation and expulsion of a United States Senator.⁸

But the Spanish control of the mouth of the Mississippi was a constant source of friction. Now by vigorous commercial restrictions it was made manifest to the people of Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi that they were aliens in New Orleans. Then by a generous policy the advantage of a political connection with Spain was clearly shown. The object was to make manifest that to secure free navigation of the Mississippi they must attach themselves to Spain, and

⁸ William Blount, born in North Carolina, a member from that state to the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, appointed, by Washington, Governor of the territory south of the Ohio; identified with the history of Tennessee from the earliest settlement of the country; a member of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention of 1796. On his motion this convention adopted as an essential part of the Bill of Rights the declaration, that "an equal participation of the free navigation of the Mississippi is one of the inherent rights of the citizens of this state; it can not therefore, be conceded to any prince, potentate, power or persons whatever." This was notice, not only to the hated Spaniards, but also to New England and the Northeastern states, of the sentiment of the people of the new state. — Parton's *Life of Jackson*, Vol. I., p. 172. Blount was elected first United States senator from Tennessee; expelled July, 1797, on charge that he conspired to set on foot a military expedition to invade the Spanish territories and conquer same for the King of Great Britain. But he did not lose the confidence of the people of Tennessee, nor forfeit their good opinion; he was elected to the State Senate immediately thereafter from Knox county, and elected Speaker of the Senate unanimously December 3, 1797. He died at the age of fifty-three, March 21, 1800.

that as American citizens they could never enjoy this advantage. The idea seemed, indeed, well calculated to greatly enlist the sympathy of the western people. Such an alliance or connection offered immunity from all kinds of exactions, and apparently opened a vista of great commercial and financial prosperity. As it was, a military post, and port of entry, was established at New Madrid and all boats were compelled to land there. On all commodities descending the river the owners were "compelled to pay an excise duty to the Government, varying at different times according to the arbitrary will of the Intendant, or the orders of the King, from six to twenty-five percent ad valorem." The cargoes were overhauled, and if the Spanish officers suspected deception, were even required to be unloaded. Finally, equipped with proper papers, showing that the duties were paid, the boats were required to land at each port further down the stream, and to exhibit their evidence that all duties had been discharged, and in default the batteries were opened, the boat pursued, and the owners subjected to a heavy fine and imprisonment and confiscation of goods. The officers along the river often were tyrannical and arbitrary, and probably greedy and corrupt. This system, however, seemed to favor the far-reaching designs of Spain.

Many leading men of the country were enlisted in the scheme to separate the western country by the free and lavish use of money. The determination of North Carolina to hold what is now the state of Tennessee, and the dissatisfaction caused by this policy, among the people west of the mountain range, for a time greatly aided the Spanish schemes. The organization of the state of "Frankland" by General Sevier no doubt was encouraged by Spanish financial aid. Sevier, in 1788, wrote Gardoqui that, "the inhabitants are unanimous in their vehement desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain, and to put themselves under her protection." He also asked for a supply of arms and ammunition to throw off the yoke of North Carolina. To show their sympathy with Spain and antipathy to North Carolina, the name of the district was changed by the people, from Cumberland District to "Miro District," in honor of Don Estevan Miro,⁹ then Governor of Louisiana. And it is quite plain now,

⁹ Succeeded Galvez as Governor-General of Louisiana in 1786; was a Colonel of the Royal armies; served under Galvez in his memorable campaign resulting in the conquest of east and west Florida. Miro's administration terminated in 1791, when he sailed for Spain, where he successively attained the ranks of Brigadier-General and *Mariscal de Campo* or Lieutenant-General. Gayarre says, he "had a sound judgment, a high sense of honor and an excellent heart," and that he possessed two qualities not always found together "suavity

that if Miro had actively co-operated with Gardoqui, the general feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in this district, might have been greatly utilized in the interest of Spain. But this opportunity was allowed to pass.

The chief agent of Spain in all the intrigues to bring about a separation of the western country from the United States, was General James Wilkinson. He came to Lexington, Kentucky, in February 1784, opened a store there and soon acquired great influence. He was a delegate to the first Kentucky Convention which met in Danville, December 27, 1784. Although only a short time a resident, and a comparative stranger, he was selected to prepare the resolutions and address in favor of a separation from Virginia, and this address finally secured statehood for Kentucky in 1787. His commercial operations becoming more extended, he naturally began to take an interest in the navigation of the Mississippi, and when the news reached Kentucky, that Minister Jay "had proposed to the Spanish Minister to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi for thirty years," Wilkinson, Muter,¹⁰ Innis,¹¹ John

of temper and energy." He was a man of education, master of several languages, "remarkable for strict morality" and "indefatigable industry." — Gayarre's *Louisiana,—Spanish Domination* — page 310. He married a daughter of Macarty and was a brother-in-law of Morris Conway. Daniel Clark says, in his memoir to Secretary Pickering, that Miro "was a weak man, unacquainted with the American government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky with the respect to his province," and alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men. — *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Vol. 2, Appendix VI.

¹⁰ George Muter, a Scotchman, Colonel of infantry in the Virginia State Line, Commissioner of the Virginia War Office, but forced to resign for neglect and mismanagement in his office in 1781; came to Kentucky in 1783; implicated in the Spanish conspiracy in 1792; elected Circuit judge, afterwards a judge of the court of Appeals; became very unpopular on account of a decision affecting real estate which it was openly charged was corruptly made; then reversed himself and resigned on condition that he should be paid a pension of \$300, annually; afterwards this law was repealed and he became a pensioner of Judge Thomas Todd.

¹¹ Judge Harry Innis, the coadjutor of Sebastian, remained unmolested and even uncensured by any expression of opinion on the part of any public functionary; was judge of the United States District court, and Marshall called him "a self convicted illicit intriguer with a foreign power." Innis sued Humphrey Marshall for charging him with being "a weak and a partial judge, an enemy to his government, and one whom he ranked with a Sebastian, a Blount and an Arnold." The case was tried but the jury did not agree, so the case finally went out of court, each party paying his own costs. Harry Innis was born in Virginia in 1752; died in Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1816; son of an Episcopalian minister; lawyer, employed by the Committee of Public Safety of Virginia to superintend the working of the Chisel lead mines; in 1783 made judge of the District court in Kentucky; 1785 appointed Attorney-General, and in 1787 appointed United States District Judge; was deep in the Spanish intrigue, and only saved from expulsion from office and disgrace by his position and his friends, retained the confidence of George Washington and his friends in Congress protected him. His daughter married J. J. Crittenden.

Brown,¹² Sebastian,¹³ and others at once made it the subject of bitter political agitation, so that both Virginia and Congress were compelled to make a declaration that no rights would be surrendered.

In June, 1787, Wilkinson, in the garb of a merchant and speculator, went to New Orleans with a boat load of tobacco, flour, butter and bacon. An order had been issued to seize and confiscate the boat and its load, but Wilkinson secured an interview with Governor Miro, and he permitted him to sell his cargo without paying any duty. After making his sales, Wilkinson remained in New Orleans for several months, was hospitably fêted by Miro and secured the privilege to introduce, free of duty, tobacco and many other articles of western trade. In September following he sailed for Philadelphia, and returned triumphant to Kentucky, announcing that he had secured special trade privileges for himself, including a contract for the annual shipment of two hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, on account of the Spanish government, at ten dollars per hundred. From this time on, Wilkinson carried on a cypher correspondence with Miro and his successor, Carondelet. Being a purchaser of tobacco he thereby secured great influence in Kentucky, because all the planters were anxious to sell this staple to New Orleans, and such sales could only be made through him. "I am convinced" said Miro in 1788, "that there is no means more powerful to accomplish the principal object we have in view * * * than the promise that the Government will take as much as six million pounds of their tobacco instead of two million, which are now bought from them."¹⁴ And the purpose of Wilkinson is said, by Miro, to have been "the delivering up of Kentucky into His Majesty's hands, which is the main object to which Wilkinson has promised to devote himself entirely," and thus forever constituting "this province a rampart for the protection of New Spain."

¹² John Brown, first Senator of Kentucky, son of a respectable clergyman of Rock Bridge, Virginia; received a good education; came to Kentucky in 1783, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1786-7.

¹³ Sebastian, says Marshall, was execrated by the sound and honest part of the community for the guilt and turpitude of his conduct. Marshall's History of Kentucky, Vol. 2, p. 332. Benjamin Sebastian, not a native of any of the colonies, was for a time an Episcopal minister, then became a lawyer and early drifted to Kentucky where he was elected judge of the Supreme court. He never complained of his punishment, and took his position as a scape-goat without murmur; he admitted his complicity, and that he received a pension for services rendered in 1795; was associated with Wilkinson and Brown in 1788; his pension amounted to \$2,000, per annum. When the facts of this Spanish conspiracy came to be fully known he was forced out of office.

¹⁴ Gayarre's Louisiana, Spanish Domination, p. 208.

Before Wilkinson's boats arrived at New Orleans, practically no trade intercourse existed between the settlers on the Ohio, and New Orleans and lower Louisiana. Now and then an emigrant by dint of entreaty, or at the solicitation of friends at New Orleans, was allowed to settle near Natchez with his family and slaves, and bring his cattle, furniture and farming implements into the country with him. Venturesome traders going down the river were liable to have their property seized by the first Spanish commanding officer whom they might chance to meet. This policy now was suddenly changed. Emigration from the western country into the Spanish possessions was encouraged, the property of the new settlers was allowed to be brought into the country free of duty, passports were issued to such settlers to insure their safety, and lands, too, were freely granted. Among these settlers were many who were only speculators. These had shipments of supplies made to their address, and which were admitted free of duty, and having sold these supplies and finished their business, they would return home under pretense of going up the river for their families. Only a comparatively small number remained in the country. But the encouragement given to this emigration opened a market for the produce on the Ohio. Flour, bacon, corn and tobacco found a ready sale, and consequently lands in Kentucky began to increase in value. In 1788, Daniel Clark writes Wilkinson that he can make him rich, if he will direct his neighbors to him whenever they have business to transact at New Orleans. He says that a thousand barrels of pork would sell here annually "at ten hard dollars per barrel."¹⁵ Flour, which before Wilkinson came to New Orleans sold at \$4 per barrel on the Ohio, increased in price to \$9 a barrel, and from ten to fifteen thousand barrels generally found a ready sale in lower Louisiana. This restricted and precarious trade however gave life and activity to the whole upper country, and any regulation or tariff calculated to hinder or obstruct it at once resulted in stagnation and commercial disaster, and led naturally to general dissatisfaction.

In 1788, both before and immediately after the adoption of the Federal constitution, general discontent prevailed, and the sentiment was universal for the establishment of a separate and independent government, in order to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. Wilkinson industriously augmented this feeling of unrest. Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister at Philadelphia, had been instructed by the

¹⁵ Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. 2, appendix 13.

Spanish court to encourage the people of the western country to form an alliance with Spain. He employed a person named Pierre Wower d'Arges as his agent to invite people from Kentucky and elsewhere, to form American settlements in lower Louisiana, by offering liberal concessions of land, permission to introduce slaves and farming utensils free of duty, and promising that the settlers should not be disturbed in their religion, although they could not be permitted to build churches or have salaried ministers.¹⁶ D'Arges had not only received instructions from Gardoqui, but also from Count Florida Blanca, one of the members of the cabinet of Madrid, to do all in his power to dismember the Union, but when he presented himself with his instructions to Miro, and solicited his co-operation, to his great astonishment he was detained in New Orleans, on various pretexts, and not allowed to go up the river. Miro was in the meantime writing to Count Florida Blanca, explaining his purpose, showing that the mission of D'Arges interfered with the plans of Wilkinson, and revealing to him the true purpose of Wilkinson's visit to New Orleans. An important part of the plan of Miro and Wilkinson was to exasperate the feelings of the people and arouse discontent by raising all manner of obstruction to trade and the free navigation of the river. "The western people," says Miro in his letter, "would no longer have any inducement to immigrate, if they were put in possession of free trade with us. This is the reason why this privilege should only be granted to a few individuals having influence among them, as is suggested in Wilkinson's memorial, because on their seeing the advantage bestowed on these few, they might be easily persuaded to acquire the like by becoming Spanish subjects."

About this time Colonel Morgan addressed his memorial to Gardoqui, proposing to plant a great American colony near the mouth of the Ohio, in a district now within the limits of Missouri, and received the grant which has been already fully detailed. This gigantic enterprise, if Miro had co-operated with Gardoqui, undoubtedly would have been successful and exercised a potent influence in the

¹⁶ This Pierre Wower d'Arges was a Frenchman, a Knight of St. Louis, who arrived at the Falls of the Ohio in 1785; claimed to be a naturalist engaged in inquiring into the productions of the country; his confidential friend was Barthélemi Tardiveau, then a resident of Kentucky, who afterward removed to Kaskaskia, and then to New Madrid. D'Arges, Miro said, while residing at Louisville drew drafts on M. Marbois, then French Consul at New York; finally lived as one of the family of Count de Moustier, French Minister, before the French Revolution, and from this he argued that he undoubtedly was still seeking to promote French interests in Louisiana.

affairs of the Mississippi valley, and might have given it an entirely different political destiny. But Miro frustrated this scheme at the instance of Wilkinson, who wrote him that if he allowed Morgan's plan to be carried out, "it will destroy the whole fabric of which we have laid out the foundation." Wilkinson urged upon him that the Spaniards should be the carriers of the commerce of the river, and thus "his Catholic Majesty will have on the river thirty thousand boatmen at least, whom it will be easy to equip and convert into armed bodies, to assist in the defense of the province from whatever quarter it may be threatened." By various devices, tending to cause unrest and discontent, Wilkinson, subsidized by Spanish gold and trading privileges, for years endeavored to wean the people from allegiance to the general Government, without, however, unfolding his true purpose. The question, however, of separation from the United States was openly discussed at this time by many distinguished inhabitants, but never brought forward in a formal manner. Everything seemed to hinge on the demand of the people of Kentucky for admission into the Union as an independent state.

When the second Constitutional Convention of Kentucky met in 1789, Wilkinson wrote Miro that he would feel the pulse of the members, and consult with two or three leading men capable of assisting him, and then "disclose as much of our great scheme as may appear opportune, according to circumstances." He was careful in his promises, and too politic to disclose much of his plan to the public in general. He knew well that the people, though greatly dissatisfied, were not ripe for his scheme. He subsidized a few of the prominent men, and wrote that these were "decidedly in favor of separating from the United States, and an alliance with Spain," but his hope was that Spain, by rigorously prohibiting the navigation of the river, and bringing ruin upon the people, would drive them into rebellion against the general Government, and disrupt the Union. "Spain," he wrote, "ought to consider the navigation of the Mississippi as one of the most precious jewels of her crown," and further, "if Congress can obtain the free use of the Mississippi, and if Spain should cede it without condition, it would strengthen the Union and deprive Spain of all influence in this district." In the convention, Wilkinson declared himself in favor of a separation, so as to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, but the matter was referred to a committee, a long recess was taken, and in the meantime the powers of the new Constitution of the United States became manifest. Political

appointments were bestowed on many of Wilkinson's adherents, Wilkinson himself was appointed Colonel in the new army, and Spain's opportunity slipped away. Nevertheless Wilkinson, though an officer in the United States army, maintained his treasonable correspondence, but the flow of money from New Orleans was no longer as free as before. Miro was displeased that he should be in the actual service of the United States, and employed in military operations elsewhere, instead of remaining in Kentucky to urge secession. He wrote him that it was his duty to remain there, "because, according to the answer received from the court, you are now our agent, and I am instructed to give you to hope that the King will reward your services, as I have already intimated to you." Many of Wilkinson's adherents and malcontents began to fall away at this time, or they became lukewarm, principally because the people were advised that the question of the Mississippi was about to be settled amicably between Spain and the United States. The mere knowledge that something was being done tended greatly to allay public excitement. The people were willing to wait if *bona fide* efforts were made to protect and secure the rights guaranteed by the treaty. Wilkinson himself, suspected by Washington, sought to become a Spanish subject in order to secure protection in an emergency.

Baron Carondelet succeeded Miro in 1791.¹⁷ But at this time he could hardly hope to accomplish anything. Still he did not give up the attempt and as his emissary employed one Thomas Power, who for several years made New Madrid his place of residence. This Power was an Englishman by birth, but a naturalized Spanish subject, zealous in the service of Spain, intelligent, cautious and well educated. Under one pretense or another he visited Kentucky and endeavored by communication with Sebastian, Innes, Wilkinson and others to revive the plots to separate the western states from the Union which had been carried on under Miro's administration. Through Power, Carondelet endeavored to ascertain the force, discipline and temper of the army under Wilkinson. He made a strong appeal to the ambition of the latter, telling him that all it required on his part was "firmness and resolution" to make the "western people free and happy." He asked, "Can a man of your superior genius

¹⁷ Don François Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, was a native of Flanders, and in the service of Spain for many years, was a colonel in the Royal armies, had been Governor of San Salvador and Guatemala, and in 1791 was appointed Governor of Louisiana. He was an able man. In 1797 he was appointed President of the Royal Audiencia of Quito.

prefer a subordinate and contracted position as Commander of the small and insignificant army of the United States to the glory of being the founder of an Empire, the liberator of so many millions of his countrymen — the Washington of the West?"¹⁸ These allurements produced no effect. Wilkinson and his associates were too wise to attempt so dangerous a scheme. Still they continued to receive Spanish money, held a correspondence with the Spanish officials and their representative, Power. In 1796 one Elisha Winter being at New Madrid, at Fort Celeste, heard the Commandant Captain Thomas Portelle make some observations he could not understand. Asking the interpreter for an explanation, he was told that Portelle had in his chamber up stairs "a Spanish lady, going to visit General Wilkinson." This aroused Winter's curiosity, and he found that the reference was to a chest of Spanish dollars, as much as five men could handle, sent by the Spanish government to Wilkinson. This of course seemed strange to Winter. Afterward going up the Ohio in a canoe, no doubt occasionally thinking of this "Spanish lady," he met Power coming down stream on his way to New Madrid, who told him that he was going there to get some groceries. This convinced the suspicious Winter that Power was on his way to "gallant the Spanish lady to headquarters," accordingly he made all haste to see General Wayne to give him "information of the approach of so valuable a creature."¹⁹ But Wilkinson never received this money, for the messenger entrusted with it, Harry Owens, was murdered by his boatmen, who divided the money among themselves and escaped into the woods.²⁰

The matter of the navigation of the Mississippi, however, remained unadjusted, a source of friction, a constant impediment to the development and trade of the western country. The dissatisfaction extended in 1794, beyond Kentucky to the western borders of Pennsylvania, whose trade interests on the Mississippi now had become important.

¹⁸ Gayarre's *Louisiana, Spanish Domination*, p. 365.

¹⁹ Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, vol. 2, appendix 35.

²⁰ The \$9,640, came to New Madrid in the galley "Victoria," Bernardo Molino, Patron. At this time François Langlois was Captain of militia in New Madrid and Commandant of the Galliot "Flecha," stationed there and also had under his orders the gun-boat "Toro" and the batteau "Prince of the Asturias." When Harry Owens came up from New Orleans with orders from Carondelet to deliver the money for General Wilkinson on the Ohio, Langlois furnished Owens a "patrón" named Pepello and six oarsmen, and shipped in his canoe \$6,000, packed in little barrels. Owens was killed on this trip by the men, and afterwards Vexerano, one of the crew was arrested, and also Pepello, and tried as having murdered Owens, at New Orleans.

Consequently, Wilkinson, Innis, Sebastian, Brown, Murray, Nichols, and others who had been interested in the Miro plot to separate Kentucky from the Union, were disposed to take up again their former relations with the Spanish government, and through Power it was arranged that some of them would meet a Spanish officer of rank at the mouth of the Ohio, to discuss this delicate and important subject. Carondelet selected as his emissary, Gayosa de Lemos, one of the most distinguished Spanish officials, then Governor of Natchez. Gayosa had been educated in England; was a man of polished and familiar manners, accessible to all and of boundless generosity.²¹ From Natchez he went to New Madrid, and upon his arrival Portelle sent Power to Kentucky to make the necessary arrangements for an interview with Sebastian, Innes and their associates.²² In the meantime Gayosa proceeded to the mouth of the Ohio, and there, while awaiting the arrival of the delegation from Kentucky, erected a small triangular stockade fort opposite the mouth of this river in

²¹ 2 Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 241, note.

²² In 1795 Gayoso ascended the Mississippi to Fort San Fernando de las Barancas, (Chickasaw Bluffs), remained there two months and then went to New Madrid. He advised Portelle that he had dispatches to send to Kentucky and Portelle engaged Power to carry those dispatches as travelling was his passion. In 1794 Power was sent to Kentucky by Portelle when Genet started his agitation, also when the boatmen murdered Owens who had \$6,000, for Wilkinson. On that trip Power left New Madrid with a pirogue, hands and provisions; reached Red Banks in six days, where he was detained by the bilious fever until September 24th, then by land went to Cincinnati, where he arrived on October 6th; from Cincinnati, under orders of General Wilkinson, he went to Gallipolis; on his return at Red Banks he met Benjamin Sebastian, Harry Innis John Murray and George Nicholas; Wilkinson then urged that a military magazines should be formed at New Madrid, well supplied with arms, ammunition and other military stores. Power was a man of education and literary ability. In giving a sketch of his experiences, he says in a letter to General Wilkinson, dated February 6, 1803: "It is true I have been at the sources of those streams through which the treasures of the new world flow and empty themselves into channels through which they are conveyed and separated from the rest of the globe, but it was merely to experience the sufferings of Tantalus, and return home with my pockets lighter than when I set off." Then speaking of the meanness of the Spanish officials, he comments on "their coarse and vulgar vices and their disgusting vanity;" he says that "they are determined to let me linger out my life in poverty" and pictures himself to "stand in the midst of them like Rubens' picture of famine in the gallery of Luxemburg surrounded by opulence and power." Of Wilkinson he says, "I respect your virtues, admire your understanding, reverence and esteem your character and shall ever be proud of your friendship," all of which encomium Wilkinson afterwards used to good advantage when the charges against him were investigated by a court martial, and Power appeared as one of the principal witnesses against him. Power, Wilkinson says, was a man "of travel and information; his conversation was interesting; he was a man of liberal education and polished manners; possessed capacity and understood character." It may interest some to know that Power married Josephine Trudeau, daughter of Jean Trudeau (2) and Felicite de Villars in New Orleans.

what is now Mississippi county, afterwards known as "Bird's Point," in order to have it understood that building this fort was the object of his journey. While here, Julian Poydras and Sarpy, coming down the river from St. Louis, landed and remained in camp with him for several days. But Power was greatly disappointed in his mission. Innes made some excuse and did not come, Nichols, being a lawyer of great practice, was absent on the circuit and Murray was constantly inebriated and therefore could not be trusted. Sebastian alone came down the Ohio with him and met Gayosa, and on his suggestion went to visit Carondelet in New Orleans, arriving there early in January 1796. Sebastian remained in New Orleans until spring and then sailed to Philadelphia with Power, carrying with him an elaborate plan to induce the western country to withdraw from the Union and form a separate government, and in return to receive aid and support in arms and money from Spain.

In the meantime the treaty of San Lorenzo, of 1795, was published. Under this treaty the free navigation of the Mississippi, below the 31st degree of north latitude, was reaffirmed, and it was stipulated that the people of the United States should be allowed "to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and export them thence without any other duty than a fair price for the hire of stores." The privileges conceded by this treaty were to exist for a space of three years and at the end of that time, were either to be continued or an equivalent establishment assigned on another part of the banks of the Mississippi River. It was further stipulated that the forts at Natchez and Chickasaw Bluffs were to be evacuated, and the boundary line between the United States and Spain established by actual survey. This treaty was secured by Pinckney because the Spaniards, then on the verge of war with Great Britain, feared that the Americans would unite with that power against Spain. The treaty allayed the existing discontent. Yet even after the treaty was made, the Spaniards for a time refused to carry out its provisions, and Carondelet continued to intrigue to separate the western people from the Union. Wilkinson and his associates, however, were wise enough to see that the Spanish scheme had become impracticable, and as soon as the provisions of the treaty became known, withdrew from all further negotiations. When Power returned to New Orleans, he so advised Carondelet and explained to him that the treaty gave the people of the western states all they desired.

Nothing now impeded the growth and development of the country west of the Alleghanies; and soon the valleys of the Tennessee, Cumberland, Scioto, and the Ohio swarmed with new settlers. They moved westward with a celerity that astonished the quiet Spanish officials on the west bank of the Mississippi. The river to New Orleans was filled with fleets of keel-boats and "broad horns," carrying the products of the country, to that great and important seaport. When in 1800, it was first rumored that Napoleon, by secret treaty had acquired Louisiana for France, the minds of the people were again filled with apprehension, although no open change of dominion took place. The treaty of 1795 had expired, but the Spanish officials at New Orleans had tacitly continued to carry out its provisions, and allow the right of deposit as stipulated. For some reason, however, Don Juan Ventura Morales, the Spanish Intendant, in 1802, suddenly imagined that such an indulgence might ripen by proscription into a claim of a right, and determined, by notice, to put an end to the enjoyment of this privilege. The proclamation to that effect was issued October 16, 1802. The uneasiness and excitement which it produced among the people west of the mountains, who from a few inconsiderable settlements had increased to over half a million, was great and universal. It was the general opinion that the right of deposit had been suspended in consequence of a demand of France,²³ but the public mind was calmed, somewhat, when the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, the Minister of Spain, in a note dated March 10, 1803, officially declared that the Intendant had acted without authority, and that in conformity with the treaty another place of deposit would be assigned.²⁴

At this time, the forcible seizure of New Orleans again found numerous advocates. "France," said Gouverneur Morris, "will not sell this territory. If we want it we must adopt the Spartan policy and obtain it by steel, not by gold." And he further adds, "Put France in possession of New Orleans, and the time will soon come when those who cross the mountains will cross the line of your jurisdiction." The administration was charged with taking only feeble and weak measures, when decided action, was necessary. Although as early as February 26, 1801, in a secret session of the senate, the purchase of New Orleans was authorized, it was generally thought — and the idea had great weight — that

²³ Memoirs of Monroe, p. 7.

²⁴ Marbois, History of Louisiana, p. 245.

if Napoleon once obtained actual possession of Louisiana it could only be obtained from him at the expense of a war with France. Jefferson said, "There is one spot on the globe, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. That spot is New Orleans. France, placing herself at that door assumes to us the attitude of defiance."

It was evident that some permanent remedy must be discovered. Nor does it appear that France was ignorant of the possible dangers of invasion threatening Louisiana, from the American people living north along the Mississippi. In a secret report, after the cession of the territory under the treaty of St. Ildefonso, M. de Pontalba speaking of the dangers that had at various times threatened New Orleans and the services rendered by General Wilkinson, says: "Four times between 1786 to 1792, preparations were made in Kentucky and Cumberland to attack Louisiana, and every time the same individual caused them to fail through his influence over his countrymen. I make these facts known to show that France must not neglect to enlist this individual in her service." Spain knew the aggressive character of the western people, and by retaining powerful and influential agents in the west, expected to some extent, to be forewarned and protected from the sudden forcible seizure of New Orleans and other Spanish possessions along the river.

The retrocession of Louisiana to France placed the country in the hands of a strong military power and the people realized the changed condition of affairs. Because the prosperity of the western country depended on the free navigation of the Mississippi, popular feeling naturally rose high. Accordingly, Senator Ross of Pennsylvania introduced a resolution that the President be authorized to call into service not exceeding sixty thousand men in North Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi Territory to "secure the indisputable free navigation of the river, and a convenient place of deposit for their products and merchandise on the island of New Orleans." This resolution was not adopted; but it evidenced the determination of the people. Instead of the resolutions offered by Senator Ross the proposal of Hon. John Breckenridge of Kentucky, offered by way of substitute, was adopted. Under this the President was authorized to organize, arm, and equip eighty thousand men, officers included, to perform such service as might be prescribed by law, and two million dollars were appropriated to cover expenses and to defray such other outlays as, during the recess of Con-

gress, the President might deem necessary for the security of the United States. The House of Representatives adopted the resolution offered by John Randolph, expressing the unalterable determination of the country to maintain the boundaries and right of navigation and commerce through the Mississippi river, as secured by existing treaty.

Under instructions carefully framed by Jefferson and Madison, James Monroe was sent to Paris as Envoy Extraordinary in conjunction with Robert R. Livingston, our Minister there, to treat with France upon the navigation of the Mississippi and the purchase of New Orleans.²⁵ Jefferson fully realized the importance of the acquisition of the mouth of the Mississippi. His letter to Monroe, while paying that great man a merited tribute, demonstrated that his master mind conceived the plan to acquire by purchase, an outlet for the West. "If we cannot by a purchase of the country," he says, "insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then as war can not be far distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course without, however, hastening it, and it may be necessary for you to cross the channel."

Up to this time no one had a thought of acquiring Louisiana. At most, it was thought that the island of New Orleans and the Floridas might be acquired by purchase. When, on January 11, 1803, Livingston was sent as Minister to France, he was instructed to vigorously insist upon the possession of the "island of New Orleans," or some other "place of deposit for the products, commodities and commerce of the country." When Monroe arrived with more extensive powers, Livingston was already waiting to conclude terms with Barbè Marbois and Napoleon, for the purchase of upper and lower Louisiana, at a price so low as to be within the reach of our Treasury. Napoleon was then in need of money in order to prepare for the war with England, which he saw was inevitable. He also was too far-seeing not to appreciate the fact that in such a war, Louisiana, instead of being an aid, would be a burden to him. He thought that by a cession of the territory to the United States he would be aiding the commerce of France. He fully realized that the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States would vastly add to the material strength of the Union, and that by thus aiding the nascent power of the Republic, he was strengthening a rival who would dispute with England the dominion of the seas. On Easter Sunday, April 10, 1803, he first advised his Prime Minister,

²⁵ This appointment met with serious but unavailing opposition in the Senate and was finally confirmed by a vote of 15 to 12.

Talleyrand, that he expected to sell Louisiana. He did not underestimate the value of the vast domain, nor the precarious nature of his position. "I can scarcely say," so he remarked, "that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies I shall only transmit an empty title to those Republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it."

Marbois strongly concurred in this policy. So when Monroe arrived, Marbois, without any concealment of the true intention of his government, directly asked the sum he and his colleague would be willing to pay for Louisiana. Thus the largest real estate sale of the world began. Napoleon wanted fifty million francs; Monroe and Livingston offered thirty million and Marbois named one hundred and twenty five million. The price finally agreed upon was eighty million francs. Napoleon urged that the business be closed at once. Marbois thought that the people of Louisiana, ought to be considered, but Napoleon cut him off short by sarcastically saying, "You are giving me in all its perfection, the idealogy of the law of nature and nations; but I require money to make war on the richest nation in the world. Send your maxims to London; I am sure they will be greatly admired there, and yet no great attention is paid to them when the question is the acquisition of the finest regions of Asia. Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries, but my foresight does not embrace such remote affairs. Besides we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The Confederations that are called perpetual only last until one of the confederating parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy." Such being the sentiment of Napoleon, who ever had but little regard for the will or wishes of the people, and the possession of the country being of paramount importance to the people of the United States, the negotiations were rapidly closed, terms and boundaries fixed and conditions speedily adjusted. On the 30th of April, 1803, twenty days after Napoleon first advised Talleyrand of his intention to sell the Louisianas, the treaty and two conventions accompanying it were engrossed in French and signed, dated April 30, 1803.

The actual signing, although of that date, being four days later, this delay being caused by translating into English the original treaty.

The whole of this tremendous transaction was concluded within two months after Monroe had sailed from New York. Marbois thus records the conclusion of this memorable treaty: "The authors of those solemn instruments, that regulate the lot of nations, can not be insensible to the honour of having done acts useful to their country. A sentiment superior even to glory seemed to animate the three ministers, and never perhaps did negotiators taste a purer joy. As soon as they had signed the treaty they rose and shook hands, when Livingston, expressing the general satisfaction, said, we have lived long, but this is the noblest act of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. * * * The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the error of superstition and the scourges of bad government."²⁶ When Napoleon heard that the treaty had been definitely concluded, he triumphantly said: "This accession of this outlet strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

Jefferson was startled by the marvelous success of these negotiations. He called a special session of Congress to meet in October following, to ratify the treaty. Many objections were made. For instance, it was contended that France only conveyed a mere quit claim, because it did not appear that France had complied with the conditions on which alone Spain had agreed to cede Louisiana. The treaty of St. Ildefonso, it was argued, was not itself a cession, but merely an agreement to cede under certain circumstances, and that the country was still in possession of Spain. In support of this position reference was made to the fact that the Spanish Minister at Washington had entered a caveat or protest with our Government against the transfer as invalid. In this protest the Marquis de la Casa Yrùjo

²⁶ Marbois, *History of Louisiana*, p. 311.

gave publicity to the fact, that by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, Napoleon had agreed for the French Government, that Spain should have the preference in case France, in her turn, should be disposed again to cede Louisiana, and further that one of the express conditions upon which the King, his master, had transferred the country to France, was that the latter power should obtain from all the courts of Europe the acknowledgment of the Duke of Parma as King of Etruria, and that these engagements not having been fulfilled the treaty of cession was null and void. Spain, however, was not in a position to assert her undoubted rights, and although still in possession of the country, was not able to maintain herself both against France and the United States. In an ordinary real estate transaction a fraud such as Napoleon perpetrated would not avail the purchaser. But this was no ordinary real estate transaction. When nations deal with each other might often seems to make right, national advantage prevails over justice, fraud sometimes becomes patriotism. However, on the 10th of February 1804, in a letter to Mr. Pinckney the Spanish Minister, denied that he had been instructed to oppose the transfer of Louisiana, and declared that "his Majesty thought proper to renounce his protest against the alienation of Louisiana by France."

Public men were not troubling themselves seriously about the equities between Spain and France, but the great and serious difficulty pointed out by Jefferson himself, so far as the United States was concerned, was that the acquisition of any territory whatever under the obligation to admit such territory, as a state, to the Union, was not warranted by the Constitution. The Constitution, it was contended, was formed for the government of a certain known and defined territory called the United States, and could not be extended to another territory without the consent of each of the states. Nevertheless, the treaty was ratified, — yeas, 24; nays, 7, including all the Federalists present.

During the debate the unconstitutional character of the treaty was admitted by many, and particularly by Taylor of Virginia, who "confessed that the treaty was a violation of the Constitution; but declared that he would ratify it and throw himself on the people for pardon, and on Heaven to absolve him of the violation of a trust he had sworn to maintain." Griswold of Connecticut said, "The Union of the States is formed on the principal of a co-partnership, and it would be absurd to suppose that the agent of the parties, the general government, who had been appointed to execute the business

of the compact in behalf of the principals, the states, could admit a new partner without the consent of the parties themselves. The treaty therefore, so far as it stipulates for such an incorporation, is void." Plummer, a Federalist Senator from New Hampshire, called on President Jefferson while the treaty was pending, and during the course of the conversation Jefferson inquired what his opinion was respecting the treaty. Plummer answered that he thought the Senate "had no constitutional authority to make and execute the treaty;" and to this Jefferson replied that was precisely his opinion. John Quincy Adams also thought that an amendment to the Constitution ought to be proposed to ratify the purchase. "The Constitution," says Jefferson in one of his letters, "has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. Congress will be obliged to ask from the people an amendment to the Constitution, authorising their receiving the province into the Union, and providing for its government." In a letter to Senator John Breckenridge he further says: "The executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of his country has done an act beyond the Constitution." He also said that it was his wish that this act might be ratified. The draft of such an amendment was actually prepared by Madison, but never formally proposed, because it was doubtful if it would be adopted by the requisite number of states.

The violation of the Constitution acquiesced in on account of the evident advantage of the acquisition of Louisiana, was considered, in 1819, sufficient authority for the purchase of the Floridas, by treaty; the annexation of Texas by resolution; the incorporation of large portions of Mexico by conquest and purchase; the acquisition of Alaska by treaty; and in more recent times the annexation of Porto Rico by conquest, as well as the Philippine Islands in Asia, seven thousand miles away. A precedent so established, conceded at the time to be without constitutional sanction, and held by Jefferson to be in violation of the Constitution, has been made the basis to add to the Union territories much more extensive than the original states. Great as was the advantage of this acquisition, dazzling as was the prize, intoxicated as were the people, Jefferson never lost sight of the violation done the Constitution by the purchase. Twenty-five years afterwards, shortly before his death, he said, "I still think the ratification of that treaty was the most direct and palpable violation of the Constitution of which Congress has ever been guilty."

This purchase not only received the approval of a vast majority of Jefferson's own countrymen, but it was approved by England, and Lord Hawkesbury, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on being advised of the treaty of cession, wrote Mr. King, then Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, "I have received His Majesty's command to express to you the pleasure with which His Majesty has received this intelligence."²⁷ The English government, although anticipating war with France, also rendered essential service in these negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana by interposing no objections to the propositions made by the great houses of Hope of Amsterdam and the Barings of London to make loans to any amount to the United States at the usual rate of interest to facilitate the purchase. The knowledge of these offers inspired the government of France with confidence that the stock or bonds of the United States to pay for the province could be converted into cash at a fair price, for it should be remembered that the credit of the United States was then not well established. That England would have seized Louisiana as soon as war began, is certain. Napoleon disposed of the country none too soon. His foresight was fully justified, for when the English ministers were advised of the mission of Monroe, they realized that the conquest of Louisiana could only be attempted with the concurrence of the United States, and they therefore proposed to our envoy at the court of St. James, that if the conquest of Louisiana was made, the province would be retroceded to the United States. But from all these complications we were happily saved by the purchase, for the retrocession of the country to the United States, if once in the power of England, may well be considered problematical.

Many leading statesmen of the time thought that the acquisition of Louisiana would lead to a dismemberment of the Union. At the time of the purchase this was not an uncommon opinion. "Our country," said Fisher Ames, October 6, 1803, "is too big for Union." Rodgers Griswold of Connecticut stated October 15, 1803, in the House of Representatives, "The vast and unmanageable extent which the acquisition of Louisiana will give the United States; the consequent dispersion of the population, and the destruction of that balance which is so important to maintain between the Western and Eastern States threatens, at no distant day, the subversion of our

²⁷ See 4 Jefferson's Works, p. 62.

Union." Jackson, of Georgia said, February, 1804, "The settlement will affect, what I much deprecate, a separation of this Union." Drayton, of New Jersey, February 2, 1804, declared, "If upper Louisiana is settled, the people there will separate from us; they will form a new empire and become our enemies." Stone, of North Carolina, on the 16th of February, said, "The acquisition of Louisiana will produce one of two things; either a division of the Union or a very different government from what we now have." Plummer, of New Hampshire, thought October 20, 1803, that "The ratification of this treaty, and the possession of that immense territory will hasten the dissolution of our present government. The constitution never contemplated the accession of a foreign people or the extension of our territory. * * * Adopt this Western world into the Union, and you destroy at once the weight and importance of the Eastern States, and compel them to establish a separate and independent Empire." And John Quincy Adams, on December 28, 1828, at that time President of the United States, tells us that a dissolution of the Union was actually planned by the Federal party of Massachusetts "in the winter of 1803 and 1804 immediately after, and as a consequence of the acquisition of Louisiana."

The purchase of Louisiana was, however, so decidedly popular even in New England, that no effective opposition could be made to it. The people were pleased, and gave themselves no trouble to inquire whether the purchase was in violation of the Constitution or not. The present advantages to the purchase were great, apparent and undeniable. The evil of the unconstitutional course adopted to acquire the vast territory was remote, and perhaps imaginary. The territorial extent of the Union was doubled and forever strengthened in power, as Napoleon foresaw. Without this purchase it is hardly probable that the federation would have survived the constant and imperious demands of the west for an outlet to the Gulf, a necessity born of its geographical situation, and essential to its prosperity.

It is thus that the territory now within the limits of Missouri was acquired.

CHAPTER XXI.

Retrocession of Louisiana to France, and Transfer to the United States — Official Correspondence Relating to Transfer — Instructions to Captain Stoddard, Agent for United States — Official Letters Between Stoddard and DeLassus — Instructions of DeLassus to Spanish Troops — Letters Demanding and Yielding Possession of Upper Louisiana — Proclamation by Governor DeLassus — Official Documents Certifying Transfer — Ceremonies Attending Change of Governments — Official Circular to Spanish Commandants — Ceremonies at New Madrid — Regret at Change of Government there — Satisfaction at Cape Girardeau — Riot at Mine à Breton — Trouble of DeLassus to Secure Transportation — Auguste Chouteau Builds Boats — Delay of Departure — Letter of Major Bruff — Spanish Forces Leave November 16, 1804 — Journal of DeLassus of Voyage down the River — At St. Genevieve — At Cape Girardeau — At New Madrid — Arrival at New Orleans January 18, 1805 — Proclamation of Captain Stoddard — Address to the People by Stoddard — A Proclamation Concerning Land Grants — Measures Taken Concerning Slaves and Militia.

Although by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, made October 1st, 1800, Louisiana was retroceded to France, the actual possession of the country remained in the hands of Spain until November 30, 1803. France, however, during this period, was represented in New Orleans by M. Laussat, observing events, yet assuming no actual authority. His powers were well known and understood by the Spanish Governor, the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, the Intendant, as well as by many of the leading men in the province. Although not publicly proclaimed, it seems to have been well understood that the actual possession of the province would soon be transferred to France, perhaps on the arrival of French troops rumored to be on the way under the command of General Victor.¹ It was during this period of the expected transfer of Louisiana to France, between October 1800, and 1803, that the negotiations for the acquisition of this territory by the United States were brought to a successful conclusion.

The treaty for the purchase was received in Washington, July 14, 1803, and President Jefferson without unnecessary delay called an

¹ Moses Austin, then a resident of Mine à Breton, in 1801, seems to have known that negotiations had been completed for a transfer of the country, and he wrote James Richardson, Spanish deputy surveyor residing at St. Ferdinand, a confidential letter as to the matter, and how best to take advantage of the change of dominion, so as to increase the influence of the Americans. (See letter in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.)

extra session of Congress for October 17th of that year, to secure its ratification; and after the treaty was ratified, M. Laudais, of the French embassy, at once proceeded to New Orleans to advise M. Laussat, arriving there November 23d. A few days subsequently, on November 30, 1803, France formally took possession of the province, as stipulated in the treaty of St. Ildefonso. France held possession of the country from November 30th to December 20th, and on that day M. Laussat as the representative of France transferred the upper and lower Louisianas to the United States, represented on that occasion by its Commissioners, Governor William Claiborne and Major-General James Wilkinson. The actual transfer of upper Louisiana, in which we are more particularly concerned, did not take place until some time afterward, and, in reference to this transfer, on January 12, 1804, M. Laussat addressed the following letter to Lieutenant-Governor Don Carlos DeLassus, then having his residence at St. Louis:

NEW ORLEANS, 21 Nivose year 12 (January 12, 1804).

The Colonial Prefect, Commissioner of French Government, to M. DeHault DeLassus, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois at St. Louis:

I have this day forwarded to Mr. Stoddard, Captain of Artillery in the United States army, and who is authorized to take possession of the territory and the establishments where you command for his Catholic Majesty, the following documents:

First.—A letter, unsealed, from M. de Salcedo, and Marquis Casa Calvo, Commissioners of his Catholic Majesty, dated 31st day of December, last, which authorizes you to give possession of the post where you now command to the officer or agent that may be sent by me to receive it, in virtue of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, by which Louisiana was retroceded to the French Republic.

Second.—A letter written by me to Mr. Stoddard, which was approved by the Commissioners of the United States, who were sent here for the execution of the treaty of Paris by which France has ceded Louisiana to the United States. By said letter bearing this date, I transferred to said officer my power to receive from you in the name of the French Republic, the possession of that part of Louisiana over which you command, and I authorize him at the same time to keep possession for the United States.

Third.—Also another letter written by me this day to Mr. Pierre Chouteau, by which I give him all the necessary power to make, in concert with you, and for the Republic of France, an inventory and appraisement of the buildings and houses (except, however, the fortifications and works of defence) which belong to his Catholic Majesty in the country under your command, and possession of which must also be given to us.

Fourth.—Letters from the Commissioner of his Catholic Majesty, dated 21st December, also unsealed, and addressed to Don Pedro DeHault DeLassus, Commandant at New Bourbon. Don Francesco Vallé, Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, Don Louis Lorimier at Cape Girardeau, Don Juan La Vallée, Commandant at New Madrid. These letters are nearly similar to the letter that was sent you by the same Commissioners. I am ignorant whether your authority over these Commandants is such, that it would have been sufficient if I had transmitted you alone my dispositions, and that they would have conformed to these, but the distances are so great and mistakes would be so vexatious, that I concluded to write them also.

Fifth.— Send also to Captain Stoddard a separate circular to each of these Commandants.

I pray you, Sir, in all these changes of government to accept the different powers which I have announced to you so far as they concern the French Republic, and I hope that you will graciously receive the persons who will present them to you.

I have the honor to salute you.

LAUSSAT.

A letter from the Marquis de Casa Calvo, the Governor, and Manuel de Salcedo, was included in this communication, as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, 30th December, 1803.

The King, our Sovereign, having determined to retrocede this province of Louisiana to the French Republic, according to the announcement in the royal order issued at Barcelona on the 15th of October, 1802, to that effect, and having also commissioned us to carry the same into effect by his subsequent royal order dated at Madrid on the 18th of January, 1803, we have put in execution the intentions of the sovereign by delivering up the Governorship of this place and the command of the province to the Colonial Prefect Pedro Clement Laussat, Commissioner of the French Republic, on the 30th day of November of the present year; and you are hereby requested to deliver up to the agent or officer of the said Prefect who may be authorized to receive from you the command of the post and its dependencies, now under the orders of your Excellency, as soon as he shall present himself before you, under the formalities of the inventory and valuation to be made by skilful persons in that post, upon oath to act with due impartiality, all the buildings which belong to the King not including the artillery and other munitions of war which must be remitted entire to this place.

Under the same formalities of the inventory the archives with the papers and documents which concern only the inhabitants of the district, and other property, shall be delivered, taking for the whole a receipt in order that there may always be evidence of what has been delivered upon our part to the French Republic and cause the same to appear on the general inventory.

We particularly enjoin upon your Excellency the punctual execution of the foregoing, of which you are authorized to avail yourself of all the means which may be found in the district under your charge.

THE MARQUIS DE CASA CALVO,
MANUEL DE SALCEDO.

For Don Carlos DeLassus, Commander of the Illinois.

With these letters of the representatives of France and Spain Captain Stoddard also received the following instructions from Governor Claiborne, dated New Orleans, January 16, 1804:

Sir: You will find, under the same cover with this, orders for the evacuation and surrender of the several military posts in upper Louisiana, which you will proceed to carry into execution in concert with the officers of Spain with all convenient dispatch.

You will perceive from the dispatches that you are to exercise two distinct functions, (1) As Commissioner and Agent on the part of France you are to demand and receive possession of the country from Spain, (2) As Agent of the United States you are to occupy and hold the several posts, territories and dependencies which have been transferred by France to the United States. This arrangement has been made by the French Commissioner to save the expense and trouble of sending agents on the part of his government to these distant posts.

By the treaty between France and Spain the former will be obliged to account with the latter for the value of all public buildings which may be comprised in the

cession of the several posts. On the subject, particularly, directions are transmitted by the French Commissioner in his instructions. He has not as we know made any provisions respecting any expenses which may possibly arise in making the valuations. It is to be understood that no expenses on that account are to be charged to the United States. We have been requested by the Commissioner on the part of France to give directions to our agents to attend particularly to her interests, and we ask you, therefore, to use your endeavors that a fair and just valuation be made of such public buildings and that you give particular injunctions to the officers who may be sent to take possession of the dependant posts.

Until some permanent regulations shall have been made by Congress for the government of the newly acquired province, all the functions, both civil and military, which have heretofore been exercised by the Spanish Commandants of posts and districts will devolve upon you and your subordinates who may be sent to take command of the separate posts. With this difference, however, that whereas under the Spanish government the civil and military functions were confounded and blended together, by you they must be kept carefully separate and distinct. To this end you will receive herewith a commission from His Excellency Governor Claiborne constituting you civil Commandant of St. Louis with instructions for your government and from the Commander-in-chief of the American troops your instructions and directions as to military affairs. Of the nature and full extent of your powers in these capacities we can not present you with ideas sufficiently defined and you must judge from such lights as you may be able to collect in the country itself from the examples of your predecessors, the Spanish Commandants, and most prudent discretion adapted to the situation and the circumstances of the country and its inhabitants. It interests us particularly to be notified early of the receipt of this dispatch, and you will therefore be pleased to acknowledge it as speedily as possible and by different routes.

Upon the receipt of these various dispatches Captain Stoddard advised Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus of the same, as follows:

KASKASKIA, 18th February, 1804.

Sir: I have just received by express from New Orleans a variety of dispatches relative to the late retrocession of Louisiana. Those addressed to you and entrusted to my care by the French and Spanish commissioners, I do myself the honor to forward by a Sergeant of our army who is bound on business to Captain Lewis.

In a few days the troops under my command shall ascend the Mississippi in public boats. I shall proceed before them by land and concert with you the necessary arrangements before their arrival at St. Louis. The enclosed letter to Mr. Chouteau I should thank you to deliver to him.

Please accept the assurances of my respectful consideration.

AMOS STODDARD, Captain United States Artillerists, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic.

Charles DeHault DeLassus, Lieutenant-Governor Upper Louisiana.

To which letter DeLassus replied, as follows:

Sir: I received yesterday your letter of the 18th of this month with those entrusted to your care and which you had the kindness to send me, and which contained the orders of the Brigadiers and Commissioners of his Catholic Majesty for the retrocession of this colony to the French Republic, and the disposition of the French Prefect which authorizes you to receive possession of this part of Louisiana.

I hasten to reply to you by the same Sergeant of the United States Army by whom you had forwarded to me your dispatches and notify you that Mr. Louis Lorimier, Jr., is bearer of the necessary orders for each one of the commandants of the posts of this province, and which, joined with those delivered to them by

the said Commissioners, will sufficiently authorize them to receive the Commissioners that you may deem proper to send to receive from them possession of the said posts, and as M. Laussat, Prefect, advises me that he has written to them also on the same subject, and if those letters are trusted to you and if you wish to avail yourself of the opportunity of Mr. Lorimier² to send such letters to them you can hand them over to him with confidence, and he is hereby directed to present himself to you for that object.

I am also informed by your letter that troops under your orders are about to march for this post; that you come ahead of them so that we may understand ourselves before their arrival. I shall have the honor to receive you, offering you in advance the most gracious reception which will be possible to bestow upon you in the name of the King, my sovereign.

I have handed Mr. Pierre Chouteau the letter that you had recommended to me. I shall be obliged to you if you make known to me in advance the date of your arrival and if you are coming by land or water.

I write you in French, being informed that the Spanish language is not understood by you. I have the honor, etc.,

CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS.

To Amos Stoddard, Captain United States Army, and Agent and Commissioner for the French Republic.

The dominion of Spain was now drawing to a close in upper Louisiana and Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus proposed that the occasion should be characterized by dignity and solemnity, and accordingly issued the following order to the detachment of the Stationary Regiment of Infantry of Louisiana quartered at St. Louis:

Regiment of Infantry of Louisiana stationed at St. Louis.

Order of the 23rd of February, 1804.

From this day forth all of this detachment, including the guard, shall keep themselves in full uniform and with strict regard to cleanliness, etc., so that all the garrison will be in readiness to take arms at the first verbal order through Sergeant Juan Robayna to evacuate the fort, with arms at the shoulder and knapsacks on the back.

Pursuant to this order none will absent himself from quarters either by day or night except those necessarily so, such as water-carriers, hostlers, etc., until the day of the delivery of these fortifications to the United States.

As all of this detachment is composed of individuals the major part of whom have been long in the service and know how to comport themselves in a praiseworthy manner, the Commandant expects that from the day of the transfer and afterwards until we take up the line of march to embody ourselves with our countrymen each man will so conduct himself to uphold the reputation of the Spanish troops so justly acquired and extolled for ages past, and I flatter myself that during the time they remain at this post their conduct will be such as to earn for themselves the respect and esteem of the American troops.

At the moment when the United States Commandant will enter this government house to receive possession he will be saluted from the fort by a salvo from all the cannon that are mounted and in battery. This will be carried into execution by a signal from a soldier stationed for the purpose at the corner of the gallery of the house, by waiving his hat to the sentinel at the fort, when the firing will commence, taking good care that there will be a regular interval of time between each successive discharge.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS.

Within two days after the promulgation of this order the American troops arrived from Kaskaskia and landed near Cahokia, opposite

² A son of Don Louis Lorimier.

St. Louis, where they encamped for several days, awaiting completion of the final arrangements for the transfer of the territory.

On the 25th day, Captain Stoddard addressed DeLassus as follows:

ST. LOUIS, 25th February, 1804.

Sir: The Colonial Prefect Mr. Laussat, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic, by an instrument under his hand directed to me, bearing date at New Orleans the 12th day of January, 1804, has been pleased in consequence of the authority with which he is invested to appoint me sole Agent and Commissioner on the part of the said Republic with plenary powers to demand and receive in the name of his nation the quiet and peaceable possession of upper Louisiana, together with all the military posts at St. Louis and its dependencies from his Catholic Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor Commandants agreeable to the late treaty of retrocession, and I do by these presents demand the quiet and peaceable delivery in due form, of the said territory, posts and dependencies accordingly.

Accept the assurances of my respectful consideration.

AMOS STODDARD,

Captain Corps of the United States Artillerists and Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic.

Colonel Charles DeHault DeLassus,

Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana.

And to which DeLassus replied:

ST. LOUIS OF ILLINOIS, February 25, 1804.

Sir: As the terms of the letter which I have the honor to receive from you accord entirely with those of the Brigadiers of his Catholic Majesty, dated New Orleans, December 31, 1803, and are also in accordance with the requisition of M. Pierre Clement Laussat, dated New Orleans, January 12, 1804, and which contained the documents that had been sent to you, and which you had the kindness to forward to me from Kaskaskia on the 18th and which I received on the 19th of the present month, in virtue of their contents I have made the necessary arrangements to give you possession of upper Louisiana.

I am ready to give you possession of this province on the day and hour you may name in the most authentic form as the circumstances and nature of the country will permit.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS.

Mr. Amos Stoddard, St. Louis.

Finally, on March 9, 1804, the American troops under command of Lieutenant Worrell,³ acting as Adjutant for Captain Stoddard, and also accompanied by Captain Merriwether Lewis, already in St. Louis, and making preparation under orders of President Jefferson to explore the utmost limits of the country from the Mississippi to the Pacific, were brought across the river. After being transferred they marched to the Government House, located on what is now the corner of Walnut and Main streets, where Captain Stoddard in his representative capacity as Agent of the French Republic and also of the United States, was received with due ceremony by Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus in the presence of the citizens of the village,

³Lieutenant Stephen Worrell, Second Regiment U. S. Artillerists.

nearly all of them being assembled in the street in front of the building. Governor DeLassus then issued this brief proclamation:

"Inhabitants of upper Louisiana: By the King's command, I am about to deliver up this post and its dependencies; the flag under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty-six years is to be withdrawn. From this moment you are released from the oath of fidelity you took to support it. The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it will never be forgotten, and in the character of representative I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity."

The following official document, testifying to the transfer of the upper Louisianas was then duly executed:

"In consequence of a letter sent from New Orleans on the 24th of December of last year, by the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo,



THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE 1804 — WHERE UPPER LOUISIANA WAS SURRENDERED. FROM A PICTURE BELONGING TO MR. PIERRE CHOUTEAU

Brigadier-Generals of the Royal Army and Commissioners of his Catholic Majesty, for the transfer of the colony and province of Louisiana to the French Republic, addressed to Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, Colonel in the same army, Lieutenant-Governor of upper Louisiana and Commissioner appointed by the said Casa Calvo and de Salcedo, for its transfer according to the contents of the said letter they require him to give full and entire possession of said upper Louisiana, including the military posts of St. Louis and its dependencies, to Clement Laussat, appointed by the French Republic to take possession of the said colony and province of Louisiana, or any other person which may have been named to that effect, according to the treaty of cession, and as by letter also sent from New Orleans dated 12th January of the current year, the said Commissioner of the French Republic appoints, constitutes and nominates as sole agent and commissioner in behalf of his nation, Amos Stoddard, Captain of Artillery of United States Army, for the purpose of demanding and receiving said upper

Louisiana, comprehending the said military posts of St. Louis and its dependencies in virtue of the respective powers which are explained above;

Now, be it known by these presents, the above Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, in quality of Lieutenant-governor of the same at the requirement duly made of him by the said Amos Stoddard, Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic, has delivered the full possession, sovereignty and government of the said upper Louisiana, with all its military posts, quarters and fortifications thereto belonging or dependent thereto; and I, Amos Stoddard, Commissioner, as such do acknowledge to have received the said possession on the same terms already mentioned of which I acknowledge myself satisfied and possessed of on this day.

In testimony whereof, the aforesaid Lieutenant-Governor and myself have respectively signed these presents, sealed with the seal of our arms, being assisted with the witnesses signed below of which proceedings six copies have been made out, to wit, three in the Spanish and the other three in the English language.

Given in the town of St. Louis of Illinois, 9th of March, 1804.

AMOS STODDARD. (Seal)

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS. (Seal)

In presence of

Merriwether Lewis, Captain 1st United States Regiment Infantry.

Antoine Soulard, Surveyor General, etc.

Charles Gratiot."

After these official documents transferring the territory had been duly signed Governor DeLassus thus addressed Captain Stoddard as Agent and Commissioner of the French Republic:

"Sir: In the King my master's name, I now salute you as the Commissioner of the French Republic, and permit me to congratulate the United States of America on the purchase they have made of this fine and rich territory. I have the honor of presenting you the officers of his Majesty, together with some of the most respectable inhabitants of his capital who on every occasion manifested their zeal and fidelity to the Spanish Government, but are now ready to receive the new laws under which they are about to reside."

To which Captain Stoddard replied:

"Sir: My reception on this occasion is more grateful to my feelings as it was wholly unexpected. I consider the civilities bestowed on me as a favorable omen of our future harmony. Be assured that the United States congratulate themselves on the acquisition of this fine territory. It will add much to their pleasure to be informed that the sensible and judicious inhabitants of the metropolis receive with confidence the government about to be placed over them. I salute the officers of his Catholic Majesty with that urbanity and affection which forms a characteristic of military men."

The flag of Spain was then lowered and that of France raised. On the prearranged signal, a salute was fired from the fort located on the hill near where the present St. Louis Courthouse is situated. Thereupon the American troops marched to the fort and were received by the Spanish troops under arms and placed in possession of the quarters of the fort, and the flag of the United States was then raised on the staff in place of that of France. The Spanish troops then marched to the temporary barracks which had been rented, situated on the corner of Elm and Third streets, the house belonging

to Manuel de Lisa. After the Spanish troops retired to these temporary quarters DeLassus ordered that the drum must be beat only in the morning and in the evening and not then until after the drum beat of the American troops, and in the house only and not in the open air.

On the same day he addressed an official circular to the several commandants of upper Louisiana of the change of government, as follows, to Don Baptiste Vallé of Ste. Genevieve; Don De Hault de Luziere, New Bourbon; Don Louis Lorimier, Cape Girardeau; Don Juan La Vallée, New Madrid; Don Pedro de Treget, Carondelet; Don Santiago Mackay, St. Andre; Don Francisco Dunegant, St. Ferdinando; Don Carlos Tayon, St. Charles; Don Francisco Saucier, Portage des Sioux; Don Pedro Lajoie, Syndic of Maramec, and Don Edmund Hodges, Syndic of Post on the Missouri:

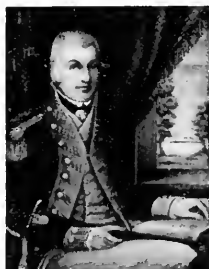
On the 9th of the present month I relinquished the command of this place and of all upper Louisiana to Mr. Amos Stoddard, Captain of the Artillery of the United States and Commissioner of the French Republic, and who has since retained it in the name of the said states. I apprise you of this for your guidance; according to the orders I issued to you of date February 20th, last passed, notifying you to communicate to the Syndics of your dependency.

God have you in his holy keeping.

CHARLES DEHAULT DELASSUS.

St. Louis of Illinois, March 12, 1804.

No particular ceremony seems to have marked the transfer of the other settlements and posts, except at New Madrid. Here on the 18th of March Don Juan La Vallée surrendered the fort and district under his command to Captain Daniel Bissell, commissioned by Captain Stoddard as agent of the French Republic to receive it. La Vallée particularly reports that "in those negotiations forty-five libras of powder have been used both in salutes and by the guards." But the people of New Madrid were not pleased with the change of government and he writes that "this change has caused the greatest anger among these habitants, who live here, and especially on the day of surrender, during the ceremonies of which they have expressed the greatest grief."⁴ At Ste. Genevieve when the post was surrendered, the flag of



CAPTAIN DANIEL BISSELL

⁴ General Archives of the Indies, Seville — Report of La Vallée to the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Manuel de Salcedo — dated March 29, 1804.

the United States was raised by Israel Dodge. At Cape Girardeau the people, who were all Americans, with the exception of Lorimier and Cousin, were pleased greatly with the transfer of the country and seem to have been decidedly hostile, if not to the Spanish Government, to the Spanish officers. When DeLassus afterward went down the river with his convoy he ordered the guns to be loaded in order to repel any hostile attack here. At Mine à Breton shortly before the transfer, when an attempt was made by the Spanish Deputy Surveyor Thomas Madden to survey a tract of land granted Pascal Detchemendy, a riot occurred and the surveyor and his assistants were driven away, the people, so DeLassus writes the Marquis de Casa Calvo, "hallowing Viva Gifferson."⁵

By letter dated January 7, 1804, DeLassus was ordered to bring with him all the correspondence belonging to the government "and which may not have any reference to the proceedings, deeds, concession of land or with the fortune and interest of these inhabitants." All the artillery, ammunition and goods belonging to the King in upper Louisiana were also ordered to be taken away, and DeLassus was authorized to hire boats to transport these effects, but cautioned to be economical "and watch the interest of the Royal treasury."⁶

But he had no little trouble to secure boats to carry the troops, artillery, ammunition and royal effects to New Orleans; because the boats offered for hire were not strong enough to carry the artillery. Nor was he able to find boats at Ste. Genevieve or New Madrid. Finally, Auguste Chouteau agreed to build boats strong enough for the purpose of transporting the artillery and royal effects to New Orleans to be delivered in October following, but only upon condition that "everything will be paid in cash" and not in "credit certificates." These "credit certificates" were "not acceptable." Everybody

It interests us to know that an army officer was at New Madrid to receive this post. How long Captain Bissell remained at New Madrid I have not been able to ascertain. It however, must have been only for a brief period, because La Forge seems to have exercised the functions of a civil commandant there, after the cession, until the organization of the courts of law. Captain Daniel Bissell in 1804 was stationed at Fort Massac, and very probably came down from this fort to take over this district. He was a native of Connecticut, born in 1768, served as Lieutenant in St. Clair's army in 1794, in 1799 was appointed Captain, in 1809 Lieutenant-Colonel, in 1812 Colonel, and Brigadier-General in 1815. He was mustered out of service in 1821 at New Orleans. After this he resided on his farm about nine miles north of St. Louis, until his death in 1833.

⁵ See Letter of DeLassus to Casa Calvo in Chouteau Collection of DeLassus letters in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

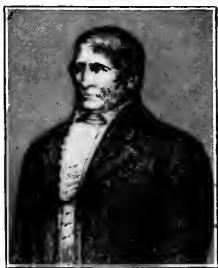
⁶ Chouteau Collection of DeLassus letters in Mo. Historical Society.

demanded payment in cash, principally because these "credit certificates" then could be cashed only at a heavy discount in New Orleans. But even before Chouteau would undertake the construction of the boats, DeLassus says, he went out into the woods to make sure that he could find the necessary timber. One boat belonging to Robidoux, DeLassus secured for the transportation of the archives and himself and his brother St. Vrain. DeLassus says that he gave his personal attention to the work of the construction of these boats and that owing to the lateness of the season when completed they had to be covered. He then expected that he would be accompanied by the Rev. Fathers Maxwell, Janin and Lusson of St. Charles, Don Manuel Gonzales Moro, the store-keeper, Don Juan La Vallée of New Madrid, Don Eugenio Alvarez, and also by Dr. Saugrain and Dr. Dorsey and the royal interpreter, Charpentier of New Madrid, and some Government clerks. And he says many others would accompany him if able.

DeLassus' difficulties were not lessened by the fact that he had received no money to pay the soldiers and officers under his command for about a year, and was compelled to borrow money on his own personal credit "to buy some clothes and other things for the army during the winter," Auguste Chouteau assuming responsibility to pay for these supplies. Thus nearly the summer passed when in August, 1804, Major Bruff in command of the United States troops at St. Louis, no doubt anxious to ascertain at what time the Spanish troops would depart, addressed a letter to DeLassus, making inquiry as to the matter. He then wrote him that he and his troops had not been able to depart, because unable to secure boats of sufficient strength to carry the artillery and royal material, but that boats were being constructed for that purpose and as soon as finished he would depart with his troops. It may be that Major Bruff was prompted to make this inquiry, because at the time it was asserted that the limits of the Louisiana Territory did not extend far beyond the borders of the Mississippi and that the country lying on the head-waters of the Missouri and Arkansas was still claimed by Spain as a part of New Mexico. DeLassus also in August advised the Marquis de Casa Calvo of his troubles and was urged by him to depart with his troops as soon as possible, "so that we will complete all matters concerning that province"⁷

⁷ Letter of Casa Calvo to DeLassus dated November 12, 1804, in Chouteau Collection in Mo. Historical Society.

Finally, after all kinds of vexations and mortifications, the boats were finished and the artillery and royal effects loaded. On November 16, 1804, at 6:00 o'clock in the morning, DeLassus and his staff, no doubt joyfully, embarked on one of the boats named "Esperanza." An hour afterward the clerks and soldiers went on board of the other three boats, to the number of 67 men. The flag was raised, the drums were beat, the cables drawn, a salute was fired as the convoy slowly moved from the shore out into the Mississippi, where only 36 years before the royal batteaus under the command of Don Francesco Rui y Morales had unfurled the Spanish standard on what is now Missouri soil. Elsewhere I have given an account of this voyage up the river.⁸ DeLassus has preserved for us some of the incidents and trials of the voyage down the river, when the Spanish forces retired from the country. He departed in an inclement season. The night before he left it hailed and snowed all night long, but the morning was clear. On the evening of the first day the convoy reached "Island au Vieux Bouré." The weather was clear and cold next morning and as the boats drifted down the river DeLassus met "Don Pedro Chouteau, commander of the Fort of the Osages and General agent of the Indians for the United States; and who was returning from Ste. Genevieve, where he had gone to accompany the Governor William Henry Harrison." A half hour after sunset of that day,



PIERRE CHOUTEAU

he reached *Petit Rocher* (Little Rock), then and now the river landing of Ste. Genevieve. Here he took aboard the archives and artillery and royal effects of that post, but two small cannon which had been furnished Mr. Austin at Mine à Breton to aid him in defending his settlement against the Indians, Austin did not deliver, sending word that if "the Spaniards wanted the cannon they could get them," and this causes DeLassus to remark that "Austin was the principal in the riot at Mine à Breton, and that although

he had been greatly favored by the Spanish Government," he thus showed "his ungratefulness." DeLassus remained at Ste. Genevieve two days and no doubt met Gov. Harrison, because he ordered Austin to restore the cannon to the Spaniards. On the 19th, it was cloudy and "rained very hard," and for this

⁸ See vol. 1, p. 288 *et seq.*

reason the boats landed at the house of "a man called Peterson"⁹ below Bois Brulé, and on account of the "heavy rain" only one guard was kept on duty in "this terrible weather." An American boat from the Cumberland with goods for St. Louis passed him here, but had "no news." The weather was cloudy on the 20th, but not cold and at 4 o'clock he reached Berthiaume's, near the mouth of Brazeau's creek. This Berthiaume was the gunsmith among the Shawnees and who had a village near there. The next morning was cloudy and foggy and the convoy did not get under way until 11 o'clock. On his way down the river he met Berthiaume who advised him that the people of the post of Cape Girardeau were hostile, and hence he ordered the guns loaded and when he arrived at the post the flag was unfurled and the drums beat a march. Don Louis Lorimier saluted the convoy with five loud shots from the top of the hill¹⁰ where he resided and sent his son William to invite DeLassus and the other officers to his house, explaining that he could not personally come as he was the only artillerist there. DeLassus with three officers went to the house, and upon his arrival Lorimier fired seven more shots in honor of the occasion. When DeLassus thanked him he says "he could hardly answer me as he was crying and with heavy tears on his eyes said, you take the Spanish flag with you, but you cannot take the feelings that are deeply impressed in my heart." He then told him that he and the Shawnee and Delaware Indians would remove to the frontiers of Mexico if given land, and that 300 Germans would also follow him if admitted. He surrendered the archives of his post, of which he had not made an inventory, because he could not read, and did not wish to trust any one else with these papers. That evening DeLassus classified and separated the papers. He says that here he was "greatly insulted by some of the inhabitants." Explaining the salute with which he was honored, although Lorimier had no cannon at his post, DeLassus writes that he bored a hole in the trunk of a tree, filled it with powder and into this hole then hammered another piece of wood, and that when "the powder explodes it makes a terrible sound, like that of a large cannon." In this way Lorimier had been

⁹ This is no doubt Jno. Patterson who had a grant near there on the Mississippi and came over from Kaskaskia. No man named Peterson found in the Spanish records.

¹⁰ Should read "bank of the river," which at time of low water looks like a "hill." Lorimier's residence was near the river bank and not on the "hills" which were farther back.

accustomed to salute all the Spanish commanders as they passed his post.

On the morning of the 22nd of November, DeLassus left Cape Girardeau, Lorimier and his wife paying him a farewell visit on his boat at 6 o'clock in the morning. That night it had hailed and rained, but the morning was clear. He reached Island *du Grand de Tour* on that day. The following day he passed the mouth of the Ohio and met a boat coming down the river out of the Ohio loaded with "flour and wines"—more probably whiskey. And that night he camped at *Mine de Fer*, or Iron Banks, 15 miles below the mouth of the Ohio. The 24th was clear and a "good day," and he stopped on the Island "Avaloyo," may-be Wolf Island. The next day he reached New Madrid, where he landed in Bayou St. John, drums beating a march, men under arms and flag unfurled. Here he remained until the 21st of December.

The boats had now become leaky and men were continually engaged in pumping out the water. St. Vrain—who was in command of the boats—advised him that it would be dangerous to continue the trip without repairs and that at least another boat must be secured. Capt. McCoy, Don Juan La Vallée, Dr. Samuel Dorsey and other prominent citizens tendered their services and greatly assisted him here. The boats were unloaded, overhauled and repaired. Provisions and meat were secured, but the only means of payment DeLassus had were the discredited "credit certificates." He secured flour and other provisions, he says, through "a very nice American merchant," although with some difficulty, because "since the Spanish flag was taken away, they can't get anything." On the 28th of November, he visited the American commandant, and he returned the call the following day and showed him every attention "his position would permit." The weather was very cold and the American commandant on his request gave him the use of a house for his soldiers. Thus several weeks passed in securing a supply of provisions and a new boat and repairing the old boats for the voyage down the river.

On the 14th of December when DeLassus was about getting ready to depart he was again short of meat and provisions, but secured additional supplies. He had more trouble with the boats and some of them had to be unloaded again. It snowed, hailed, thundered, rained, heavy ice ran in the river and a severe wind made him very uneasy "regarding the boats." On the 16th and 17th it still snowed

and rained and "the river was covered with icicles." On the 19th of December they all left New Madrid to join the convoy and "talk over what it would be best to do." On the 21st of December, he waited for La Vallée "who had a certificate to sign." The next day they were under way and passed a little village on the river, no doubt Little Prairie, at about 10 o'clock and here the inhabitants met him and the military lieutenant of the place "advised us to camp and wait until the weather was better." On this day the expedition passed the southern boundary of what is now Missouri.

On Christmas day, he arrived at Campo de la Esperanza, where he met Don Augustine Grande, the commandant. Lieutenant Daniel Hughes, who was in command of the American forces on the opposite side of the river, called upon him and dined with him, and tendered him every assistance. After embarking the artillery "with a great deal of work on account of the snow," he sailed south on the last day of the year, firing one shot. At two o'clock he passed the bluffs on the opposite side under command of Lieutenant Dan Hughes. Here he "saw the American flag," and the "convoy was saluted with a loud cannon shot" and which he answered "in the same manner." After he had gone some distance, another shot was fired, "and raising the flag, we answered them in the same way, so that they could see we were prepared to answer them officially." DeLassus after a voyage of two months, on the 18th of January, 1805, reached New Orleans in safety.¹¹

But returning now to the events immediately following the surrender of upper Louisiana, Capt. Stoddard advised under date of March 10, 1804, Gov. Claiborne and Gen. James Wilkinson, that he had received possession of the country on behalf of the United States as follows:

"I have the honor to inform you that on the 9th instant the Province of upper Louisiana was yielded to me in due form as Agent of the French Republic, and that on this day I occupied the country and government in the name of the United States. I arrived here as long ago as the 24th ultimo and on the 25th I made a formal demand of the Province. This delay has been occasioned in part by the indisposition of the Lieutenant-Governor and in part by the ice in the Mississippi which obstructed the progress of my company by water. All

¹¹ See Journal of DeLassus in Chouteau Collection, Mo. Historical Society. DeLassus from New Orleans was ordered to Pensacola, then headquarters of the Louisiana regiment of which he had been appointed Colonel in 1803. In 1807 he received a leave of absence to go to France for two years to settle up his private affairs there. On his return he was stationed at Baton Rouge, but resigned in 1810. In 1816 he removed to St. Louis where he resided for about ten years, then returned to New Orleans. He died there May 1, 1842.

the papers relative to this transaction will be transmitted to you as soon as I can prepare them, probably by boat about to descend to New Orleans."

He then issued the following address to the people of upper Louisiana, and which was forwarded to each of the Commandants of the several posts:

"Amos Stoddard, Captain of the Corps of the United States Artillerists, and first Civil Commandant of upper Louisiana, to the people of the same territory:

"Louisianians: The period has now arrived when in consequence of the amicable negotiations, Louisiana is in the possession of the United States. The plan of a permanent territorial government for you is already under the consideration of Congress and will doubtless be completed as soon as the importance of the measure will admit. But in the meantime, to secure your rights and to prevent a delay of justice, His Excellency, William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory, is invested with those authorities and powers (derived from an Act of Congress) usually exercised by the Governor-General and Intendant under his Catholic Majesty; and permit me to add that by virtue of the authority and power vested in him by the President of the United States, he has been pleased to commission me First Civil Commandant of upper Louisiana. Directed to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and to make known the sentiments of the United States relative to the security and preservation of all your rights, both civil and religious, I know of no mode better calculated to begin the salutary work than a circular address.

It will not be necessary to advert to the various preliminary arrangements which have conspired to place you in your present political situation; of these, it is presumed you are already acquainted. Suffice it to observe that Spain in 1800 retroceded the Colony and Province of Louisiana to France, and that France in 1803 conveyed the same territory to the United States, who are now in the peaceable and legal possession of it. These transfers were made with honorable views and under such forms and sanctions as are usually practiced among civilized nations.

Thus you will perceive that you are divested of the character of subjects and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizen defended and secured. Between this government and its citizens, many reciprocal duties exist, and the prompt and regular performance of them is necessary to the safety and welfare of the whole. No one can plead exemption from these duties; they are equally obligatory on the rich and the poor — on men in power as well as those not entrusted with it. They are not prescribed as whim and caprice may dictate; on the contrary, they result from the actual or implied compact between society and its members, and are founded not only on the sober lessons of experience, but in the immutable nature of things. If, therefore, the Government be bound to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their liberty and property and religion — the citizens are no less bound to obey the laws and to aid the Magistrate in the execution of them — to repel invasion — and in periods of public danger, to yield a portion of their time and exertion in defence of public liberty. In governments differently constituted, where popular elections are unknown and where the exercise of power is confined to those of high birth and great wealth, the public defense is committed to men, who make the science of war an exclusive trade and profession; but in all free republics where the citizens are capacitated to elect, and to be elected into offices of emolument and dignity, permanent armies of any considerable extent are justly deemed hostile to liberty; and, therefore, the militia is considered the palladium of their safety. Hence, the origin of this maxim that every soldier is a citizen and every citizen a soldier.

With these general principles before you, it is confidently expected that you will not be less faithful to the United States than you have been to his Catholic Majesty.

Your local situation, the varieties of your language and education, have contributed to render your manners, laws and customs and even your prejudices somewhat different from those of your neighbors, but not less favorable to virtue and good order in society. These deserve something more than mere indulgence; they shall be respected.

If, in the course of former time, the people on different sides of the Mississippi fostered national prejudices and antipathies against each other, suffer not these cankers of human happiness any longer to disturb your repose, or to awaken your resentments; draw the veil of oblivion over the past and unite in pleasing anticipations of the future; embrace each other as the brethren of the same mighty family, and think not that any member of it can derive happiness from the misery or degradation of another.

Little will the example and authority of the best magistrates avail when the public mind becomes tainted with perverse sentiments and languishes under an indifference to its true interest. Suffer not the pride of virtue, nor the holy fire of religion, to become extinct. If these be different in their nature, they are necessary supports to each other. Cherish the sentiments of order and tranquility, and frown on the disturbers of public peace. Avoid as much as possible all legal contests, banish village vexation, and unite in the cultivation of the social and moral affections.

Admitted as you are in the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts and stamp its features on your future actions. To be useful, it must be enlightened — not the effect of passion, local prejudice or blind impulse. Happy the people, who possess invaluable rights and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who dare not think and act freely. It is a sure test of wisdom to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they be constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and in the integrity of our Federal President; he is the faithful guardian of the laws, and entertains the most beneficent views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit alone, derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, would perpetuate his fame to posterity. Place equal confidence in all the constituted authorities of the Union: they will protect your rights and, indeed, your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies so dear to rational and intelligent natures. A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy, will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions which you may afterwards be forced to retract. The first official act of my present station, expressly permitted by higher authority, will confirm these remarks.

The United States, in the acquisition of Louisiana, were actuated by just and liberal views. Hence the admission of an article in the treaty of cession, the substance of which is, that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union, and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

From these cursory hints you will be enabled to comprehend your present political situation, and anticipate the future destinies of your country. You may soon expect the establishment of a territorial government, administered by men of wisdom and integrity, whose salaries will be paid out of the Treasury of the United States. From your present population and the rapidity of its increase, this territorial establishment must soon be succeeded by your admission as a State into the Federal Union. At that period you will be at liberty to try an experiment in legislation, and to frame such a government as may best comport with your local interests, manners and customs; popular suffrage will be its base. The enactment of laws and the appointment of judges to expound them, are among the first privileges of organized society. Equal to either of these, indeed, is the inestimable right of trial by jury. Inseparable from many other obvious advantages are the forms of judicial processes and the rules for the admis-

sion of testimony in courts of justice. It is also important that a distinction be made between trials of a capital nature and those of an inferior degree, as also between all criminal and civil contests. In fine, upper Louisiana from its climate, soil and productions and from other natural advantages attached to it will, in all human probability, soon become a star of no inconsiderable magnitude in the American constellation.

Be assured that the United States feels all the ardor for your interests which a warm attachment can inspire. I have reason to suppose that it will be among some of their first objects to ascertain and confirm your land titles. They will know the deranged state of these titles and of the existence of a multitude of equitable claims under legal surveys where grants have not been procured. What ultimate measures may be taken on this subject does not become me to conjecture — but this much I will venture to affirm, that the most ample justice will be done; and that in the final adjustment of claims no settler or land-holder will have just cause to complain. Claimants of this description have hitherto invariably experienced the liberality of government; and surely it will not be less liberal to the citizens of upper Louisiana who form a strong cordon on an exposed frontier of a vast empire, and are entitled by solemn stipulations to all the rights and immunities of freemen.

My duty, not more indeed than my inclination, urges me to cultivate friendship among you and between you and the United States. I suspect my talents to be unequal to the duties which devolve on me in the organization and temporary administration of government. The want of a proper knowledge of your laws and language, is among the difficulties I have to encounter. But my ambition and assiduity will be excited in proportion to the honor conferred on me. Inflexible justice and impartiality shall guide me in all my determinations. If, however, in the discharge of a variety of complicated duties I be led into error, consider it as involuntary, and not as the effect of inattention, or of any exclusive favors or affections. Destined to be the temporary guardian of the rights and liberties of at least 10,000 people, I may not be able to gratify the just expectations of all — but your prosperity and happiness will claim all my time and talents; and no earthly enjoyment could be more complete than that derived from your public and individual security from the increase of your opulence and power.

ST. LOUIS, March 10, 1804."¹²

Under instructions, Capt. Stoddard made no change in the officers of the several posts, nor in any wise interfered with the civil affairs of the country. He reappointed the Spanish commandants of the several districts as civil but not as military commandants.¹³

¹² Copied from an original in the archives of New Madrid.—vol. 11.

¹³ The original commission, issued by Captain Stoddard to Jean Baptiste Vallé, found in the Missouri Historical Society, dated March 10, 1804, is as follows:

"JOHN BAPTISTE VALLÉ:

"By virtue of the authority and power vested in me by His Excellency William C. C. Claibourne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory, and acting as Governor-General and Intendant of Louisiana, and reposing a special trust and confidence in your integrity, patriotism, and ability, you are hereby appointed Civil Commandant of the District of Ste. Genevieve, in upper Louisiana, with all the powers and privileges appertaining thereto, and to hold said office, and to execute the duties thereof during the pleasure of the said acting Governor-General and Intendant, or during the pleasure of the first Civil Commandant of upper Louisiana, or until some other provision be made by Congress for the government of the same territory; and all persons whom it may concern are warned to take notice, and to govern themselves accordingly.

On this subject Governor Claiborne, under date of June 24, wrote him from New Orleans, as follows:

"Sir: In all judicial cases when you entertain any doubt or feel any difficulty in deciding you will avoid acting and refer the parties to the courts that will be established in upper Louisiana in the month of October. A reference to me would be improper, for the probability is before a decision could be made my judicial authority will have ceased. Your proclamation and orders relative to the banditti of Creeks who have committed recent depredations meet my approbation. With respect to the Indians generally, I doubt not but that you have endeavored to cultivate their friendship and conciliate their affections. The best way of effecting which is to act towards them with impartial justice, to protect all peaceable Indians from violence and wrong and to exercise toward them every act of kindness which your means will permit.

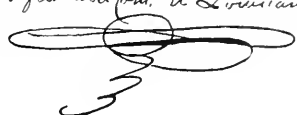
The amount of expenses which you have necessarily incurred either in your military or civil character I wish you to state to the Secretary of War. The contingent fund allowed me for the taking possession of Louisiana is nearly expended, and, therefore, I am desirous that you should apply direct to the Secretary of War for the adjustment of your accounts. There is no doubt but the expenses incident to your public offices, such as stationery, interpreter and office rent, will be paid; and, I think, the Government would act justly were they to make some allowances for your increased personal expenses.

It gives me great pleasure to learn the good order and quietude which prevail in upper Louisiana. It argues much in favor of your judgment and prudence, and I trust the present happy prospect may long continue.

The conduct of the several commandants acting under your authority should be strictly watched and carefully investigated. The abuse of office under the late government was considerable and the commandants of distant posts were frequently guilty of injustice and oppression. I have found it good policy to recommission several of the former commandants and I learn that you have pursued a like policy, but we should both take care that these men execute their powers in justice and in mercy."

Without the least objection on the part of the French population of upper Louisiana, and to the great satisfaction of the American settlers, the jurisdiction of the United States was thus extended over the new territory. A few French land speculators, who, before the transfer of the territory and in anticipation of a change of dominion, for they were not ignorant of the treaty of St. Ildefonso any more than the Spanish officers in New Orleans, had secured large and important concessions of land, no doubt anticipated to reap great

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at St. Louis, this tenth day of March, 1804, and in the twenty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States.

Assist. Stoddard, Capt
I first met him at the Louisiana


benefits. They well understood that land values would greatly increase, because free donations of land to actual settlers would no longer be made. Under the new government these holders of concessions and their assignees at once became and were regarded as the landed capitalists of the new territory. Such being the case, it is very probable that one of the chief beneficiaries of the favors of the late Spanish authorities became very enthusiastic and called for "three cheers in honor of his adopted country," as has been stated. Nevertheless, it is said that Charles Gratiot was about the only man in St. Louis who took a personal interest in the transfer of the country to the United States; that the people as a whole were indifferent. But Gratiot had received large land grants and perhaps understood better than any one in St. Louis at that time the immense benefit a change of government implied. At the time George Rogers Clark conquered the country northwest of the Ohio, Gratiot was a merchant in the village of Cahokia, and no doubt then observed the wonderful change in land values which resulted from the American occupation of the country.

The importance of ascertaining the exact character and nature, as well as the extent, of the Spanish land grants was perceived to be a subject of greatest importance by the officers of the Government of the United States, and very likely under instruction, without much delay, on the 10th of March, 1804, Captain Stoddard issued the following proclamation in regard to this subject:

"Amos Stoddard, Captain of the Artillerists of the United States and First Civil Commandant of upper Louisiana, to the inhabitants of the same territory:

The treaty of cession provides that all the public records of the Province, especially those relating to land claims, shall be surrendered to the United States who are bound to provide for their safe keeping. It has been represented that the people still have in their hands many other original grants which have not been entered on the records, as also a variety of original papers relative to land claims under which full and complete titles have never been procured according to the late Spanish laws. It is therefore expected and enjoined that on or before the 15th day of May, next, all original grants from the Crown or from those authorized by the Crown to make grants, be recorded in the proper offices and that all original petitions and the orders of survey, whether the land petitioned for be surveyed or not, be filed or lodged in the office of the District Commandant in which the land is situated, and the several commandants are authorized and required either to give attested copies to the claimants of all such original papers thus filed or lodged with them, if required, or make a record thereof and return the original to the claimants. The object of this measure is to ascertain the nature of the several land titles and to provide a safe deposit for all original records and papers relative to them. It is confidently expected that each claimant of lands will be well disposed to deposit the evidence of his land claim as required.

Dated at St. Louis, 10th day of March, 1804."

The general apathy of the French habitants at the time lead many to think that the inhabitants were not fit for self-government. In the debate growing out of the recommendations of President Jefferson and which finally led to the passage of the Act of 1805, it was urged by many members of Congress that the people of upper Louisiana were not prepared for self-government. Judge J. B. C. Lucas, although a native of France, at that time a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, so maintained and adduced as proof for his assertion that the French inhabitants when the American flag was hoisted "shed tears."

A subject which seems somewhat to have agitated the people of upper Louisiana, immediately after the purchase, was the conduct of their slaves, among whom, Captain Stoddard was advised, "a fermentation which may become dangerous" existed, created by the report spread among them that they would be free before long. Many of the leading citizens of St. Louis, therefore, requested Captain Stoddard to take this matter under consideration so as to insure the tranquillity of the people. Captain Stoddard replied to the committee that he would take great pleasure in enforcing such rules and regulations as might "appear necessary to restrain the licentiousness of slaves and to keep them more steadily to their duty," and thus add what he could contribute "to the peace and security of the respectable town of St. Louis." The committee accordingly submitted to him a number of rules and regulations which they requested, after having been carefully examined and modified or amended so as to meet his views, might be promulgated and extended over all upper Louisiana, and which it seems was done.

Stoddard also organized the militia in all the principal settlements of upper Louisiana embodying the inhabitants of several settlements into companies. But the companies so organized were not uniform as to numbers, some consisting of nearly one hundred men and others of not more than fifty. Several companies were thus organized in St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid.

CHAPTER XXII.

Louisiana divided by act of Congress of 1804 — The Louisiana District attached to the Indiana Territory — Executive, Judicial and Legislative power vested in the Governor and Judges of the Indiana Territory — Wm. H. Harrison, Governor of the Louisiana District — Arrives in St. Louis October 1, 1804 — The St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, St. Charles, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid Districts organized and Lieutenant-Governors or Commandants appointed for same. — The Spanish Land grants — Stringent Criminal laws to prevent Surveys under Spanish claims — Courts organized — Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions established — First Court and Grand Jury of St. Louis District — First Court of Ste. Genevieve and Grand Jury there — First Court of the Cape Girardeau District — Of the New Madrid District — Of the St. Charles District — Additional Judges for the St. Louis District under Act of 1805 — Political agitation — Letters to Jefferson — Dissatisfaction with Act of 1804 — First convention west of the Mississippi river — Members of this convention — Memorial to Congress — Auguste Chouteau and Eligius Fromentin appointed Delegates — Treaty with the Saukees and Fox Indians in 1804 — Indian troubles caused by this treaty — Upper Louisiana detached from Indiana Territory by Act of 1805 — General Wilkinson appointed Governor — James B. C. Lucas, John Coburn and Rufus Easton appointed Judges of the Superior Court — Visit of Aaron Burr to St. Louis — Joseph Browne, Secretary of the Territory, his brother-in-law — Wilkinson suspects Burr — Plan suggested to remove all the settlers west of the Mississippi to the east side — Hostility to Wilkinson's administration — Laws enacted by the Territorial Legislature, composed of Wilkinson and the Judges — General Court of Appeals created — Wilkinson removed from office — Wilkinson goes south in 1807 — Merriwether Lewis appointed Governor — Militia organized — Revenue laws and taxation.

President Jefferson thought that it primarily devolved upon Congress to provide a government for the newly acquired territory and to regulate its affairs. Accordingly, Stoddard, under instructions, in no wise interfered with the administrative system as it existed in upper Louisiana when the province was ceded, leaving all the old Spanish officers, with the exception of Lieutenant-Governor DeLassus, in the discharge of their respective duties as defined by the Spanish laws and customs, confining himself simply to the duty of preserving public order in the territory under his jurisdiction. It even seems to have been thought necessary that by express Act of Congress the President should be authorized to take possession of the Louisiana purchase, and such an Act was passed October 3, 1803, and the President authorized, in order to maintain order in the territory, to employ such part of the Army and Navy as he might deem necessary in that behalf; and it was expressly provided that

until provision for the temporary government of said territory should be made by Congress that all the "military, civil and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing territory shall be vested in such person or persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion."¹

The whole subject of providing a government for the territory acquired was left to Congress. In 1804 Congress took cognizance of the subject and divided the territory acquired into two great subdivisions. All that part of Louisiana south of the 33d parallel of north latitude was erected into a territory and named the "Territory of Orleans," and the remainder of the province lying north of the 33d parallel and extending to the British line, and indefinitely west, was designated as the "District of Louisiana" and attached to the Territory of Indiana. By this Act the executive power of the Governor of the Territory of Indiana, at that time William H. Harrison, was extended over the "District of Louisiana," and the three judges of the Territory of Indiana were by the Act created a legislative body with power to enact such laws as might be needful for the government of the district, from time to time, and conducive to the good government of the inhabitants thereof. It was also provided that these judges should hold two terms of court annually within said district at such places as might be most convenient to the inhabitants thereof, and in general possess and exercise such jurisdiction as exercised by them in the Territory of Indiana. The Act also declared that all grants of land made after the treaty of St. Ildefonso should be void; provided, that grants made according to the laws, usages and customs of Spain, to actual settlers, should not be void if the land grant had been actually settled prior to the 20th of December, 1803; and provided further, that the land claimed did not exceed in extent one square mile;² and provision was made for the punish-

¹ 2 United States Statutes at Large, page 245.

² 2 United States Statutes at Large, p. 288, Section 14. This section, in which the people of the territory were more interested than any other subject, provided as follows: "That all grants for land within the territories ceded by the French republic to the United States, by the treaty of 30th of April, in the year 1803, the title whereof was, at the date of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, in the crown, government, or nation of Spain, and every act and proceeding subsequent thereto, of whatsoever nature, towards obtaining any grant, title or claim to such lands, and under whatsoever authority transacted, or pretended, be, and the same are hereby declared to be, and to have been from the beginning, null, void and of no effect in law or equity. Provided, nevertheless, that any-

ment of all unauthorized settlers entering upon the public lands, or making any unauthorized surveys thereof, and designating boundaries by marking trees, etc. This Act further provided for dividing the



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district into such local districts by the Governor, under the direction of the President, as the convenience of the settlements should require; and that the inhabitants of these districts should be formed into a militia, with proper officers, the whole to be under the command of the Governor.

Under this Act, which it was provided should go into effect October 1, 1804, Governor Harrison and the three judges of the Territory of Indiana, Thomas Terry Davis, Henry Vandenberg, and John Griffin, met at Vincennes and adopted a series of laws to carry out the intention of Congress, and these laws were published as required by the Act. Under the advice of President Jefferson, substantially the subdivision of the territory existing under the Spanish government for the districts of St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, and defining the boundaries of these districts, was adopted.³ By proclamation of Governor Harrison, dated October 1, 1804, the boundaries of the districts were accordingly defined as follows: All that part of the district of

thing in this section contained shall not be construed to make void any bona fide grant, made agreeably to the laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government to an actual settler on the lands so granted, for himself, and for his wife and family; or to make null and void any bona fide act or proceeding done by an actual settler agreeably to the laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government, to obtain a grant for lands actually settled on by the person or persons claiming title thereto, if such settlement in either case was actually made prior to the 20th day of December, 1803: And provided further, that such grant shall not secure to the grantee, or his assigns, more than one mile square of land, together with such other and further quantity as heretofore hath been allowed for the wife and family of such actual settler, agreeably to the laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government. And that, if any citizen of the United States, or other person, shall make any settlement on any lands belonging to the United States, within the limits of Louisiana, or shall survey, or attempt to survey, such lands, or designate boundaries by marking trees, or otherwise, such offender shall, on conviction thereof, in any court of record of the United States, or of the territories of the United States, forfeit a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and suffer imprisonment not exceeding twelve months; and it shall moreover be lawful for the president of the United States to employ such military force as he may judge necessary to remove from lands belonging to the United States any such citizen, or other person who shall attempt settlement thereon."

³ Jefferson Papers, Series 1, vol. 10, No. 119.

Louisiana north of the Missouri river was made the district of St. Charles; the district of St. Louis was bounded by the Missouri river on the north and on the south by Plattin creek from its mouth to its source, thence a line was extended to the fork of the river Maramec called "Arencau," thence up said Maramec to the upper settlements on said river and thence west to the western boundary of Louisiana — by this line the Plattin settlements which under the Spanish government had been a part of the Ste. Genevieve district were attached to the St. Louis district; the Ste. Genevieve district was bounded on the north by the St. Louis district in its whole extent to the western boundary of Louisiana and on the south by Apple creek from its mouth to its source and thence west to the western boundary of Louisiana; the Cape Girardeau district was bounded on the north by the Ste. Genevieve district and on the south by the boundary that has "heretofore separated the commandaries of Cape Girardeau and New Madrid"; and finally all that portion of the district south of the Cape Girardeau district was formed into a fifth district called New Madrid district, this district embracing all the territory from the northern limits of the Orleans territory. The seats of Justice of the several districts were established at New Madrid for the New Madrid district, at St. Louis for that district, at St. Charles for the St. Charles district, at Ste. Genevieve for the district of that name, and at Cape Girardeau at such point as might thereafter be appointed, for at the time when the districts were divided no town or village existed in Cape Girardeau district. For each district a Commandant or Lieutenant-Governor was provided. In each of these districts courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions were established, and the offices of Recorder and Sheriff created.

The laws adopted by this legislative commission formed a pamphlet of about 55 pages of the ordinary size of a law book of the present time. They were few in number, and as a whole, reflected the Anglo-American sentiment of society at the time of their enactment as to certain offenses and as to social conditions. These laws introduced the whipping-post and pillory, altogether unknown to the civil law which had prevailed in the territory up to this period; also imprisonment for debt and the sale of debtors. Evidently the thought that the feelings of criminals ought not to be lacerated by exposure in the pillory, that a public whipping-post lowered the chance of redeeming the malefactor, had not entered into the

minds of these judicial legislators. The injustice of imprisoning a man for his debts, and selling him for his debts, was yet to be demonstrated so as to be relegated to the lumber-room of past ideas. By these laws arson was made punishable by death, and in addition, the injured party could recover his damages out of the personal and real estate of the offender. But burglary in the night time was punishable only by a fine not exceeding \$100, and at the discretion of the court the prisoner could be compelled to file surety for his good behavior not exceeding one year, and in default might be committed to jail for one year. If a burglar succeeded in purloining property he was also fined in triple the value of the article stolen, one-third to go to the district and two-thirds to the party injured; but if while committing a burglary in a house or store, taking property therefrom, he was armed with a dangerous weapon, the offense was punishable by death. Highway robbery was punishable by fine not exceeding \$100, but if the robber was armed with a dangerous weapon, clearly indicating an intention to do violence, the offense was also punishable with death. Under these laws any person committing forgery was liable to be fined in double the sum out of which he defrauded a person by such forgery, and further, on conviction was forever thereafter incapable of giving testimony, acting as juror, or filling an office of trust; and it was further provided that the offender should be set in the pillory for a space not exceeding three hours. Fraudulent conveyances were declared void, and parties making such conveyances liable to a fine not exceeding \$300 and to pay double damages to the party injured. On the subject of marriage these laws provided that male persons of the age of seventeen years, and female persons of the age of fourteen years might be joined in marriage, but previous notice of intention to marry was required to be given by publication for fifteen days, or at least for three successive Sundays or other days of public worship, in the church or meeting house of the town where the parties respectively resided; or, by publication in writing under the hand and seal of one of the judges of the General Court or Court of Common Pleas, or of the Justice of the Peace in the district; but if a license could be obtained from the Governor under his hand and seal authorizing the marriage, marriage could take place without publication. The sale of liquor to the Indians was strictly prohibited, a most important provision, and which we may be certain was generally not observed. Careful provision was made for licensing ferries. No person was allowed to maintain a house of public enter-

tainment without a license from the court of Quarter Sessions under penalty of \$10 per day for every day such person violated the laws. Stringent and severe laws were made for the government and management of slaves. Provision was made for the appointment of Justices of the Peace, Constables and Coroners in every neighborhood. In effect, but without making special reference to the fact, the civil law which theretofore had obtained in the territory was superseded by the common law. The era of summary justice and combined civil and military jurisdiction exercised by the several post-Commandants was at an end.

In July, 1804, President Jefferson, in order to give expression to the friendly feeling of the people of the United States toward the inhabitants of the ceded territory, appointed four young men belonging to leading families of upper Louisiana to West Point, the new military school then just organized. The young men so appointed were Auguste Chouteau, Jun.,⁷ Charles Gratiot,⁸ and Pascal Vincent Bouis,⁹ from St. Louis; Louis Lorimier, Jun.,¹⁰ and Auguste Bougainville Lorimier¹¹ from the Cape Girardeau district, and in 1805 Louis Vallé¹² was so appointed from the Ste. Genevieve district.

⁷ Auguste Chouteau, Jun., was a son of Pierre Chouteau. He graduated June, 1806, and was appointed Ensign of the 2nd Infantry June 20, 1806. Served on the southwest frontier, as aide-de-camp of Brigadier-General Wilkinson. Resigned in 1807 and engaged in the Indian trade from 1808 until 1838. He married Sophie, a daughter of Sylvestre Labadie in 1809. Died at Fort Gibson December 25, 1838.

⁸ Charles Gratiot graduated in 1806 and in October of that year was appointed 2nd Lieutenant Corps of Engineers and Captain of Engineers 1808. He was Brevet Colonel of Michigan Militia in 1814; appointed Major Engineer Corps 1815; Lieutenant-Colonel Engineer Corps 1819; Colonel and Chief-Engineer United States Army May 14, 1828 and breveted Brigadier-General for meritorious service May 24, 1828. He served in the Missouri Territory in 1806-7, was Assistant Engineer in the construction of the Charleston harbor; taught mathematics at the Military Academy in 1812-14; was Chief Engineer of the Northern Army in the War of 1812 and rendered valuable services in that war; superintended the fortifications in Delaware Bay in 1816-17 and many other similar works on the Atlantic coast; he afterward was in command of the Engineer Corps and as such was *ex-officio* Inspector of the Military Academy and member of several Ordinance and Military Boards, but in 1838 was retired from the service. He died in Washington City. His wife, born at Philadelphia in 1799, died in St. Louis at the age of 86 years.

⁹ Pascal Vincent Bouis graduated and appointed 2nd Lieutenant of 1st U. S. Artillery in 1808; resigned 1808; planter near Parish Coupée, Louisiana; died 1811.

¹⁰ Louis Lorimier, Jr., graduated 1806, appointed 2nd Lieutenant 1st U. S. Infantry; served on the western frontiers; resigned in 1809 and died in 1830.

¹¹ Never graduated.

¹² Louis Vallé graduated in 1808, appointed 2nd Lieutenant of 1st U. S. Artillery, but declined appointment; became a merchant at Ste. Genevieve, where he died on September 24, 1833, aged 43 years.

Governor Harrison and the judges of the Indiana Territory arrived in St. Louis October 1, 1804, and administrative changes in the government of the territory were then made. Colonel Samuel Hammond¹³ was appointed Lieutenant-Governor or Commandant of St. Louis; Major Seth Hunt, Lieutenant-Governor or Commandant of Ste. Genevieve; Colonel Return J. Meigs¹⁵ Lieutenant Governor or Commandant of St. Charles, and Colonel Thomas B. Scott¹⁶ Lieutenant-Governor or Commandant of Cape Girardeau. For New Madrid, Pierre Antoine LaForge acted as civil Commandant. All these commandants except LaForge were army officers.¹⁷

The first judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter

¹³ Born in Richmond county, Virginia, Sept. 21, 1757; was at battle of Pt. Pleasant; served in the Revolutionary war; was at King's Mountain; removed to Georgia, represented the Augusta district in Congress; lived at "Varello" near Augusta when offered appointment in Louisiana territory June 30, 1804, and writes General Dearborn that he accepts reluctantly; in 1830 removed from Missouri to South Carolina where he filled the position of surveyor-general and secretary of state, and died in Hamburg in that state Sept. 11, 1842, at the age of eighty-five years. Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 10.

¹⁵ Born in Middleton, Conn., Nov. 16, 1769; graduate of Yale college, 1785; studied law; accompanied his father, R. J. Meigs, to Marietta, Ohio, and began to practice law there; aided in the formation of the territorial government of Ohio; territorial judge and Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Ohio; breveted Colonel of U. S. army, and appointed Commandant of the St. Charles district of Louisiana Territory, 1804; Judge of the Territory, 1805; Judge of the Territory of Michigan; elected Governor of Ohio, but declared ineligible; elected United States Senator from Ohio; resigned in 1810; elected Governor of Ohio, and appointed Postmaster General by President Madison, 1814; reappointed by President Monroe and served until 1823; resigned then and withdrew from public life; died at Marietta, Ohio, 1824. Originally a Federalist, and apparently held office during his whole life.

¹⁶ In a letter to Jefferson General Wilkinson says that he is "the soundest and ablest man in the territory" and will give him correct information as to political conditions. Letter to Jefferson, dated Nov. 6, 1805, No. 116. John Baytop Scott was the son of Thomas Baytop Scott and Katherine Tompkins and born in Prince Edward county, Virginia, September 26, 1761. In 1777 he enlisted in a company of Virginia Cavalry under command of his brother Charles Scott, and served under "Lighthouse Harry Lee" until the close of the Revolution. He then entered William and Mary College where he graduated. In 1799 he was Brigadier General of the Virginia State troops. In 1805 he was appointed Colonel of the United States Army by brevet and Commandant of the Cape Girardeau district. He rode from Virginia on horseback to this district where he arrived on April 20, 1805. In the following year he returned to Virginia accompanied by a son of Lorimier, Verneuil, to be educated there. After he arrived in Virginia he resigned. In 1812 he was a candidate for Congress, but died before the election, aged 53 years.

¹⁷ Albert Gallatin says, "I dislike so much the appointment of military commandants in upper Louisiana, and perhaps for that reason think it probable that the system will soon be repealed, that the choice of proper persons has not appeared to me to be of first rate importance." Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 5, No. 50.

Sessions in St. Louis in 1804, appointed by Governor Harrison, were, Auguste Chouteau, Jacques Clamorgan, David Delaunay, James Mackay, and Charles Gratiot, Presiding Judge. James Rankin was appointed Sheriff, and Marie Philip Leduc, Clerk and Recorder. Edward Hempstead was selected as Attorney-General *pro tem.*, and William Sullivan appointed first Constable. A house belonging to Jacques Clamorgan was rented for a jail. The first grand-jury summoned was composed of: Antoine Soulard, Bernard Pratte, Thomas F. Riddick, Wilson Hunt, Joseph Bouré, Joseph Brazeau, Antoine Vincent, Sylvestre Labadie, Joseph M. Papin, Jean Baptiste Trudeau, François M. Benoist, Boyd Denny, Pierre Dodier, Calvin Adams, Emelien Yosti, Hyacinthe St. Cyr, Andre Andreville, Benito Vasquez, Jerome Hubert, Patrick Lee, Yacinte Egliz, Joseph Ortiz, Louis Brazeau, Joseph Perkins, and four being absent, Joseph Brazeau, J. B. Trudeau, F. M. Benoist and Patrick Lee, were fined five dollars each and thus given an object lesson in the new methods of a free country, expecting every citizen to bear his part of the civic burden.

In 1805 three additional judges from the country outside of St. Louis participated in the proceedings of the St. Louis court, namely: Alexander McNair, Richard Caulk, and Joseph Allen. At this session John B. Billon was authorized to keep a ferry across the Missouri at St. Charles, an important matter at that time. The ferry license across the Mississippi and Missouri rivers was fixed at ten dollars a year; the license for a billiard table was made one hundred dollars a year. It was also ordered that shaved deer skins at the rate of three pounds to the dollar in the winter months, from October to April, should be a legal tender, but that at other periods of the year cash must be paid. At a special term, 1805, Calvin Adams, Andre Andreville and William Sullivan were authorized to keep taverns. The record further shows that Sheriff Rankin was fined six dollars for "insolence and contempt" of court, and removed from office, and Josiah McLanahan appointed his successor in June following.

For the Ste. Genevieve district, the court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions was organized on December 11, 1804, at the house of Andrew Buat. Moses Austin, Jacques Guibourd, Benjamin Strother, John Hawkins, and Francis Vallé were appointed judges, William C. Carr acted as the Attorney of the United States *pro tem.* Israel Dodge was appointed Sheriff, and Thomas Oliver, Clerk of the court. This court appointed Andrew Morris, of New Bourbon,

Peter Lenral of Ste. Genevieve, Joseph Tucker of the Saline, Thomas Donohoe between the Saline and Cape Girardeau line, John Paul of Bellevue and Bernard Foster of Mine à Breton, constables of these localities respectively. The venire of the grand jury was composed as follows: Joseph Spencer, William Hickman, John Price, Joseph Pratte, Andrew Henry, Pascal Detchemendy, Charles Smith, Robert J. Brown, William Murphy, David Murphy, Francis Clark, Camille DeLassus, James Hunter, John Durget, Samuel Bridge and Aquilla Low.¹⁸

The court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the Cape Girardeau district, commissioned by Governor Harrison, met on the 19th of March, 1805, namely: Christopher Hays, Presiding Judge, Louis Lorimier, Thomas Ballew, Robert Green, John Guething, John Byrd and Frederick Limbaugh, associate judges. Joseph McFerron produced his commission as Clerk of the court, and John Hays as Sheriff. The following named persons composed the first grand jury, and were sworn in as such: Henry Sheridan, James Earles, Joseph Waller, John Taylor, Daniel Harkelrode, Louis Lathem, John Patterson, Matthew Hubbell, Elijah Whitaker, Ithamar Hubbell, Martin Rodney, Samuel Pew, James Boyd, William Boner, John Abernathy, Samuel Randol, James Currin, Robert Crump, Samuel Bradley and Frederick Bollinger.¹⁹

For the district of New Madrid, Dr. Richard J. Waters, Elisha Windsor, Henry Masters, John Baptiste, Olive and Michael Amoreaux were appointed judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, and Joshua Humphreys, Clerk, and George Wilson, Sheriff; and thus constituted the court formally organized in March, 1805.

Of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for St. Charles district, Francois Saucier was appointed Presiding Justice, Daniel Morgan Boone, François Duquette and Robert Spencer, associate judges. Rufus Easton was Attorney-General, Dr. Mackay Wherry, Sheriff; Edward Hempstead, Clerk. The Court first met in the house of Dr. Reynal, in January, 1805, and on this lot afterward the court house of St. Charles County was erected. At this time the whole St. Charles district, embracing all the country to the northern limits of the United States west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, only had a population of 765, including 55 slaves.

A new system of government was thus peacefully inaugurated,

¹⁸ History of Southeast Missouri, p. 310.

¹⁹ History of Southeast Missouri, p. 316.

widely different in principle from that under which the people had lived. For the political peace and order which had prevailed in these isolated settlements, what must have seemed at least to the French habitans political anarchy was substituted. Political controversy and loud declamations of political agitators became the order of the day. Instead of the respect with which the people had been accustomed to regard the representatives of the government, openly expressed contempt for such officials was very often manifested. They soon learned that every act of the government and every representative of the government could be violently and acrimoniously criticised with impunity. The rich and influential residents soon found, that in order to have their rights protected, it was necessary to make their grievances known in an unmistakable manner.

Urged by self-interest the rich, quiet and self-contained French residents of the new territory with wonderful rapidity adapted themselves to the new order of things. Hence as soon as it was found that under the Act of Congress, all land grants made after the treaty of St. Ildefonso were declared void, a fierce opposition to it arose. The act was attacked, because it attached the country to the territory of Indiana, because it was proposed to transfer the Indians on the east side of the river into the country, and because it denied the people the right of self government. The fact, however, that the act did not confirm the land-grants made under the Spanish régime undoubtedly filled the minds of the people, the French as well as the Americans, who had settled in the province and received such grants from the Spanish officials, with apprehension and alarm. Those American settlers who had come into upper Louisiana, but for some reason had not received land-grants from the Spanish commandants, but who thought that they had some sort of equitable claims, also were greatly dissatisfied. Thus it came, although at the time of the transfer few people expressed any dissatisfaction or opposition, within six months after the American occupation great and wide spread dissatisfaction existed, and the change of government by many was greatly lamented.

In a letter dated August 23, 1804, Major Waters writes President Jefferson that the country was "by no means satisfied with some parts of the law" of 1804, and that a petition has been "drawn up" against it; that the distance between Vincennes and the country is so great "through a prairie country, almost impassable in the winter, and in a manner uninhabited," that it "will make communication almost

impracticable," and that the people wish to have a Governor and proper officers "to reside amongst them." He further says, "They consider that part of the law of Congress that makes provision for a treaty to be held with the Indians on the east side of the Mississippi for an exchange of lands on the west to be dangerous to them in their present weak state; their scattered situation up and down the Mississippi, and the great distance between them in and out of settlements, makes it hard to embody and join them in their common defense. They did hope that Congress would have passed a law for the strengthening of this country by settlements, sales, or otherwise, and put them in a situation to have defended themselves against those Indians already on their frontiers who have been robbing and plundering them with impunity these many years; instead of which they see a law passed to set other tribes of savages on their frontiers. The people here that were not concerned in the speculation of lands are much pleased that Congress has overdrawn all those large grants; they however regret that Congress has made no provision for those that would have been entitled to lands under the Spanish government; for the Commandants in many, and very many instances, refused permission to settle to some whom they did not care to oblige, and these relying on a change of officers, have got no lands although entitled thereto. They lose their headright unless Congress passes some law for their relief. I will observe one thing to you, Sir, that many people here do not like the change and every law that is passed that puts them in a worse situation than they would have been under the Spaniards is criticised and the worst construction put on, and those that are fond of the change feel much disappointed at the law that Congress has passed for the government of this country. Anything like a representative government would please them much, for the privilege of choosing a committee has animated them greatly, as it is a privilege they never could have had under the Spanish government. I am certain if Congress passed a law granting the request of this people, if it should not be altogether according to the plan first laid down for disposing of this country and governing thereof, it would be an advantage to America generally, for in my opinion to gain over the people to be fond of the American laws and customs will be gaining a great point, and I know of only one means, and that is by suffering immigration to this country." ²⁰

²⁰ Major Thomas Willoughby Waters came to Cape Girardeau from South Carolina, in March 1804; was a man of property for those days, a slave owner; in South Carolina had served in the Revolutionary war; engaged in merchandising and farming at Cape Girardeau, in 1804, with one Hall, the firm being

The large Spanish grantees did not at once realize the great benefits they had hoped for by the confirmation of their grants, and as yet the stream of immigration was small and the demand for land limited. Ashe says, "When Louisiana belonged to the King of Spain the Spanish cultivators valued their improvements at from \$20 to \$100 per acre. Now that it appertains to the United States they offer the same settlements for \$1 per acre,—in many instances for one-fourth of a dollar." But Ashe is not always reliable.²¹ On the other hand, it was found that the American occupation of the country meant taxation and military service without compensation. Stoddard says that the French were not reconciled, nor some of the Americans, on account of the change of government because of the taxes.²² During the time Spain was in the occupation of upper Louisiana no taxes of any kind were collected from the people, but on the other hand Spain paid out large sums of money to its officers and soldiers, all of which was distributed in the country. It was clearly perceived by the people and land owners, both French and Americans, that under the new government they would have to pay taxes, work the roads, render military service, furnish their own rifles, powder and ball, knapsacks and even provisions, in order to protect themselves against the inroads of the Indians; that the settlement of land titles provided by the Act of 1804 would take a long time, and that the method of doing business in a summary and quick way, with which they were familiar under the Spanish government, would be followed by a slower, more expensive and technical system. It was apparent that the system of litigation introduced by the Americans checked trade in upper Louisiana and hence arose great dissatisfaction. People preferred the quick judgment of one man to twelve.²³ The costs

known as "Waters & Hall." In his letter to Jefferson he applies for the position of Commandant, as follows: "I am, sir, one of those that offer — my situation in life makes an office for my support by no means necessary; I offer only because no one is fit to fill the office, and I filled a higher military office than any one here, except one man (meaning likely Colonel Christopher Hays) who is upwards of sixty years old; and I also hope that my character as an American and as a gentleman will give me a preference to any that may offer against me."

²¹ Ashe's *Travels*, vol. 3, page 113.

²² Stoddard's *Louisiana*, page 311. Boone did not enjoy the change of government; he and others became Spanish subjects "to avoid crowds, to get and keep cheap land, to avoid taxes, to hunt big game and to live a simple Arcadian life." Thwaites' *Life of Boone*, p. 227.

²³ Stoddard's *Louisiana*, page 281, and he says, "it is but justice to observe, that their judicial officers were in most instances upright and impartial in their decisions"—more than can be said in these days generally about the verdicts of juries, especially in corporation cases.

or legal fees in suits under the Spanish régime on notes and bonds and other undisputed claims, Stoddard says, "even to judgment and execution never exceeded four dollars."

Nor did the people relish the idea that the District should be attached to the Territory of Indiana. Undoubtedly by giving the Territory of upper Louisiana the designation "District" an intentional difference in the government from that of a territory was intended, and this was one of the causes of popular discontent. Accordingly, in September of that year, and within six months after upper Louisiana had been occupied by the United States, a convention of delegates selected by the people of the several districts of upper Louisiana met in St. Louis to give expression to this discontent. The convention was the first meeting of this character west of the Mississippi, and the manner in which it brought before Congress the grievances of the people, as well as the persons who participated in the proceedings, are not now without interest to us. Charles Gratiot was elected President of the assembly, and J. B. Provenchère, Secretary. After deliberating for some ten days, the delegates addressed a memorial to Congress in which all the objections to the Act of March 4th are set forth. It is a comprehensive exposition of the condition of the new territory, and of the needs of the people thereof. Some of the suggestions embodied in it were subsequently adopted by Congress, and afterward from time to time extended to other territories carved out of the Louisiana purchase, and also applied to territories acquired by conquest from Mexico. This memorial makes spirited objection to the transfer of the Indians on the east side of the Mississippi into the new territory. The provision of the Act by which the new territory is attached to the Indiana territory is thus discussed:

"By the 12th Section of the Act erecting Louisiana into territories and providing for the temporary government thereof, 'the executive power now vested in the Governor of the Indiana territory is extended to and to be exercised in Louisiana.' Your petitioners beg leave to state, that they have read with the utmost attention the laws enacted at different times, for the provisory Government of the several territories of the Union, and that far from observing in those laws anything like trusting the Governor of a neighboring State or territory with the government of a newly erected territory, they find on the contrary that Congress paid the most scrupulous respect to the interests and feelings of the inhabitants by the wisest precautions, in not only obliging the Governor to reside in the territory which he governs, but also obliging him to hold a freehold estate in the same territory. In the Ordinance for the Government of the territory North-West of the river Ohio, we find this provision, "Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be appointed from time to time by Congress, a Governor, whose commission shall continue in force for a term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the District and have a freehold estate therein in 1,000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office."

The petition then says that the

"point of Louisiana nearest to the place where the Governor of the Indiana territory makes his habitual residence, is not less than 165 miles distant; and there is not a house to be met with on the road, impassable at many seasons of the year owing to the number of creeks and rivers which sometimes overflow their banks, sometimes are entirely covered with ice; so that we may conclude, that did not justice and sound policy prohibit the alliances in contemplation, nature itself loudly proclaims its impracticability. Your Honorable Houses may judge at what immense distance some parts of Louisiana must be from the Governor to whom an appeal lies in many cases affecting the property and the life of individuals."

The meagre provisions made by this Act for the settlement of the Spanish land titles and no doubt the principal cause of the agitation, the memorial fully discussed. It is claimed that under the provisions of the Act the people are deprived of rights which they had under the laws of Spain, that

"Agreeably to the laws, usages and customs of Spain, three years were granted by the Spanish government after having obtained a full or incipient grant for making a settlement thereon; that American emigrants, some time previous to the 20th day of December, 1803, might have bought from the original proprietors or rather holders of such incipient title, rights to such lands, and taking it for granted that Congress would allow the same space of time, which was allowed by the Spanish government, for making a settlement upon land obtained from the Spanish government, might have returned to the eastern part of the United States in order to prepare everything necessary for their removal, and with intention of coming back to Louisiana in the following spring, to settle upon these lands bought *bona fide* and without fraud, yet Congress in the 14th Section declares null and void every act, and proceeding, subsequent to the treaty of St. Ildefonso, made the 1st day of October 1800, of whatsoever nature towards obtaining any grant, title or claim of such lands, and under whatever authority transacted or pretended, to be and have been from the beginning, null, void and of no effect in law or equity, although the King of Spain did not renounce his sovereignty over Louisiana on the 1st day of October 1800, and that at what period of time an absolute renunciation of Louisiana was made by the King of Spain the petitioners can not ascertain; but that they 'conceive that the sovereignty of the United States in Louisiana did not begin previously to that absolute and unconditional renunciation on the part of the King of Spain.'"

And further the memorialists, in support of the grants of the Spanish officers, argue:

"That time sufficient must be allowed for the Spanish government to make known its final treaty with the French Republic to its agents in Louisiana (authorized, your petitioners humbly conceive, to grant lands in its name until they receive official notice of the treaty which ceded Louisiana to France) and that it is not probable that a government, at a considerable distance can be in a greater hurry to take steps by which it divests itself of the sovereignty of a country, than the Government which has just acquired that country, and which is on the spot, has taken to have its sovereignty acknowledged there, and that ten months and ten days elapsed after the treaty between the United States and the French Republic before the United States took possession of Louisiana, your Honorable Houses must conclude that there may have been grants of land obtained from the Spanish government, as to which, those who have obtained them, may have yet more than one year to comply with the laws, usages and customs of the Spanish government. But your petitioners (we mean the few who have any knowl-

edge at all of the laws respecting Louisiana enacted during the last session of your Honorable Houses) find themselves placed between the necessity either of not complying with the conditions on which they received lands from the Spanish Government or of acting in direct contradiction to a law enacted by your Honorable Houses; and yet what do those grants amount to which were given since the 1st day of October, 1800? If your Honorable Houses will be pleased to call upon your officers in Louisiana for a correct statement of the quantity of land given since that epoch by the officers of the Spanish Government your Honorable Houses will be satisfied that there has been but a very inconsiderable quantity of land thus disposed of, chiefly in favor of hard laboring men, who owing to the various rumors which ran over the country ever since the cession to France was spoken of, the country belonging sometimes to Spain, sometimes to France, sometimes to the United States, sometimes to Spain again; at an immense distance from every source of information very often not understanding the language of their neighbors, discouraged at first from exhausting their whole in making improvements on lands to which they had obtained an incipient title, from what they conceived the precariousness of those titles, likely to result from the interference of such or such a power to which they were told Louisiana belonged, prevented by your law from complying with the conditions of Spain, when they had not it any longer in their power to doubt that the country was ultimately to remain to the United States and who at the very moment their confidence had begun to revive find themselves whatever they do liable to be punished by a free and enlightened nation, for having listened to the dictates of prudence and placed confidence in the United States."

And the memorial continues,

"Your petitioners beg leave to observe further, that it was only on the 10th of March, 1804, that the United States took possession of the District of Louisiana; it should seem of course that the inhabitants of Louisiana could not be bound by any law of the United States previous at least to that government; yet your Honorable Houses by a law approved by the President on the 26th day of March, 1804, deprive of his property, and if he does persist in his claims after the first day of October next, condemn to a fine not exceeding 1,000 dollars, and to suffer an imprisonment not exceeding one year, any man who shall have attempted a settlement on lands to which he may not have obtained as yet a complete title, if he has made or attempted a settlement any time posterior to the 20th day of December, 1803, that is more than three months before the law which condemns him was enacted; and if your Honorable Houses reflect that the Act erecting Louisiana into two territories is only to take place on the 1st of October 1804 it will result that a man may be guilty by doing an act indifferent in itself, in virtue of a law which is to take effect more than nine months subsequently according to the law itself, before the provision of that law can be enforced, and that too, in the very face of the 3d article of the Ninth Section of the Constitution of the United States which declares that, 'No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be formed.'"

In conclusion the petitioners ask:

"1. For the repeal of the Act erecting Louisiana into two territories, and providing for the temporary Government thereof.

2. That legal steps should be immediately taken for the permanent division of Louisiana.

3. That a Governor, Secretary and Judges should be appointed by the President, who shall reside in the District of Louisiana, and hold property therein to the same amount as is prescribed by Ordinance respecting the territory North-West of the river Ohio.

4. That the Governor, Secretary and Judges to be thus appointed for the District of Louisiana, should in preference be chosen from among those who speak both the English and French languages.

5. That the records of each county, and the proceedings of the courts of Justice in the District of Louisiana, should be kept and had in both the English

and French languages as it is the case in a neighboring country under a monarchical Government and acquired by conquest.

6. That supposing the District of Louisiana to be divided into five counties ten members, two from each county, shall be elected by the people having a right to vote in each county according to the rules prescribed by the Ordinance respecting the North-West territory, every two years, or such another number as Congress may appoint, which said members shall jointly with the Governor form the legislative council of the said District of Louisiana.

7. That Congress would acknowledge the principle of our being entitled, in virtue of the treaty, to the free possession of slaves, and to the right of importing slaves into the District of Louisiana under such restrictions as to Congress, in their wisdom, will appear necessary.

8. That Congress, taking into consideration the distance at which we live from the seat of the General Government, which does not allow the General Government to be informed with respect to the true interests of this country, but through the agents of that same government, — Congress should enact a law authorizing this District of Louisiana to send an agent or delegate to Congress whose powers as to speaking and voting in the House, Congress may circumscribe as to them may seem proper.

9. That funds be appropriated for the support, and lands set apart, or bought, for the building and maintaining of a French and English school in each county, and for the building of a seminary of learning, where not only the French and the English languages, but likewise the dead languages, mathematics, mechanics, natural and moral philosophy, and the principles of the Constitution of the United States should be taught; independent of the obligation of spreading knowledge, upon which alone a free Government can stand, in a country till now unacquainted with your laws and languages, a powerful additional interest will result, in the opinion of Congress, from teaching principally mathematics and natural philosophy, when your Honorable Houses reflect that Louisiana abounds with mines of every description, which can never be worked to any advantage without powerful engines supplied by those two sciences.

10. That every private engagement conformable to the laws of Spain, entered into during the time Louisiana was ruled by the Laws of Spain, shall be maintained.

11. That any judgment which was considered as final, according to the Spanish law, shall not be revised by any of the tribunals to be established in Louisiana by the United States.

12. That any judgment from which an appeal might be had, according to the Spanish law, to any superior tribunal, may be appealed from, to a tribunal of equal dignity within this territory, or the United States, and that a final judgment be had conformably to the Laws of Louisiana at the time the suits were first brought into the court."

This memorial was dated September 29, 1804, and was signed by Richard Jones Waters and Eligius Fromentin, Deputies of New Madrid; Christopher Hays, Stephen Byrd, Andrew Ramsay and Frederick Bollinger, Deputies of Cape Girardeau; J. S. J. Beauvais and P. Detchmende, Deputies of Ste. Genevieve; Charles Gratiot, P. Provenchère, Auguste Chouteau, Richard Caulk, David Musick and Francis Cottard, Deputies of St. Louis and dependencies; Warren Cottle, A. Reynal, F. Saucier and Timothy Kibby, Deputies of St. Charles and dependencies. Auguste Chouteau and Eligius Fromentin were appointed "Deputies, delegates and agents generally" to present the memorial to Congress.

It will be noted that the delegates to this convention principally represented the American settlers who had taken up their residence in upper Louisiana under the Spanish government prior to the acquisition of the territory by the United States. Richard Jones Waters originally came from Maryland to New Madrid; and was the most influential, intelligent, active and wealthiest citizen of that locality. Colonel Christopher Hays originally came to Louisiana in 1787 from Pennsylvania with Colonel George Morgan, and was one of his "gentleman surveyors." Morgan had set aside forty miles square of land to him and his associates for settlement. Colonel Hays afterward, by special permit of the Marquis de Casa Calvo settled in the Cape Girardeau district. During the Revolutionary war he was Colonel of a Pennsylvania regiment, and occupied many offices of trust. He was one of the leading characters in the western part of Pennsylvania during the entire war. Andrew Ramsay was the first American settler in the Cape Girardeau district, and immigrated to upper Louisiana from the disputed territory on the borders of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia; during the Revolutionary war he kept a ferry across the Cheat river, and for a time resided in Pittsburg before coming down the Ohio. His grant adjoined the grant of Don Louis Lorimier, Post Commandant at Cape Girardeau. George Frederick Bollinger, another delegate from the Cape Girardeau district in 1800 came from Lincoln county, North Carolina to upper Louisiana, bringing with him a large number of North Carolina Germans who were attracted, by the free donations of land, to the Spanish possessions. He was a man of wealth, energy and great influence among the early settlers. Stephen Byrd was an emigrant from eastern Tennessee, from the Watauga settlement, immigrating to the Spanish dominion with his father about the year 1800. Richard Caulk and David Musick, from the St. Louis district, both came from Maryland, and had served in the Maryland Line during the Revolutionary war; and Dr. Warren Cottle and Timothy Kibby were among the first American settlers north of the Missouri river. Kibby served in the Indian war under General Wayne, was in a corps known as "Kibby's Spies" under command of his cousin, Colonel Ephraim Kibby; and died at St. Charles, January 24, 1813. On the other hand Beauvais, and Detchmendey, Deputies of Ste. Genevieve; Gratiot, Provenchère, Chouteau and Cottard, Deputies of St. Louis, and Dr. Reynal and Saucier, Deputies of St. Charles, were among the richest, most influential and intelligent representatives of the

French element. Chouteau and Eligius Fromentin were selected as delegates of the convention to present the memorial of the inhabitants of Louisiana to Congress. The large and extensive business interests of Chouteau have made his name well known, but of Eligius Fromentin little, if anything, is now known in Missouri; but among the delegates he was the most learned, and no doubt the author of the memorial. Fromentin resided at this time at New Madrid. He was a native of France, was an accomplished scholar and linguist. Originally a Roman Catholic priest, and a member of the Jesuit order, he withdrew from the order, removed to the United States and studied law, and married into a distinguished Maryland family. He came to New Madrid immediately after the purchase of Louisiana, but subsequently removed from New Madrid to New Orleans, where he occupied a prominent position, and in 1812 was elected United States senator from the state of Louisiana. After his term of office in the United States Senate terminated in 1819, he was elected judge of a New Orleans Court, and in 1822 appointed United States Judge for the District of Florida by President Monroe, where he came in conflict with Andrew Jackson at the time Governor of Florida, and as a result resigned and returned to New Orleans.²⁴ Fromentin in 1822, died of the yellow fever, following his wife within twenty-four hours.

As to the origin of the movement among the inhabitants which resulted in this memorial, Rufus Easton, writes President Jefferson under date of January 7, 1805, that when, in April, 1804, the Act of Congress for the government of the country became known, about twenty inhabitants of St. Louis assembled to call a meeting of delegates from the different districts, and that the ostensible purpose was to remonstrate against the annexation of upper Louisiana to the Indiana Territory; but that the real ground of dissatisfaction was the clause relative to the titles to land, that the whole matter was arranged by the French inhabitants there, and that not an American was invited, although at least forty

²⁴ It seems that Jackson had caused Governor Jose Caballo, the last Spanish Governor of West Florida, to be arrested, and that Fromentin issued a writ of habeas corpus; whereupon General Jackson issued an order on Judge Fromentin to show cause why he interfered with his authority as Governor of West Florida, and as such "exercising the powers of the Captain General and Intendant of the Island of Cuba over said province of Florida" and also acting "in a judicial capacity as Supreme Judge over the same, and as Chancellor thereof." Caballo was charged with the attempt of carrying away and secreting papers relating to the rights of property, all of which led to a heated controversy at the time. American State Papers, vol. 2., Miscellaneous, page 840.

Americans resided at the time in the town, some of whom were respectable merchants; and he further says, "Such measures were taken as to carry the election of the major part of the delegates in the French interest by confining the choice of the delegates to the committees, and the election of those committees to the various French villages in the country, as may be seen by the proceedings of the committee at St. Louis herewith sent. And could they have quieted the Americans peaceably settled on their plantations with the plausible declaration that they were absolutely decided 'to never separate the interests of the town of St. Louis from those of every inhabitant of this country, French or Americans, wishing that in future that distinction should be abolished even in the name, their wishes would have been carried into effect without opposition.'" Easton states that: "The original intention of this convention was to petition Congress for a government *militaire*, a plan of which was shown to the first Commandant of the country, the leading features of which were: 1. To have a Governor residing in the territory possessing both civil and military jurisdiction; 2. Commandants for each district to possess like powers with an appeal to the Governor in certain cases; 3. No trial to be by jury except in such cases as in the opinion of the Governor or Commandant justice should absolutely require it for special causes to be shown, and the practice of lawyers to be entirely prohibited." This scheme was frustrated according to Easton by a person who resided some years within the United States in the character of a school master, and who understood the French language. He further says that the Governor and judges of the Indiana Territory were, in the original draft of the memorial, compared to foreign Bashaws, to Pro-praetors and Pro-Consuls under the more modest names of Governor and Judges, sent out to rule over the people; that it was declared that Congress had broken the treaty, and that a motion was made by one of the members to call upon the Emperor of France to enforce its fulfillment; that the memorial, as first drawn up, was presented to the first civil Commandant, Captain Stoddard, for his approbation and correction, and that he, though a very good man, only pared off such portions of its wiry edge as in his opinion would obtain it a hearing, and Easton adds "delighted, as all characters of his political sentiments would be, with the indignity offered to the present majority of Congress."²⁵

Harrison in a letter of introduction which he gave to Auguste Chouteau, says that "nine tenths of the people of the country are

²⁵ Jefferson Papers, Series 6, vol. 10.

warmly attached to the Government of the United States, and if in the petition of which Mr. Chouteau is the bearer, there are found expressions which appear to contradict this opinion they must be attributed to the irritation produced by the insulting misrepresentations of them which have been published throughout the United States, and to the violent language of the speeches of some of the members of Congress (particularly Mr. Lyons) on the subject of the Louisiana bill. It was imagined that they ought not to speak of their own grievances in terms more moderate than those used by the persons who did not feel them. The people of this district wish for nothing more than a separate territorial government of their own in the second or representative degree. If I had been so fortunate as to have arrived here before the meeting was dissolved which framed the petition it would have been clothed in very different language. I have divided the district of Louisiana into five districts in the manner you directed and am now employed in organizing the courts and militia."²⁶

During the administration of Governor Harrison a treaty was made at St. Louis, November 3, 1804, with the Foxes (Renards) and Saukees which eventually became the cause of much trouble with them. Governor Harrison had been directed by President Jefferson on June 27, 1804, to make a treaty with these Indians to obtain a cession of their lands on both sides of the Illinois river, and to grant them for the lands thus ceded an annual compensation. The treaty was entered into between Governor William H. Harrison, representing the United States, and Layowvois or Laiyuva, Pashepaho, or the Stabber, Quashquama, or Jumping Fish, Outchequaha, and Hashe-quarhiqua, or the Bear, who in the treaty are said to represent the United Fox and Saukee tribes, in the presence of William Prince, Secretary to the Commission, John Griffin, one of the judges of the Indiana Territory, James Bruff, Major of Artillery, U. S., Amos Stoddard, Captain Corps of Artillerists, P. Chouteau, "*Agent de la haute Louisiana pour le department sauvage*," Charles Gratiot, Auguste Chouteau, Stephen Worrel, Lieutenant U. S. Artillery and D. Delauney, with the assistance of Joseph Barron and Hypolite



PA-SHE-PA-HO

²⁶ Wm. H. Harrison to Jefferson. Jefferson Papers, Series 6, vol. 10, No. 38.

Bolon as sworn interpreters. But instead of confining the treaty to a cession of lands, as outlined by the President, the Indian title to an immense stretch of country on both sides of the Mississippi river, embracing over 50,000,000 acres of land was, by this single treaty, extinguished. The general boundary of the land to which this Indian title was thus secured is described in the treaty as beginning "at a point on the Missouri river opposite to the mouth of the Gasconade river; thence in a direct course so as to strike the river Jeffron at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth and thence down the Jeffron to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ouisconsing river, and up the same to a point which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of the said river; thence by a direct line to the point where the Fox river (a branch of the Illinois) leaves the small lake called Sakaegan; thence down the Fox river to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi."

It is very evident that nothing in Jefferson's instructions warranted a treaty including lands on the west side of the Mississippi. Governor Harrison was directed to obtain a cession of land on both sides of the Illinois, and not on both sides of the Mississippi. But when a clause of this treaty is examined, and to which the Indians were made to agree, and which provided "that nothing in this treaty contained shall affect the claim of any individual or individuals who may have obtained grants of land from the Spanish government, and included within the general boundary line laid down in this treaty, provided that such grants have at any time been made known to the Indian tribes and recognized by them," and with this provision be coupled the presence of Auguste Chouteau, Charles Gratiot, Pierre Chouteau, Agent "pour le department sauvage," and D. Delauney, the mystery why land on the west side of the Mississippi was included in this treaty becomes somewhat clearer. It was, may be, to secure such a quasi-endorsement of the large Spanish land grants held by these persons that this Indian treaty was made to embrace land on the west side of the Mississippi. Harrison says that after the treaty was made he was shown the grant to Dubuque and in which Auguste Chouteau owned a half interest, and finding that without this clause this tract of land might be considered as receded, although the Indians acknowledged the validity of the Dubuque title, the Indians were induced to agree to the additional article.²⁷ Black Hawk always claimed that the Fox and Saukee nations were

²⁷American State Papers, 2 Public Lands, p. 454.

not properly represented when this treaty was made, that the chiefs who made it were not authorized to make the treaty, were drunk and knew not what they did.

Draper thinks that this treaty was probably the cause of the alienation of the Rock River Fox and Saukee Indians in the war of 1812.²⁸ Black Hawk, in his autobiography, gives us this version, "one of our people killed an American and was confined in the prison of St. Louis for the offense; we held a council at our village what could be done with him, which determined that Quash-qua-ma, Pa-she-pa-ho, Ou-che-qua-ka and Ha-she-quar-hi-qua should go down to St. Louis, see our American Father, and do all they could to have our friend released by paying for the person killed, thus covering the blood and satisfying the relatives of the man murdered. This being the only means with us for saving a person who had



BLACK HAWK

killed another, and we then thought it was the same with the whites. The party set out with the good wishes of the whole nation, hoping that they would accomplish the object of their mission. The relatives of the prisoner blacked their faces and fasted, hoping the Great Spirit would take pity on them and return the husband and father to his wife and children. Quash-qua-ma and party remained a long time absent. They at length returned and encamped a short distance below the village, but did not come up that day, nor did any person approach their camp. They appeared to be dressed in fine coats and had medals. From these circumstances we were in hopes that they had brought good news. Early the next morning the Council Lodge was crowded. Quash-qua-ma and party came up and gave us the following account of their mission:

"On their arrival at St. Louis they met their American Father and explained to him their business and urged the release of their friend. The American chief told them he wanted land and they agreed to give him some on the west side of the Mississippi, and some on the Illinois side, opposite the Jeffron. When the business was all arranged, they expected to have their friend released to come home with them, but about the time they were ready to start their friend was let out of prison, who ran a short distance and was shot

²⁸ 3 Minnesota Historical Collection, p. 143.

dead. This was all they could recollect of what was said and done. They had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis.

"This is all myself and nation knew of the treaty of 1804. It has been explained to me since. I find by that treaty all our country east of the Mississippi, and south of the Jeffron, was ceded to the United States for one thousand dollars a year. I will leave it to the people of the United States to say whether our nation was properly represented in this treaty, or whether we received a fair compensation for the extent of country ceded by those four individuals.²⁹

If we compare the representation of the Saukee Indians alone, then residing on the Des Moines river, at Portage des Sioux, in 1815, when a treaty was entered into with them, the inadequate and apparently fraudulent representation of both the Renards and Saukees in 1804 appears very manifest. At Portage des Sioux in 1815, the United States were represented by William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau as Commissioners, and the Saukee Indians by twelve chiefs and warriors, to wit: Shamaga, the lance; Weesaka, the Devil; Catchemackesc, the big eagle; Chekaqua, he that stands by the tree; Kataka, or Sturgeon; Mecaitch, the eagle; Neshota, the twin; Quashquama, the jumping fish; Chagosort, the blues' son; Pocama, the plumb; Namachewana-chaha, the Sioux; Nanochata-tasa, the brave by hazard; and Maurice Blondeau, Samuel Solomon and Noel Mongrain, interpreters. R. Walsh acted as secretary of the Commission, and Thomas Levers, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding First Regiment U. S. Inf., P. Chouteau, Agent; T. Paul, C. C. T.; James B. Moore, Captain; Samuel Whiteside, Captain; John W. Johnson, U. S. Factor and Indian Agent, and Daniel Converse, Third Lieutenant, as witnesses. And on the next day, when a treaty was made with the Renard Indians, these were represented by twenty-two chiefs and warriors. And in the year following, May 13, 1816, when a treaty of peace was made by the same Commissioners, these Indians were represented by twenty-two warriors and chiefs, as

²⁹ Quash-qua-ma was a great treaty signer. Major Forsythe says that he well knew that there were "many wet souls among them", that is among the Renards and Saukees, "particularly my old acquaintance Quash-qua-ma," thus confirming Black Hawk's statement as to drunkenness. Quash-qua-ma was a chief among the Saukees in Missouri; he signed the treaties of Portage des Sioux, September, 1815; that of Fort Armstrong in September, 1822, and Prairie du Chien in August, 1825; died opposite Clarksville in Missouri in 1830. Draper says, "he is represented by those who knew him as not tall but heavily formed, nor did he appear to possess any of the traits of a noble warrior, with a character not always free from tarnish." 3 Minnesota Collection, p. 143.

follows: Anowart, or the one who speaks; Namawenane, the Sturgeon-man; Nasawarku, the fork; Namatchesa, the jumping sturgeon; Matchequawa, the Bad Axe; Mascho, young eagle; Aquaosa, a lion coming out of the water; Mucktamachekaka, black sparrow hawk; Sakeetoo, the thunder that frightens; Warpaloka, the rumbling thunder; Kemealosh, the swan that flies in the rain; Pashekomack, the swan that flies low; Keotasheka, the running partridge; Wapalamo, the White wolf; Caskupwa, the swan whose wings crack when he flies; Poinaketa, the cloud that don't stop; Bad Weather; Anawashqueth, the bad root; Wassekenequa, sharp-faced bear; Napetaka, he who has a swan's throat around his neck; Mashashe, the fox; Wapamukqua, the white bear.

In all these treaties it was deemed important by the United States that the treaty of 1804 made at St. Louis in the name of both the Renard and Saukee Indians should be confirmed. If the chiefs who made the treaty of 1804 were authorized by the Indian nations to make the cession that was made, it is clear that in 1815 or 1816 no supplementary stipulation confirming the treaty of 1804 would have been deemed necessary.³⁰ It is also to be noted that Quashquama, in 1816, said, "You white men may put what you please on paper, but I tell you again I never sold any land higher up the Missouri than the mouth of the Rocky river."³¹ Undoubtedly Quashquama was drunk when he made the treaty of 1804, and did not understand the nature or character of the treaty he entered into for his tribe.

Returning now to the legislative history of the territory we find that this subject deeply interested Jefferson and his advisers. By some it was suggested that a military government was best adapted to the country and people. The most influential French residents favored this system, among them Chouteau, who was then in Washington. Gallatin had several interviews with him on this and other subjects while he was in Washington, and under date of 20th of August, 1804, writes Jefferson, "I had two conversations with Chouteau; he seems to be well disposed but what he wants is power and money; he proposed that he should have a negative on all Indian trading licenses, and the direction and all the profits of the trade

³⁰ In a recent publication of the Black Hawk war an effort is made to whitewash the treaty of 1804, and to measure Black Hawk by the standard of the highest civilization, without however, conceding him the right to resist with all his power and ability a manifest and palpable fraud perpetrated on his people by a few drunken Indians pretending to act for the Fox and Saukee Indian nations. See Stephen's History of the Black Hawk War.

³¹ Beggs' Early History of the West, p. 216.

carried on by the government with all the Indians of Louisiana, replacing only the capital. I told him this was inadmissible, and his last demand was the exclusive trade with the Osages, to be effected by granting licenses only to his agents, but that he should not be concerned in the trade with any other nation. The annual consumption of the Osages he states \$140,000, in goods estimated at their value at the Illinois; the annual consumption of all the Missouri Indians, including the Sioux of the Mississippi, he estimates at \$300,000. On account of the slowness of the returns, a capital double the annual consumption is necessary for carrying on the trade. As he may be either useful or dangerous I gave no flat denial to his last request, but told him to modify it in the least objectionable shape, and to write General Dearborn from St. Louis, which he said he would do. As to the government of upper Louisiana, he is decidedly in favor of a military one, and appears much afraid of civil law and lawyers. In some respects he may be right, but as regular laws and courts protect the poor and the ignorant, we may mistrust the predilection of him who is comparatively rich and intelligent in favor of the other system."³²

But by the Act of 1805, upper Louisiana was detached from the Territory of Indiana, and erected into a separate territory, and which "Shall henceforth be known and designated by the name and title of the Territory of Louisiana." The executive power was vested in a Governor under this Act to be appointed by the President for a period of three years unless sooner removed, and who was made the Commander in Chief of the Militia of the territory and Ex-officio Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A Secretary for the territory, to hold his office for four years, to preserve and record all papers of the territory, was also provided for. The legislative power was vested in the Governor and in three judges, or a majority of them, who were empowered to establish inferior courts, prescribe the jurisdiction of the same and make such laws "as may be deemed by them conducive to good government and not inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States," all criminal cases to be triable by jury, as well as all civil cases involving more than \$100. The Act provided that the laws should be published in the territory, and reported to the President and Congress for approval. The judges appointed were to hold their offices for four years, and required to hold two terms of court annually at such places as might be most convenient to the

³² Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 5, No. 83.

people. New districts from time to time, it was provided, should be laid out so as to facilitate the administration of justice, and provision was made for the appointment of other magistrates and civil officers.³³ Under this Act General Wilkinson³⁴ was appointed Governor of the territory, Joseph Browne³⁵ of New York, Secretary of the same, and James B. C. Lucas, John Coburn,³⁶ and Rufus Easton,³⁷ judges of the Superior court.

³³ 2 United States Statutes at Large, page 331.

³⁴ Albert Gallatin, February 12, 1806, writes, "Of the General (Wilkinson) I have no very exalted opinion; he is extravagant and needy and would not, I think, feel much delicacy in speculating on public money or public lands. In both those respects he must be closely watched; and he has now united himself with every man in Louisiana who had received or claims large grants under the Spanish Government, (Gratiot, the Chouteaus, Soulard &c). But tho' perhaps not very scrupulous in that respect and although I fear he may sacrifice to a certain degree the interests of the United States to his desire of being popular in his government he is honorable in his private dealings and of betraying it to a foreign country I believe him altogether incapable. Yet, Ellicott's information, together with this hint may induce caution, and if anything can be done which may lead to discoveries either in respect to him or others, it would seem proper, but how to proceed I do not know." Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 6, No. 84. Gen. James Wilkinson was born at Benedict in Maryland in 1757, received a good education, studied medicine, on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war served in the army, and then in the Indian wars. Retired from the service and engaged in the mercantile business in Kentucky. When the new constitution was adopted was appointed Colonel in the army of the United States by Washington. At the battle of the Maumee under Gen. Wayne he commanded the right wing of the army, after the death of Wayne became commander in chief of the United States army. In the war of 1812 failed in his military operations in Canada. Was tried by a court of inquiry as to his alleged connection with the Spanish conspiracy, no satisfactory evidence being produced he was acquitted, but was discharged from the army. Published his *Memoirs* in three volumes, an elaborate defense. Removed to Mexico where he died Dec. 28, 1825.

³⁵ A brother-in-law of Aaron Burr.

³⁶ Born in Philadelphia; came to Kentucky in 1784 on the advice of Luther Martin; lived in Lexington until 1794, then removed to Mason county where he was made Judge of the Circuit court; an ardent Democrat; friend of Daniel Boone; an Act appropriating land in Louisiana Territory passed for him at his instance; one of the commissioners in 1796 to run a line between Kentucky and Virginia; held many offices and died in 1823. Cuming's Tour, page 148.

³⁷ When Jefferson afterwards failed to reappoint him, he wrote a letter asking him for an explanation, to which Jefferson replied under date of February 22, 1806, as follows: "Your commission as Judge of Louisiana, according to its own terms and those of the Constitution, is to expire at the end of the present session of the Senate. The nomination of a successor is then by the Constitution as free as it originally was. In exercising the duty of a nomination to office it has never been, nor can be attempted, that, after a selection (is) made of one of the competitors, those who are unsuccessful shall have the right to have the reason specified for which they have been pretermitted, and be heard in justification on the ground of protecting their reputation. I always receive such documents of character as the parties or their friends offer, seek the best information I can otherwise get, make up as honest an opinion as I can and say no more about it. I never even let it be known who asks for office, much less the grounds of not giving it. Every one must be sensible what kind of altercation I should be in-

General Wilkinson, prior to his appointment as Governor, was stationed at St. Louis and located the United States cantonment at Bellefontaine. Within a short time after Wilkinson's appointment Aaron Burr visited his brother-in-law, Joseph Browne, Secretary of the territory, then in St. Louis. Burr's term of office as Vice President of the United States had expired only a short time before this visit, and of course, as was right and proper, he was treated by General Wilkinson with distinguished consideration. When he departed from St. Louis Wilkinson sent him to New Orleans in his ten-oar barge, gaily fitted out, escorted by a Sergeant and ten men and oarsmen. At a subsequent period when Burr's alleged scheme to dismember the Union was published to the world, General Wilkinson's courtesy to the ex-Vice President was by many considered palpable proof of his complicity in the enterprise. But when Burr visited St. Louis Wilkinson argued his scheme was not suspected, hence, no one could then suppose that he was implicated with him. What the secret purpose of Burr's visit to St. Louis was, we are not permitted to know. In answer to the charge that he had knowledge of Burr's plans, Wilkinson was able to show that in October, 1804, he had written to the Honorable Robert Smith, Secretary of the Navy under Jefferson's administration, that "Burr was about something" whether internal or external he could not say, but that "an eye ought to be kept on him." In view of this letter, and the further fact that he had been the most potent agent in thwarting Burr's scheme, all charges of complicity with him were manifestly impossible of being substantiated. So in 1811, by a court of inquiry which had been summoned to investigate these charges, as well as the charge of complicity with the so-called Spanish conspiracy to dismember the Union, Wilkinson was acquitted. Timothy Kibby of the St. Charles district, however, in 1807, made an affidavit which was laid before the court, stating that he met Wilkinson in 1805, at Camp Bellefontaine, that he told him then that he was anxious that he should meet Colonel Burr who had gone to St. Charles on that day, that he inquired what was the disposition of the people in the district of St. Charles, and asked whether they were pleased with the change of

volved in, on every nomination, were I to specify the grounds of passing over a candidate, as you desire in your letter. However, if you think proper to call on me I will verbally state to you two or three facts and hear anything you may wish to say respecting them. It is the first time it has ever been asked, and it is most probable that it is the last time it will ever be yielded to. Accept my salutations and respects." Jefferson Papers, Series 1, vol. 11, No. 140.

government, and whether he did not think that the greater part of them would prefer a government separate from the government of the United States, that Wilkinson further said as the greater number of them had lived in the United States and removed to this country while it was under the Spanish government it convinced him that they were not pleased with their own, that in a little time it would be in his power to place him in affluent circumstances which he was determined to do, and that he should do the same by Mr. Pierre Provençhère; but these facts and those of a similar suspicious character stated by Kibby were not of such a convincing nature as to affect the court.³⁸

Burr always ridiculed the idea that he was ever engaged in a scheme to dismember the United States, but admitted that his object was to cause or promote a revolution in Mexico, and that Wilkinson was a party to the projected enterprise. Nor ought Burr's statement now to be doubted. Wilkinson's double dealing, treachery and actual participation in a scheme to separate the western country from the Union, and receiving Spanish pay, has been amply sustained by documentary evidence, since brought to light, but this, though suspected by many at the time of this investigation by the Court of Inquiry, was unknown and strenuously denied by Wilkinson.



GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON

Wilkinson suggested at least to one of the residents of the territory at this time, that the Government had in view a scheme to remove the greater portion of the settlers from the west side to the east side of the Mississippi. After his arrival in St. Louis he was visited by representatives of the several districts, and among others by one Edward F. Bond, a delegate from the Cape Girardeau district. Wilkinson received him, so Bond says, with "politeness and complacency" and bestowed on him "a small share of his confidence" in giving him several appointments "within his gift," and then told him that the President contemplated to transfer a great portion of the inhabitants of upper Louisiana to New Orleans, or some other point on the east side of the Mississippi "thereby making the settlements more compact, facilitating the administration of justice, and making us more strong in those parts where we are most exposed and vulner-

³⁸ This affidavit was originally obtained by Rufus Easton and transmitted to Jefferson to discredit Wilkinson.

able from the attacks of foreign enemies." Bond became much interested in this scheme, "was willing to make a sacrifice to effect it," wrote several letters to Wilkinson, sounded the people, and found among others that Dr. Richard Jones Waters, a man of considerable influence in New Madrid "and vast possessions in land and other property" was willing to make an exchange of his lands two for one and buy up the rights of others, &c., all of which Bond sets out in a letter to Jefferson, dated October 17, 1806, tendering his services as agent to acquire property rights to carry out this plan for the Government.³⁹ In how far Wilkinson was authorized to proceed in such a scheme does not appear. Likely in a mere casual conversation with the President the feasibility of concentrating the population on the east side of the Mississippi may have been mentioned, because no doubt fears were then entertained by many patriotic people, that the indefinite extension of the Union west of the Missouri was fraught with great danger. That such a scheme should even have been thought practicable or desirable shows how little the possibilities of the future were then understood even by the wisest men.

The administration of Wilkinson as Governor of the territory did not give satisfaction and aroused bitter antagonism. It was charged against him that he was guilty of improper interference with the Board of Commissioners appointed to settle the land titles of the new territory, and consequently Gallatin wrote Jefferson, saying, "I think that General Wilkinson should be advised that he has nothing to do with the land business, (which is entirely under the direction of the Surveyor General, land officers and Commissioners) unless it be to remove intruders under the existing laws; that caution given to him might prevent some of the altercations for authority."⁴⁰ It was also charged against him that he favored keeping the territory under military rule; that he antagonized the American settlers; that he was predisposed in favor of the rich French land owners, and antedated and other land grants; that he was a Royalist, a Federalist and a Burr-rite. Undoubtedly he was engaged in land speculation, and the fact that he purchased land adjacent to the cantonment at Bellefontaine which had been located there by him, was unfavorably commented upon, although afterwards he sold this land to the Government at the same price for which he purchased it. But in a letter to President Jefferson dated St. Louis, March 29, 1806, Wilkinson says,

³⁹ See letter of Edward F. Bond, — Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 8, No. 27.

⁴⁰ Jefferson Papers, 3d Series, vol. 6, No. 3.

"I have so far conformed my conduct to your inclinations I believe as to avoid every species of interested pursuit since my arrival here, and I can asseverate upon my honor that I do not at this moment own a single acre of ground in the territory, directly or indirectly — exception, a conditional contract at a high price for a small tract made with views to the accommodation of the public."⁴¹ Rufus Easton, Hempstead, Lucas, Hammond and others, a short time after his appointment, were all arrayed against him. Wilkinson was so hostile to Easton, who was the first postmaster at St. Louis, that he would not let his mail be sent through his post-office. Hempstead was also very bitter in his opposition to him and denounced him in vehement language. He writes in November, 1805, that unless political affairs of the country change for the better he will not make the country his residence long, and that no person was ever more displeased with any government than he with the government instituted in the territory, and says that, "with the principles of civil liberty in which I have happily been bred, and the patriotic examples of my father before me, I can not bow the knee to any political Baal, nor give my approbation to conduct that I am fully conscious is despotic. With the Governor who now holds the office of Brigadier General, and in addition is vested with a strange combination of powers, you can not imagine to what a degree I wish for a change of times. From a rank Federalist to a suspected Republican he became a bigot and is now a petty tyrant."⁴²

Wilkinson on the other hand charged that a nephew of Hammond had wantonly murdered an Indian, and that because he endeavored to bring him to justice, Hammond became his bitter enemy. In order to clear himself from this imputation Hammond transmitted to Jefferson perhaps the first verdict of a coroner's inquest held in what is now Missouri. This coroner's inquest was held at St. Louis on the 26th of May, 1806, before Nathan Pusey, Coroner, and John Murphy, foreman, Calvin Adams, James Smith, James Rankin, Josiah McLanahan, James Huston, John G. Comegys, François Hortiz, Joseph LeCroix, William Massey, Hugh Patterson, Gabriel LeCroix, George Doggett, and Charles LeGuerrien as a coroner's jury; and which found that Samuel Hammond, Jr., killed a Kickapoo Indian in defending Colonel Return J. Meigs and Dr. Antoine

⁴¹ Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 85, No. 88.

⁴² Letter of Edward Hempstead, Nov. 20, 1805, in Missouri Historical Society Archives.

Saugrain. The name of this Indian was Naichiwaigochee. The Coroner's verdict found that the Indian walked the streets of St. Louis brandishing his tomahawk in a threatening manner, striking some one or more doors, terrifying the citizens, and that he attacked Meigs and Saugrain, and that then young Hammond shot the Indian, and that while Meigs held the Indian the Indian tried to draw his knife with his left hand.⁴³ And in further justification of this killing Colonel Hammond sent a statement, that the Indian interpreter, Bolon, and Charles Sanguinet who also understood the Indian language, said that the Indians said to him that "the Indian who had been killed was a fool and that whiskey had done what he had done, and that they seemed quiet and pacified," and furthermore that they told the interpreter that they wanted a white flag to put over the Indian's grave to show that they will never stain that flag, that the Indians say as soon as that is done they will be fully satisfied, and that they have applied for such a flag to General Wilkinson.

Why in the short period of one year Wilkinson raised all this opposition is difficult now to conjecture. It is true he was a speculator, but his opponents were all speculators. Wilkinson was always anxious to make money, ready to engage in any enterprise that promised pecuniary advantages, but so were his traducers. In his administration he aimed to be politically independent and said that he was actuated by a desire to unite the honest and moderate men of both parties. This policy, during an era of intense political feeling, perhaps was the cause of his political unpopularity. It is to be noted that those who were the most bitter in his denunciation were all pronounced and radical Republicans, as the Democrats were then called, and the fact that Wilkinson declared that he desired "to save the constitution and prevent a division of property which the Democrats" led by that arch-aristocrat, Randolph of Roanoke, "aimed at," may have added fuel to this flame of prejudice. The charge that he sympathized with the French land claimants may perhaps be traced to the fact that these claimants were generally Federalists, the idea of a strong central government naturally being more in accord with their past history as subjects of Spain. Personally General Wilkinson was an agreeable and accomplished man, well informed, "most gentlemanly, moderate, and a sensible Republican" says Postmaster-General Granger. He was familiar with border life, with Indian wars, with Indian affairs, knew the western country and its inhabit-

⁴³ Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 42, No. 30.

ants, the history of its settlement and development, but against an aroused political prejudice all this could not avail.⁴⁴ Wilkinson's enemies made every effort to have him removed from office. Mathew Lyons also, who afterward for a time lived in the territory, on April 22, 1806, writes the President suggesting his removal. He says: "I have been a friend to General Wilkinson for nearly thirty years; I felt a glow of pleasure last year when I heard of his appointment, which was incidentally succeeded by a doubt of the propriety of that appointment, this doubt I endeavored to suppress. In my circular and private letters I recommended him to the people of Louisiana and endeavored to transfer to him any little share of popularity I might have there. I am not in the habit of deserting those I profess friendship to; however, under existing circumstances, I am inclined to think an order to the General to remove to some place near the Spanish frontier where he could conveniently direct the operations of the

⁴⁴ J. L. Donaldson in a letter dated St. Louis July 5, 1806, to his father-in-law, Dr. William Stewart of Baltimore, gives us this picture of affairs from his standpoint, not without interest now. He says that he and Penrose were in session at the Ste. Genevieve and did a great deal of business in a short time, and indeed fully wound up the land concessions under "the present law" and that he hopes the prospect will be better for a new and more honest law for the territory, the necessity of which he would certainly urge next winter at Washington. He says that it is certain that the governor (Wilkinson) has been ordered down the river to keep a lookout after the Spaniards, that the system of unprincipled opposition to which he has been subject instead of diminishing appears to have gathered ground, that the alliance of Meigs and the open declaration of Hammond against him have given new confidence to this opposition, and says there is no villainy, private or public, that they are not ready to undertake; and further, that the friends of order and law will always be able to resist successfully any attempt of the unprincipled scoundrels who have so long infested this community, but that a perpetual contest of this kind at last wears out the steadiest resolution, and he says that he shall not be displeased when he returns from this disgusting scene; that if honest men are appointed he shall return, but if not, he will bid it eternal adieu. He gives an account of a nephew of Colonel Hammond's who had killed a Kickapoo Indian and whom it was his duty to prosecute, that a few days after having prosecuted him in court he received an insolent note from Hammond demanding satisfaction, that to this he answered verbally that he was a great fool in challenging an officer of justice for doing his duty, and that he should again prosecute him for this new outrage, and that he accordingly ordered out process against him, and which on hearing, he made his escape to the other side of the river, boasting and declaring that he would attack his life if ever opportunity offered. Afterwards Donaldson went to Ste. Genevieve, and returning came up through the American bottom, without giving this threat any further thought, being in company with his wife and Mr. Penrose's family, he was warned to be on his guard as there was a desperate scoundrel in town who was determined to assault him, and that in Cahokia he found Hammond, who, with pistol and dirk advanced upon him, but that his courage seemed to fail him in the last minute, and when Donaldson, not the least frightened, walked up to him, he seemed to be astonished, did nothing, and without offering any resistance, although swearing dreadfully, allowed Donaldson to escort the ladies to their carriage and get on his horse and go away. Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 76, No. 95.

different detachments and watch the movement of Spanish officers would give satisfaction to the friends of the Administration. His place might then be filled more unexceptionally and the murmur pass away.”⁴⁵ And the President not having filled the office, Lyons writes him February 22, 1807, that if he neglects to fill the position of Governor of the territory that his enemies will charge that he left the place of Governor unsupplied until the meeting of Congress “to keep the emoluments of that office for General Wilkinson” and the place open for him to go there and “commit fresh hostilities against the rights of the citizens as well as to reward him for his atrocities.”⁴⁶ In order to pacify this opposition, Jefferson finally, on March 3, 1807, removed Wilkinson, and appointed Merriwether Lewis governor of the territory, but the news that he would be removed circulated four weeks before the order came, and Hempstead then writes: “our prospects are becoming better.” Wilkinson wrote the information was brought to St. Louis by Major Seth Hunt, who gave the information to W. C. Carr, and that Hammond was to be his successor, and says that he felt very much humiliated that this information should have been in circulation long before he was advised. In a letter to General Dearborn he says that Major Bruff⁴⁷ had declared “that he had friends in Washington as well as myself, who could procure copies from there of any information sent forward from here against him.” He denounces in this letter Major Bruff as a traitor.⁴⁸ Again General Wilkinson writes General S. Smith, from St. Louis, June 17, 1806, that it was rumored in St. Louis for some time that he should be ordered away south, and that at last he received this order, and that “Bruff, Lucas & Company say the thing is done to get me out of the way to make room for Hammond. God knows why it was done, but it was certainly most unexpected after the President’s information to you bearing date 4th day of October, two days only before the order, which is dated the 6th; on the 9th I received other orders from the President by the Secretary of the Treasury concerning certain local interests which demand my attention here. * * * Hammond is, I verily believe a candidate for this government, but

⁴⁵ Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 50, No. 74.

⁴⁶ Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 50, No. 76.

⁴⁷ James Bruff, Major in the 1st United States Regiment of artillerists and Engineers.

⁴⁸ Letter of Wilkinson to Henry Dearborn Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 76, No. 98.

I trust such a character will never receive honor or emolument from the hands of our chief. After his nephew had killed the Indian, the cabal at this place formed an association to form an independent company, which I had private information was intended for the rescue of Hammond if he had been treated as he merited it. I found that two-thirds of them either were not residents, transient persons, vagabonds, boatmen or whiskey retailers from Kentucky.”⁴⁹

Merriwether Lewis, the new Governor did not arrive in St. Louis until July, 1807. In the words of Jefferson: “He found the territory distracted and contentions among the officers of the government and the people themselves divided by these into factions and parties. He determined at once to take no side with either, but to use every endeavor to conciliate and harmonize them. The even-handed justice he administered to all soon established a respect for his person and authority, and perseverance and time wore down animosities and reunited the citizens again into one family.” The apprehended war with England was a subject which then principally occupied the thoughts of the people. The surprise and attack by a British man of war of superior force upon the Chesapeake in the waters of the United States in a time of profound peace, and consequent Proclamation of embargo issued by President Jefferson in July, 1807, it was soon perceived caused great fermentation among the Indians of the northwest and on the borders of the territory, and naturally filled the minds of the people on the frontiers with anxiety. The increase of the military force provided by Congress, seemed to indicate the approach of war. Accordingly in August, 1808, Gov. Lewis began to organize the militia of the territory. In St. Louis three battalions of Infantry and Capt. Pierre Chouteau’s troop of horse were enrolled. In Ste. Genevieve two battalions of Infantry, and Captain Bibb’s and Captain Whitely’s troops of light cavalry; in St. Charles two battalions of Infantry and Captain Mackay Wherry’s troop of horse; in Cape Girardeau two battalions of Infantry and the troops of horse of Captain Ellis and Captain Bouis; and in New Madrid two battalions of Infantry were mustered into territorial service. This military



MERRIWETHER LEWIS

⁴⁹ Jefferson Papers, 2d Series, vol. 76, No. 99.

force was held under requisition until November 28, 1808, when it was discharged to be again enrolled "as before with the ordinary militia." The difficulties with England however remaining unadjusted and becoming graver in character, in February, 1809, 100,000 men were ordered to be enrolled by the President of the United States to serve if called upon, "each man to provide his own arms and ammunition," and the Secretary of War fixed the quota of the Missouri territory at 377 men, and under this requisition Governor Lewis required each of the districts, St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid to furnish a company of 77 men. Of this corps Col. Auguste Chouteau was appointed Colonel of the Infantry. Major Nathaniel Cook had command of the Riflemen. On April 21, 1809, under general order dated St. Charles, the Cavalry companies of territory of Captains Ellis and Bouis of Cape Girardeau, of Captain Otho Schrader of Ste. Genevieve, of Captain Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis, and Captain Mackay Wherry of St. Charles were ordered to rendezvous at St. Louis, May 4, 1809, but were shortly afterwards discharged.

This military service then was no small burden upon the people. Under a law passed by the territorial legislature of 1807, a maximum service of sixty days was fixed, but later on this time was extended to six months. Nor did the territory at that time trouble itself to provide arms and accoutrements, but each soldier or ranger was required to furnish his own arms and accoutrements, and what these arms should be, and of what these accoutrements should consist, was duly and legally specified in the territorial Acts. The soldiers were fortunate if they secured rations and tents. Under this system theoretically the whole free male population of the territory in case of war and invasion was supposed to be under arms, and practically every section of the territory where Indian wars existed or were anticipated and forays took place such was the case. Nor did the people of that time expect to be liberally reimbursed by high pay for little service. The people and their government were then in closer touch than now. Perhaps too, the people then understood better than now that the more extravagant the governmental expenses the more onerous in the end would be the tax levies made upon them.

In July, 1809, Governor Lewis' health began to fail and he was compelled by important business to go to Washington. When he left St. Louis it was his intention to go to New Orleans and thence by water to the Federal City, but at the second Chickasaw Bluff, the

present site of the city of Memphis, he met Mr. Neely, then Indian agent among the Chickasaw Indians and concluded to make the trip from there by land with him passing through the Indian country. After they crossed the Tennessee river some of the horses of the party got away and Mr. Neely remained behind in order to find them and Lewis went ahead with two servants to stop at the house of the first white man found along the road and wait there until Mr. Neely should overtake him. The first house was the house of a Mr. Grinder, and he stopped there, but this man was not at home. Here it is claimed Lewis showed symptoms of mental derangement and Mrs. Grinder being alarmed retired to an outhouse. On this night (October 11, 1809), it is said Lewis committed suicide, "did the deed which plunged his friends into affliction and deprived the country of one of its most valuable citizens." But although Jefferson accepted the report that he committed suicide this was not the case with the people who lived in the vicinity of the Grinder place at that time. On the contrary, it was the common report, that he had been murdered and robbed and many circumstances pointed to that conclusion. For instance, only 25 cents were found in his pocket, when it was known that he had a considerable sum in gold with him. So strongly was Grinder suspected, that he was indicted in the county where the death of Lewis occurred, but not sufficient testimony could be found to convict him. He afterward moved away and, although he was known to be a man of little means there, after he moved away appeared to be in prosperous circumstances, owned farms and slaves. Lewis was buried at the place where he died.⁵⁰ In 1843 the legislature of Tennessee organized the county of Lewis out of the territory and the place where he was buried was made the exact centre of the county. Here in 1848 the legislature ordered a monument to be erected on the spot where he was interred.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Dr. Coues in his edition of Lewis and Clark's Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 43 et seq., gives a full and complete account of all that has been written about this subject.

⁵¹ Merriwether Lewis was a native of Virginia, born near Charlottesville, Albermarle county, August 18, 1774. He belonged to a distinguished family, long prominent in the colonial and revolutionary affairs of Virginia. Fielding Lewis, a member of the family married a sister of George Washington. He was educated at home and enjoyed all the benefits of such local educational institutions as Virginia then had. At the age of 18 he returned to the farm of his father and began farming as a serious occupation. When the so-called whiskey insurrection broke out he enlisted in a volunteer company, called out by Gen. Washington. In 1797 he was appointed Captain in the regular army. In 1801 Jefferson appointed him as his private secretary and in 1803 he was by him placed in command of the expedition to the headwaters of the Missouri with

The legislature of the territory was composed of the Governor and Judges of the Superior court, and the first meeting of this legislative body took place June 3, 1806. The legislature thus constituted continued to exercise legislative functions until October 9, 1811, when it adjourned "sine die." Edward Hempstead was the first Clerk of this legislature, and which was called to assemble June 3d, but actually did not assemble until June 11th.



The session was opened with a spicy correspondence between Wilkinson and Lucas as to the manner in which this legislature should be convened. Nothing was done until June 25th when this body proceeded to the election of a Clerk, Robert Wescot, Andrew Steele and Edward Hempstead being respectively placed in nomination. Hempstead, on the 28th of June, was finally

chosen as Clerk, thus showing that a small legislative body can be as dilatory as a large assembly.

Among the first Acts of this legislature was a law passed adopting a territorial seal. On the 6th of May, 1806, a law was enacted providing for the appointment by the Governor of an Attorney-General of the territory, and vesting this Attorney-General with power to appoint suitable deputies in the several districts. On the 26th of June, 1806, a bill creating the District of Arkansas out of a portion of the New Madrid District was discussed and afterwards enacted into a law. In 1808 Governor Lewis issued a proclamation dividing this district, and forming all that portion lying north of the 33d degree to the second Chicasaw Bluff and running indefinitely west into the Arkansas District. A law was also enacted

instruction "to follow the best water-communication which offered itself from thence to the Pacific ocean." From this expedition he returned in 1806 and on February following he and Lieutenant Clark arrived in Washington. Before Lewis left St. Louis in 1809 he formally appointed William Clark, Alexander Stuart and William C. Carr as his attorneys and this instrument was witnessed by Jeremiah Connor and Samuel Solomon

to punish the discharging of fire arms in St. Louis, not unimportant at that time. On the 9th day of June a law regulating ferries, also fixing a license of ten dollars for keeping a ferry, and regulating the charges for passage, a subject in which all the early settlers of the territory were deeply interested, was passed. A general court, to be a Court of Appeals, was created, this court to meet twice a year in St. Louis, in May and October. This General Court was the first appellate court in what is now Missouri.

In 1807, Governor Wilkinson went south to the scene of the boundary dispute between the United States and Spain, on the banks of the Sabine, and never returned to the territory. The Secretary of the territory, Browne, after his departure, became Acting Governor and the legislative council, then composed of Browne, Lucas and Otho Schrader, an Austrian German, who had been appointed while a resident of Pennsylvania as Judge to succeed Return J. Meigs, enacted a law providing for a Clerk of the General Court, to hold his office during good behavior, to be appointed by the Governor, the applicant, however, for the position, to produce to the Governor a certificate signed by at least two judges of the court that he possessed the necessary qualifications to fill the office. Browne resigned as Secretary of the territory, and Frederick Bates was appointed as his successor, and as such acted as Governor of the territory from May, 1807, until the arrival of Merriwether Lewis. At a session of the Legislative Council in July, 1807, while Bates was Acting Governor, the judicial system as enacted by the Indiana judges was revised and new powers conferred upon the courts, and new courts organized. Under this Act the Governor was empowered to appoint five judges of the courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for each of the districts, to hold their offices for four years, and sessions of the courts to be held in the district of St. Charles the first Mondays of February, June and October, in the district of St. Louis the first Mondays in March, July and November, in the district of Ste. Genevieve the second Mondays of March, July and November, in district of Cape Girardeau on the third Mondays of March, July and November, and in the district of New Madrid on the fourth Mondays of March, July and November every year, and in case new districts should be created by proclamation of the Governor the place and time of holding courts, in such new districts, to be made known. On the 4th of July, 1807, an Act was passed dividing the various districts into townships, each township to be

distinguished by a particular name, and providing that Justices of the Peace and Constables be appointed for such townships. In 1808 an act was passed providing for the incorporation of villages by the courts of common pleas and in the same year the first Act establishing a public road in what is now Missouri was enacted. This Act provided for the appointment of commissioners to view and lay out a road from the town of St. Louis to the town of Ste. Genevieve, from thence to the town of Cape Girardeau and from thence to the town of New Madrid; the commissioners to report their proceedings to the Governor of the territory for his approval. This road was established following the old Spanish road or trace, and is traveled to this day. Roads were a subject as important then as now. It was no easy matter to locate, survey, open and cut out roads through the wilderness, and consequently the laws in regard to this all-important subject were stringent, if not onerous. Under the laws enacted in 1806 by this legislature, from two to thirty days of road service could be required annually, assessed according to the amount of property owned, nor was any provision made for commuting the road service by the payment of money, but non-performance of road service was punished by a fine of \$2 a day.

The personal service of the citizen of the Territory of Missouri at that time was of a two-fold character, that is to say, appertaining to road work and to military duty. At first military duty was the most important, and after the danger of Indian attacks had passed away the personal service required to open and work public roads became more important. When the people of the territory were practically surrounded by hostile Indian tribes, the Renard (Fox) and Saukee Indians on the north and northwest, and the Osages on the west and southwest, it was necessary that all free white inhabitants, not exempt by law, should be enrolled in the militia, and that they should from time to time attend musters, and accordingly the law provided for five annual musters, requiring at least five or more days of military service in each year. The amount of actual military service that could be required was practically unlimited save by the necessities of the occasion.

But this personal service did not meet all the needs of the territorial government, hence the subject of local taxes, unknown during the Spanish government, was a subject to which territorial legislators devoted great attention. The amount required to carry on the

government, measured by our present standard of expenses, was insignificant, but the functions of the early frontier government of Missouri extended little further than the protection of life and property. Such other subjects as are now deemed absolutely indispensable to organized society, for instance the vast expenditure for the maintenance of a public school system and eleemosynary institutions, such as Insane Asylums, Schools for the Blind, Colonies for the Feeble Minded, Reformatories and Penal Institutions, and all annually requiring an immense revenue, were not dreamed of then. The early legislatures had no problems arising out of private corporate interests, and constantly infringing upon the individual rights of the citizen, nor were sanitary rules and regulations at that time necessary. But laws establishing public ferries and regulating the charges of the same were most important to the people, so also the toll which mills should be allowed to charge for grinding grain.

The first law relating to public revenue in what is now Missouri was passed on October 1, 1804, and entitled "a law regulating county rates and levies." Under this Act all houses in town, town lots, out-lots and mansion houses in the country of the value of \$200 and upwards, all able-bodied single men not having taxable property to the amount of \$400, all water and wind mills and ferries, all horses, mules and cattle three years old and upward, all bond servants and slaves, except such as the court of Quarter Sessions should exempt for infirmities between 16 and 40 years of age, were made chargeable for county revenue. Upon the houses, lots and mills a tax was authorized to be levied not exceeding 30 cents on each \$100 valuation. On other objects mentioned a maximum specific tax was authorized; the tax for instance on neat cattle was not to exceed 10 cents per head. Merchants were required to pay a license tax of \$15, but where the merchandise they sold was produced in the district no tax was levied, thus encouraging home industry. Under this act a tax of \$10 was levied on ferries.

From time to time new subjects were made the objects of taxation, and taxes were increased. Thus in 1807 the ferry license was increased from \$10 to \$100 per annum. In addition to merchants and tavern-keepers, keepers of public billiard tables, Indian traders, attorneys, physicians, proprietors of unauthorized lotteries and peddlers were also required to pay a license. The license for public billiard tables was fixed not to exceed \$50 annually, for a tavern license from \$10 to \$30 annually, for peddlers \$14 semi-annually, and in the

case of Indian traders a proportional rate was at first tried, the rate being fixed at 1 per cent of the value of the equipment, but increased to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and then changed to the fixed sum of \$52 per annum.

It is interesting to note that under the law of 1804 farm land was not taxed at all, but that in 1806 plantations actually cultivated of the value of \$200 and upward, were made taxable and so also horse mills. But in 1808 the exemption on the basis of valuation below \$200 disappeared, and to the list of taxable real property was added distilleries and tanyards; and in 1814 all uncultivated lands which up to that time had been exempt from taxation, were made subject to taxation to the extent of 800 arpens (about 660 acres) and in the following year (1815) all land was made subject to taxation. Pre-emption rights were first taxed in 1815, but the Act was repealed at the same session. The tax rate on real property, in 1804 did not exceed 30 cents on the \$100 valuation, but afterward a specific tax of 50 cents on every 100 arpens (about 83 acres) was levied by law, and which in 1815 was increased to 60 cents. The tax on land (the title to which was not adjusted) was fixed at $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per 100 arpens.

At first such personal property only as live stock and slaves was subject to taxation. The rate on horses, mules and asses, in 1804 did not exceed 50 cents; $37\frac{1}{3}$ cents in 1806; $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents in 1808, and 25 cents in 1815. On neat cattle, until 1815, the rate was 10 cents a head, and after that time the maximum was fixed at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. Horses kept for breeding purposes were charged not to exceed the rate of their services. Slaves were taxed not to exceed \$1 by the Acts of 1804, 1806 and 1808. In 1814 an additional tax of 40 cents was imposed, for territorial purposes, and in 1815 this was raised to $62\frac{1}{2}$ cents, but the tax not to exceed 50 cents for county purposes. Pleasure carriages were, in 1808, included in the general class of property to be taxed, for the first time, and taxes so levied not to exceed 100 cents on the \$100 valuation, but in 1814 a specific charge was substituted for this ad valorem tax. Four-wheeled carriages were taxed \$10 each, others \$5 each. In the following year the ad valorem system of taxation as to carriages was adopted again, and \$1.50 made the rate on the \$100 valuation. The tax on billiard tables was reduced in 1815 to \$25. Unmarried men with limited property were subject to a poll tax which varied considerably; in 1804 it was placed at from 50 cents to \$2; in 1806 it was fixed at \$1; in 1808 not to exceed \$1, and in 1815 it was fixed at 50 cents.

In order to ascertain the property subject to be taxed, property owners were required to supply lists of their taxable property. When these were furnished as provided by law nothing further remained than to determine the amount of taxes and to provide lists for the collectors. Where the owners failed to supply such lists or made false lists and where ad valorem rates necessitated a valuation, the services of Assessors were required. Specific rates however generally prevailed and hence the labor of assessors was small.

The Sheriff was the collector of taxes, except from 1806 to 1808 when the office of County Treasurer existed. The Sheriff held the county funds until the same were ordered disbursed by competent authority. A separate financial administration for the territory distinct from the districts was first provided by the law of 1806 when the office of territorial Treasurer was created. In 1810 the office of territorial Auditor was provided, who also was ex-officio auditor of the St. Louis district. In 1814 the law made provision for a separate Auditor for the territory.

Before 1806 no provision existed for a separate territorial revenue. All money collected went into the district treasury for district purposes except 20 per cent, which it was provided should be set aside for territorial expenses. Two years afterward the income arising from licenses issued to merchants, tavern-keepers, ferrymen and from public billiard tables, with the fines and forfeitures incident thereto, were required to be paid into the territorial treasury. In 1814 a larger territorial revenue having become important, it was further provided that taxes on slaves, pleasure carriages, land, both town lots and farms, houses and improvements should be levied for the benefit of territorial government, but the land tax alone for the exclusive use of the territory. Further the license charges for trading with the Indians, and special fees for writs and executions, and special fines for convictions, were diverted to the territorial treasury. In 1815 the entire revenue system of the territory was revised, and the source of revenue for the territory and county almost entirely separated. Only slaves, as we have seen, remained an object of taxation common to both.⁵²

In 1817 the territorial legislature authorized "a lottery for the purchase of fire engines and other apparatus for the extinguishment

⁵² For further and fuller details of the territorial revenue system, see an able paper read by Prof. Frederick C. Hicks, before the Missouri Historical Society.

of fire for the use of St. Louis." Under this Act Auguste Chouteau, Theodore Hunt, Henry Von Phul, W. C. Carr and Thomas F. Riddick were appointed commissioners to superintend the lottery. The law provided for 6,000 tickets, each ticket to be of the value of \$5, three thousand tickets to be blanks and three thousand to draw prizes. The principal prize was \$5,000, second \$1,000, four prizes to be of value of \$500 each, and finally 49 prizes of \$50 each, and 2,920 of \$6.20. All prizes were subject to a reduction of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and payable sixty days after the drawing. Prizes not demanded within 120 days were to be considered donations. But this scheme to equip the fire department of St. Louis failed, because the people had "set their faces against lotteries."⁵³ Yet at that time and long afterwards lotteries were deemed a perfectly legitimate method to raise money for public and educational purposes. This failure, however, would seem to indicate that the pioneers of Missouri were not much prepossessed in favor of this method for raising money.

⁵³ Louisiana Gazette, November 13, 1818.



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